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THE
JOURNAL
OF THE
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

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JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

SHAMIAWALA (BIJNOR DIST.) HOARD OF SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS.

[Plates I-II.]

In the year 1920 some 143 silver coins along with a number of fragmentary bits of scrap silver, weighing in all about $31\frac{1}{2}$ Tolas, were discovered in the village of Shamiawala, in Tahsil Najibabad, in the District of Bijnor, U.P. On removing the clay encrustations, it was found that there were only 139 complete coins, the remaining 4 pieces being blank pellets of silver of the size of the coins.

One of the coins was a big thin round piece, 9" in size, of a different fabric, probably a stray coin resembling the (11) Sūraseni type published on Plate XXXI of Numismatic Supplement, Vol. XLV. The remaining 138 were all small coins measuring from 3" to 5", with an average weight of 25.3 grains. They were mostly rectilineal, but a few were circular and they could be divided into 3 classes as described below:—

Class I, comprising 56 coins, bear the figure of a fish with 3 small dots, a small circle, and a Nandipada—all placed below the fish. These could be further subdivided into 3 types, having regard to the location of the dots, the small circles, and the Nandipada placed erect or aslant. The number of coins of this class is 56, and the average weight 25.46 grs. For illustration *vide* Pl. II-A, symbols Figs., 1, 2 and 3 and Pl. II-B, coins Nos. 1 to 3.

Class II, comprising 78 coins, is distinguished by the figure of an elephant with dots and Nandipada, facing left and right. These coins fall into eight different sub-classes, with or without a rider as illustrated on Pl. II-A, symbols Figs., 4 to 11 and Pl. II-B, coins Nos. 4 to 11, the average weight being 25.83 grs.

Class III comprises only 2 coins with the figure of a Nandi facing right, with 2 Nandipadas above, as illustrated on Pl. II-A, symbol Fig., 12; also on Pl. II-B, coin No. 12, the weight of each coin being 24.75 grs.

Two of the coins, one of Class I and one of Class II, were dissolved for quantitative chemical analysis.

A considerable quantity of scrap silver was found with the coins in the shape of a broken vessel with embossed design (Pl. I, Fig. A), small pellets of silver bullion (Pl. I, Fig. B), weighing

from 250 to 271 grains, three pieces of thin silver foils in shape of ornaments (Pl. I, Fig. C), pieces of silver wire of round, square and semi-circular sections (Pl. I, Fig. D), and small cut pieces of pellets (Pl. I, Figs. E and F), which convey the idea that the hoard belonged to a dealer in silver; this is supported by the presence of cut pieces of silver pellets. As no punches or other minting instruments were found with the hoard, it cannot be said that the collection of coins and the scrap silver were the property of a private coiner; neither could such a small quantity of material be called the remnant of a mint. That coin making in ancient India was a royal prerogative has been established by several passages from Kautilya's Arthashastra.

The heavy bold embossed portion of a broken cup or jug (Pl. I, Fig. A) is a specimen of the art of the silversmith of the period.

The 5 big pellets (Pl. I, Fig. B) are samples of silver bullion weighing over 270 grains, quite unlike the modern huge silver bricks of over a thousand ounces.

The 3 thin foils of silver (Pl. I, Fig. C) $2'' \times \frac{1}{2}''$ with their edges turned back uniformly, and having small holes at the two ends, marked with a triangular design, appear to be ornaments for the forehead of that period. Such thin and fragile ornaments can hardly be used for personal decoration, and it is probable that they were merely ceremonial pieces.

As the average weight of the coins is 25.3 grains, (the heaviest piece weighing 27 grs.) they are apparently silver half Panas of 28 grains or 16 Ratis. The Rati standard of ancient India varied between 1.8 and 1.75 grains. Thomas and other scholars calculated the old Rati to be of 1.8 grs., while Dr. Bhandarkar came to the conclusion that it was of 1.75 grs., which is confirmed by my examination of over 2,000 silver punch-marked coins discovered in the Machhuatoli quarter of Patna, now in the Patna Museum, the majority of which were of the Mauryan period, all bearing the Mauryan symbol of hill and crescent (*vide* JRAS., London, July, 1936). This large hoard, examined at the Patna Museum, consisted of well-preserved coins of the Mauryan period, some of them showing the crystalline broken sections of chisel-cut coins, and others with edges clear sharp in mint condition. These give an average weight of a little below 56 grains, which means a Rati of 1.75 grs.

If the number of coins and the average weight of each of the three classes of coins be taken as an indication of the chronological sequence, then the two coins of Class III bearing the figure of a Nandi must be the earliest of the lot as their average weight

is only 24.75 grs., the deficiency from the full standard being as much as 3.25 grains. Coins of Class I with the fish symbol come next in order; and the most numerous, the coins of Class II, with an average weight of 25.83 grains, appear to be the latest in the hoard. Another noticeable fact is that the coins of the same sub-class appear to be punched with 2 or sometimes with 3 similar but slightly different punches, indicating that the coins were stamped by several workmen at a time, each using a separate punch of the same design, but a little different in execution.

The similarity of fabrication of these coins is a sure indication that they belong to a particular locality or dynasty. It is probable that they are the coins of three rulers of the same dynasty.

114 coins in the hoard are rectilineal, cut from thin bars or sheets of silver, only 24 of them are round, struck off from small flattened pellets, or round rods.

As all the coins are stamped on one side with a small punch, and there are no symbols on the reverse as seen usually on other types of punch-marked coins, the question arises whether they should be classed as punch-marked coins, or among the early one-sided die-struck coins, examples of which are known among Taxila copper coins, though none have yet come to light in silver. As other *Ardha-Panas* of small size in silver bearing a single large symbol on one side are known, it would be safer to put these coins as well under the category of silver punch-marked coins.

The three characteristic symbols occurring on these coins, viz., Nandi, elephant and Nandipada are found on punch-marked coins from very early times.

The figures on the coins are of a crude primitive style, the hoofs of the bulls and elephants being depicted by dots, and the peculiar mode of showing the tufts of hair at the tail ends of both the bull and the elephant by thick lines is archaic. Such figures can be compared with those on the early coins of Kosala which I ascribe to the pre-Nanda period, as well as on the early silver punch-marked coins of Mathurā which I attribute to the independent Surasena Kingdom of Mathurā in the 5th or early 4th century B.C., as mentioned in the Buddhist and Brahmanic literature;¹ these coins are, however, of a different standard weight, viz., of 45 grains, roughly 24 or 25 Ratis, and

¹ *JBORS.*, Vol. I, 1915, pp. 116; "Śaśūnāka Chronology" by K. P. Jayaswal.

thus belong to a period before Mahāpadma Nanda conquered these independent kingdoms in the 4th century B.C.

It may be pointed out here that the 1,059 silver punch-marked coins excavated at Taxila with coins of Alexander the Great and Philip Aridaeus "fresh from the mint" in 1924-1925 are of the Nanda period. Sir J. Marshall² thought these coins to be of Hindustan. Mr. Walsh³ was of opinion that they were of the Nanda period and some were a couple of centuries older than the coins of Alexander the Great. I have noticed many coins similar to Taxila coins are found mixed with local coins in every hoard discovered in Behar (Magadha) or the United Provinces and other places, showing that the early Nandas and after them the Mauryans introduced their imperial coinage of 32 Rati standard weight, bearing the conspicuous figures of sun and a six pointed wheel "Sadarchakra" in the early 5th century B.C.; hence their coins are found from one end of the country to the other. I, therefore, conclude that the present coins belong to the early 4th century B.C., before Mahāpadma Nanda conquered the Kurus who were then independent (about 366-338 B.C.). The coins were found in the District of Bijnor, which lies within the boundary of the ancient Brahmavarta or Kurukshetra region of the Kurus (*vide* Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, Map of Bhāratavarsha, pp. 514-515).

The coins may be taken to be the local coins of Kurukshetra, when it was an independent kingdom, and before Mahāpadma Nanda conquered it about the middle of the 4th century B.C. The Paṇas of 32 Ratis and their halves were current then. It may be pointed out here that I have already assigned local silver punch-marked coins to different independent kingdoms of the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries B.C., viz., to Kosala, Pañchāla, Surasena, Gandhāra, Kuntala, Saurāstra, and Andhra. (*vide*: Numismatic Supplement, Jubilee Number, XLVII, 1938).

The quantitative chemical analysis of coins of Classes I and II indicate a high percentage of silver in the alloy—about 80 per cent in coins of Class I and about 79.6 per cent. in the coins of Class II, copper and other impurities being nearly 20 to 20.4 per cent. respectively.

All the coins conform to 28 grains or 16 Ratis and are undoubtedly Ardha Paṇas; other hoards of Ardha Paṇas from different places are already known.

DURGA PRASAD.

- 2 Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1924-25, pp. 47-8.
- 3 *JRAS.*, 1937, pp. 614-615.

RARE OBLONG COINS FROM RAJGIR

[Plate III-A.]

A remarkable series of copper coins of oblong shape from Rajgir, the ancient Rājagriha, obviously issued at one and the same early period, appears to be a distinctly original contribution to ancient Indian coin types. That they are coins admits of little doubt as they have been found along with punch-marked and other early cast coins at Rajgir. For the same reason they must be considered to be of early date. In fact the uniform excellence of execution which distinguish these coins makes it probable that they are anterior to the rectangular cast coins with elephant and standard obverse and tree within railing accompanied by other symbols on the reverse, several varieties of which have been found at Rajgir as indeed in many other parts of Northern India, the execution of which in comparison is crude. The absence of any data makes it impossible to date the coins at present though systematic excavation at the site of ancient Rājagriha may help us to do so later on. For several weighty reasons I consider these extraordinary coins to be a series. They are of an uniform oblong shape and of the same size. In all of them the symbol figured on the coin is enclosed within a raised ornamental border formed by what look like the leaves of the date palm tree. It may be suggested that the border is formed of ears of corn but it is more likely that the border consists of date tree leaves. The date tree is found scattered throughout this part of the country and the leaves are to this day used as ornamental decorations of gateways etc., on festive occasions. The tree arch as a decorative motif is at least as old as Mohenjo Daro. The reverse side of all the coins is plain. An examination of the weight of different specimens in my cabinet shows that the coins fall into two groups—one group weighing approximately 51 grs. and the other consisting of thinner and lighter pieces weighing only about 31 grs. As regards weight also, therefore, these coins may be regarded as constituting a class by themselves. I give below a description of eleven varieties of this interesting and rare series which I have come across but before proceeding to do so I must correct an error in a recently published paper entitled "The Coins of Rajgir" the author of which has described them as "single-die coins". A careful examination of the coins, *e.g.*, No. 2, shows that they are em-

phatically *not* die-struck but are cast coins of rare workmanship. Of the varieties I have examined and described below, four only were known to S. Singh Roy, the writer of the above-mentioned paper, and have been described by him (NS., No. XLVI, Art. 329). Mr. M. B. L. Dar informs me that he has found coins similar to No. 1 at the old site of Ramnagar in Bareilly District. This only shows how wide was the circulation of coins even in ancient times. Similarly I have found coins generally assigned to Taxila along with finds from Rājgir.

1. *Obv.*—Within a raised border formed by branches of the date palm a combination of four of the well-known symbols which have been variously described as sun and crescent, ball and crescent, taurine or Nandipada, and which it may be suggested is an elementary form of the *Triratna* as illustrated in Pl. III, 1.

Rev.—Plain.

AE.—S. $\cdot 55 \times \cdot 45$. Wt. 51 grs.

2. *Obv.*—Within border as in No. 1 a combination of four of the same symbols but two of them are one below the other and two on either side as illustrated in Pl. III, 2.

Rev.—Plain.

AE.—S. $\cdot 55 \times \cdot 45$. Wt. 31 grs.

3. *Obv.*—Within raised border as in No. 1 an ornamental *Swastika* with the so-called taurine symbol on either side as illustrated in Pl. III, 3.

Rev.—Plain.

AE.—S. $\cdot 55 \times \cdot 45$. Wt. 28 grs.

4. *Obv.*—Within raised border as in No. 1 an ornamental symbol, which is evidently the '*Triratna*' on a stand. An almost similar but more ornate symbol is to be found on the reverse of coins of Jishnu Gupta and Pasupati of Nepal (*vide* C.C.A.I., Pl. XIII, 7). Two so-called taurines on either side. The coin is illustrated in Pl. III, 4.

Rev.—Plain.

AE.—S. $\cdot 55 \times \cdot 45$. Wt. 52 grs.

5. *Obv.*—Within raised border as in No. 1 a pair of scales with a rod on the r. side—*vide*: Pl. III, 5.

Rev.—Plain.

AE.—S. $\cdot 55 \times \cdot 45$. Wt. 31 grs.

6. *Obv.*—Within raised border as No. 1 an ornamental design in the shape of a volute with raised uncertain object on l., which may be only a defect in casting, as illustrated in Pl. III, 6. The design suggests a lotus bud with stalk in the form of a spiral.

Rev.—Plain.

AE.—S. $\cdot 55 \times \cdot 45$. Wt. 33 grs.

7. *Obv.*—Within raised border as in No. 1 figure of a nude woman facing front as illustrated in Pl. III, 7, representing probably the *abbisheka* of Lakshmi although the elephants on either side of the head are not distinct.

Rev.—Plain.

AE.—S. $\cdot 55 \times \cdot 45$. Wt. 51 grs.

8. *Obv.*—Within raised border as in No. 1 stag standing facing l., taurine on l., as illustrated in Pl. III, 8. I have suggested above that the so-called taurine may be an elementary form of the *Triratna*, the most sacred of Buddhist symbols. The presence of the symbol on this coin lends support to this suggestion as the stag is also associated with Buddhism.

Rev.—Plain.

AE.—S. $\cdot 55 \times \cdot 45$. Wt. 51 grs.

9. *Obv.*—Within raised border as in No. 1 a lady, probably a queen, wearing what looks like a crown, seated with her legs stretched in front, holding some object, which does not look like a lotus on three specimens I have examined, in her right hand. A male figure is facing her with hands clasped. On some coins there is a curved line which looks like a tail and hence the figure has been supposed to be a monkey; but this is not certain as on one coin the line looks like a leg. The seated figure occupies the r. side and the other figure the l. of the coin which is illustrated in Pl. III, 9.

Rev.—Plain.

AE.—S. $\cdot 55 \times \cdot 45$. Wt. 30 grs.

10. S. Singh Roy illustrates in his article above referred to (N.S., Art. 329, Pl. No. 1, No. 4) a coin similar to No. 9 above but slightly smaller and with the figures transposed. As in the

case of the other three oblong coins described by him he unfortunately omits to give any information as regards the size or weight of the coin.

11. *Obv.*—Same as No. 5 but the rod is on the l. side.

Rev.—Plain.

AE.—S. $\cdot 55 \times \cdot 45$. Wt. 50 grs.

Nos. 2, 8 and 9 on Pl. III, are reproduced from coins in the cabinet of Mr. Bahadur Singh Singhi; the remainder are in my own collection.

I have now acquired a small, irregular and much worn coin of type No. 8, weighing only 15 grs., which seems to be an exception to the series.

AJIT GHOSE.

A RARE GOLD COIN OF HUVISHKA

[Plate III-B]

The coin which is published¹ and discussed in this note is in the collection of Mr. C. J. Shah, M.A., and may be described as follows:

AV.


124.5 grains.

S. 0.8 inches.

Obv.—Half-length, nimbate figure of the King to left, rising from “clouds”, dressed in armour and round jewelled helmet (both indistinct because worn out), with flames coming out from his left shoulder (?), ‘club’ or ‘ankusa’, or an ‘ear of corn’ in the right hand, in the left a spear.²

Legend on the left: PAONANOPAO (OO ... the rest of the letters cut out in the die) i.e., Shaonano shao Ho (Veshki Koshano), “The King of Kings. Huvishka, the Kushān”.

Rev.—‘God of War’³ (ARES)⁴ nimbate standing to the right, wearing Greek type of helmet and armour, holding a spear in the right hand, and the left hand resting on shield.

Monogram  to the right.

Legend (beginning on the right from above the monogram) PAO, (then the god’s head and going over and down to the left) PHOPO i.e., PAOPHOPO i.e., Shaorcoro = Iranian Shāhrewar.

¹ Pl. III-B.

² Cf. Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1892, Series III, Vol. XII, Bust type B, pl. ix.

³ As called by Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. I, p. 79.

⁴ Smith, *Ibid.*, and Gardner, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum*, 1886, p. 148. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, 1892, p. 46-7, agreed with the view which regarded this god as the God of Wealth and the Lord of Metals and equated him with the Avestan Ksatra-vairya and identified him with the Indian Airavira or Kuvera. Further, on p. 62, n. 14, he said that as the god and his wife Riddhi presided over *metals*, they were represented in armour.

(1) For two reasons it may be called a rare¹ coin of Huvishka: The 'Sharewar' type is not as common as some other types of Huvishka and the present coin is from a hitherto unpublished die. The British Museum² has two coins of this type with the god facing r., and one slightly different³ in which he faces l.

(2) In all published specimens, the god's name appears complete in a straight or curved line either on the left or on the right, whereas in our coin the name begins from the left, from above the monogram and ends on the right, a portion being on either side of the figure. This in fact is the really important feature of this coin.

It is interesting to note that the king looks taller and thinner on this coin than on the coins published by Smith,⁴ Gardner,⁵ Cunningham⁶ and Fleet.⁷ Our coin also seems to have been considerably used as the legend, king's figure, god's armour, and shield are rather indistinct due to wear and tear.

H. D. SANKALIA.

¹ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 79. The Lahore Museum, when Whitehead wrote (*Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, 1914, p. 207), did not possess a single coin of this variety, nor has a coin of this type been published in any of the recognised journals since these catalogues were published.

² Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 148; pl. xxviii, 17 and 19; Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pl. xxii, 8-9.

³ *Ibid.*, pl. xxviii, 18; *Ibid.*, pl. xxii, 10.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pl. xii, 8, 10, 14, 15.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pl. xxiii, 9.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pl. ix and *JASB.*, Vol. xii, p. 434-35, figs. 2 and 3.

⁷ *JRAS.*, 1908, pl. i.

SOME REMARKS ON THE COINS OF THE ANDHRA PERIOD

The Andhra period of ancient Indian history offers many interesting problems for study. In examining the coins and inscriptions associated with the Andhras one comes across such titles as *rāja*, 'svāmi', 'rāstrapati', e.g., 'daksināpathapati', 'kṣtrapa', mahākṣtrapa' etc. In this connection the distinction between what we call a 'king' in English and a 'rāja' should be borne in mind. A 'king' is an independent ruler whereas a 'rāja' is not necessarily so. The title 'rāja' should not therefore be translated as 'king'. Much confusion has resulted from this. The titles 'mahārāja', 'rājadhirāja' and 'mahārājadhirāja' on the other hand have often been used as epithets of sovereignty. At the present time there has been a degradation of these terms also so that mahārājas and mahārājadhirājas exist who are merely landlords.

It seems that during the Andhra period the titles kṣtrapa and mahākṣtrapa were originally used by provincial rulers of Parthian or Scythian descent acknowledging suzerainty of some paramount power. Very likely their relations with the paramount power consisted merely in the payment of tribute of some sort. They were free to mint their own coins, wage war against neighbouring provinces and act in any other way they liked. It is probable that a kṣtrapa was often subordinate to a mahākṣtrapa who was the direct tributary of the paramount power. A mahākṣtrapa might have several kṣtrapas under him. Sometimes a kṣtrapa would wage war on other kṣtrapas and usurp their dominions and, perhaps by paying a higher tribute to the paramount power, would be recognized as a mahākṣtrapa. Mahākṣtrapas and kṣtrapas often ruled contemporaneously. (*Rapson, E. J., Cat. of the Coins of the Andhras in the B.M.*, p. xxvii. n.). It appears also that the paramount power did not bother itself as to who became the kṣtrapa or mahākṣtrapa of a particular province so long as it received the stipulated tribute.

In later periods, rulers of Indian descent also sometimes styled themselves kṣtrapas or mahākṣtrapas after having ousted rulers of Scythian descent from their possessions. Perhaps the association of these titles with a particular province was so firm owing to long continued rule by foreigners to whom the epithets properly belonged that when any Indian stepped into their place he found it more convenient to use the same designations in state matters as those of his predecessors. The facts collected about

the western satraps of the Andhra period by Rapson (*Op. cit.*, c, ci) would serve to support the validity of the above assumptions.

Rulers of different provinces under a paramount power in ancient India can be placed under different classes. In the first place, we might have kings who had lost their original independence as a result of aggrandisement of the paramount power and had become tributary to it. In describing Raghu's conquests, Kalidasa compares such defeated kings with the paddy plant which yields grains when uprooted and planted again. The conqueror who after defeating an independent king reinstated him as tributary has been called 'dharmavijayi' or the righteous conqueror. (*Raghuvamśa*, 4. 37-43). In the second place, provincial rulers of one paramount power might transfer their allegiance to another as a result of military conquest by the latter. Greek satrapies under Seleukus were transferred to Chandragupta after the defeat of the former. In the third place, special officials might be appointed by the paramount power to rule over certain provinces, e.g. a military commander might be appointed as a governor in a province liable to invasions by other powers (Kaniska's governors). Fourthly, princes of the royal blood and relations of the royal family might be appointed irrespective of their merits in certain provinces. Sometimes minor princes occupied the position of provincial rulers under the protection of some elderly person of the royal blood. Khāravēla's inscription records that he was a Yuvarāj at sixteen.

It is conceivable that a prince of the royal line in his capacity as a provincial ruler might come into conflict with a neighbouring governor under the same paramount power just as different kṣtrapas might fight among themselves and it is further conceivable that the paramount power would remain neutral in such fights so long as it received its revenues from one party or another. The posts of provincial governors, except in the cases of the princes of the royal blood who would succeed to the throne of the paramount ruler, were generally hereditary. An examination of the coin legends and inscriptions of the Andhra period shows that the prefix "śri" was used only by persons of the royal family. The satraps, although they called themselves 'rājās', did not put the honorific 'śri' before their names; on the other hand we find legends of royal personages in which only 'śri' occurs and no 'rājā'; the title 'rājā' without the 'śri' was very likely confined to provincial rulers only and when it is found associated with a 'śri' it is even then no bar to the supposition that the person of the royal blood might have been a provincial

governor at the time the coin bearing the legend was struck or the inscription carved.

The provincial rulers during the Andhra period issued coins and it is quite likely that a prince of the royal blood also issued coins in his own name during the period of his provincial governorship. Rapson writes—"Indian coin types are essentially local in character. At no period with which we are acquainted, whether in the history of ancient or of mediaeval India, has the same kind of coinage been current throughout any of the great empires. Each province of such an empire has, as a rule, retained its own peculiar coinage, and this with so much conservatism in regard to the types and the fabric of the coins, that the main characteristics of these have often remained unchanged, not only by changes of dynasty but even by the transference of power from one race to another." (Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. xi, xii). The obvious conclusion that can be drawn from the facts noted by Rapson is that the paramount power never troubled itself with the issue of coins—a function which was left to the discretion of the provincial rulers. The central government, it seems, before the Guptas at any rate, did not attach much importance to the minting of coins and in the case of big empires it is doubtful whether any special central imperial coin was ever issued. This would explain the absence of any coin bearing the name of emperors such as Asoka on the one hand and the great preponderance of coins belonging to the satraps on the other. The conservatism in coin types that Rapson has noticed would make any guess regarding the age of a particular type of script on any coin in the absence of dates a hazardous game.

In view of the indifference of the central government to provincial coins it is extremely unlikely that the imperial power would think of restriking any coin to commemorate any victory as has been supposed in the case of the restruck coins of Nahapāna. It is practically impossible for any imperial power to call back all coins of a particular type in circulation merely for the purpose of restriking them. This method of commemorating a victory, to say the least, can only attain partial success. Then again in considering the problem of the restriking of coins one has to remember that of three Andhra kings Vāsiṣṭhiputra, Vilivāyakura, Māthariputra Sivālakura and Gautamiputra Vili-vāyakura, all apparently belonging to the same family, each of the last two restruck coins of his predecessor or predecessors. There is no evidence to show that this was done to commemorate any victory of one over the other or others.

Double struck coins belong to the same category as restruck coins. Such coins of Gautamiputra Vilivāyakura and of Gautamiputra Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi have been found. Restruck punch-marked coins have also been found suggesting the possibility that the restriking was done when the original markings got effaced by usage. (*Walsh: Punch-marked silver coins; their standard of weight, age and mint, JRAS., 1937, Apr.*). In view of these considerations the argument that restriking of a coin by another king is a proof of military victory on his part loses much of its force. It is difficult to say in the absence of any definite information what might have led to the restriking of particular coins. The hypothesis of military victory is only one possibility among many, and this hypothesis fails altogether when applied to double struck coins and to restriking by successive kings belonging to the same family. It is probable that just as we have special coronation medals struck at the time of accession of kings at the present time, coins were similarly restruck in ancient times on special occasions for distribution as alms etc. This would explain the presence of coins that have been restruck by a king of the same family as the one issuing the original coin and also of double struck coins bearing the same legend of the same king twice. This explanation will be especially applicable to those cases in which there is no sign of any effacement of the original stamping due to usage. Effacement of the original markings, whether as a result of usage or of any other factor, will very likely account for restriking in a certain percentage of cases as has already been stated.

The denominational values of ancient coins were very likely in the majority of cases greater than their intrinsic values. If anybody was fortunate enough to discover a hoard of coins belonging to a former reign in those days the only way to utilize the coins profitably would be to get them restamped with the current legend by the state mint and release them for circulation. Melting the coins would not be a business proposal. It is mentioned in *Manusamhitā* and *Mitākṣarā* that if any person, other than a learned brahmin, discovers a hidden treasure the king shall appropriate one-sixth or one-twelfth of the amount. A learned brahmin discoverer of a hoard may keep the whole of it for himself. If anybody fails to intimate the discovery of a treasure hoard to the state he shall forfeit the whole of it, and the king shall punish the discoverer suitably. (*Manu. 8. 35. 39. Mitākṣarā-Vyavahārādhyaya 34, 35*). It is therefore quite likely that in the event of a discovery of a hoard of coins, not current

at the time, the government would restamp the coins, take a part of the same for its own coffers and give the rest to the discoverer.

Since the title 'rājā' was very likely associated with provincial governorship any inscription or coin legend bearing that title conjointly with the royal prefix 'Śrī' would indicate that it was executed during the period of provincial reign of the prince. In the case of Yajña Śrī of the Puranas, about whose identification with Gautamiputra Svāmi Śrī Yajña Sātakarni of the inscriptions not much doubt exists, the Puranas record a regnal period of nine years only while we find from inscriptions that he reigned for at least twenty seven years. A long period of provincial rule was not likely to be followed by another long period of imperial reign except in the case of a prince who happened to have ruled as a minor under the guardianship of somebody else during his governorship. If we assume that Yajña Śrī had been a provincial ruler before he became a king and that the inscription mentioning the 27th year of his reign (*Rapson, op. cit.*, p. LII) was incised during this period we can get the total period of Yajña Śrī's reign by adding the minimum of 27 years as governor to 9 years as an imperial ruler as mentioned in the Puranas. There is the other possibility that the inscription was carved while Yajña Śrī was an imperial ruler; this would give a minimum of 18 years as the period of his provincial reign. The large variety of the coins that Yajña Śrī struck is, from this standpoint, to be considered as a corroborative evidence of his long period of provincial governorship at different places. As mentioned before no coin of Yajña Śrī is to be expected for the period of his reign as the paramount lord.

Gautamiputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarni like his illustrious ancestor and namesake Gautamiputra Śrī Sātakarni, the 6th Andhra king, was a powerful monarch. The variety of his coins and the extent of their provenance clearly show his superior position among the Andhra kings. For some reason which cannot be definitely specified restruck and double struck Andhra coins begin to make their appearance from the time of the Viḷivāyakuras downwards. The restruck coins of Nahapāna, however, are generally ascribed to Gautamiputra Sātakarni, the sixth king, wrongly supposed to be the 23rd king. I have an impression that these coins, all of which, without any exception, are to be traced to a single hoard viz., the Joghalembhi find, were restruck at the time of Yajña Śrī. Many years had elapsed at the time of Yajña Śrī since Nahapāna issued his coins. Somebody found the hoard and had a portion of them restruck in order to be able to

use the coins. That there was no original coin of Gautamiputra or of anybody else in the hoard is a strong proof of the fact that the restamping was done after the hoard had been found. Nahapāna's coins seem to have been restruck with different dies. It is likely that in order to avoid the confiscation of any part of the hoard by the state under the treasure-trove act of the times the discoverer was getting the coins re-stamped in small quantities in different places representing them to be his heirloom. This must have been a slow process. The discoverer died leaving the hoard hidden, and a part of it unstamped. Scott writes:—"The great variety of dies used in making the counter impression is as noticeable as the variety in the case of Nahapāna's coins to which I have drawn attention. The work was evidently done by many different workmen, of very different abilities, and probably at many different places". (*Rev. H. R. Scott: The Nasik-Joghaltembhi Hoard of Nahapāna's coins* J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. XXII., p. 241). Rapson writes:—"The latter class (restruck coins of Nahapāna), which comprises more than two-thirds of the total number of coins found, has, struck over the ordinary types of Nahapāna, the Andhra types, obv, 'Chaitya with inscr'.: rev. 'Ujjain symbol', which appear together on lead coins of Puṣumāvi, Śiva Śrī, Chanda Śati and Śrī Yajña, but which had not previously been found associated on coins of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi. So far as is known at present, these types were not used for any independent silver coinage, but were simply employed for the purpose of re-issuing the existing currency". (*Rapson, op. cit.*, p. lxxxix).

The facts noted above will be best explained by the supposition that Gautamiputra Śrī Sātakarṇi did not issue any coin having ascended the imperial throne without a probationary period of provincial governorship. On the other hand Yajña Śrī had a long period of provincial reign viz., 18 years or more, and it is he that is responsible for all the coins bearing the legend 'Gautamiputra Śrī Sātakarṇi'. The conch-shell symbol, if it has been correctly deciphered, that exists in the coin ascribed to Gautamiputra Śrī Sātakarṇi (*Rapson, op. cit.*, p. 17) is peculiar to Gautamiputra Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi; this is another argument in favour of the assertion that Gautamiputra Śrī Sātakarṇi, the 6th king, the so-called conqueror of Nahapāna, did not mint any coin at all.

I should like to point out that king Kṛṣṇa of the Nasik inscription (Lüders No. 1144) and of the coin (*Rapson, op. cit.*, p. 48) may not after all be the second Pauranic king of the same

name. There is another Kṛṣṇa apparently of the Satavāhana sub-clan, in the Pauranic list viz., No. 16 who has been called Nemikṛṣṇa (Vāyu) or Goraksakṛṣṇa (Viṣṇu-Purāṇa—Wilson). He may very well be the person mentioned in the inscription and the coin. Martin has described two coins of Puḷumavi with the legends 'Śiva Siri Puḷumavisa' and 'Vasiṣṭhiputa Śiva Siri Puḷumavisa' respectively. (JASB. Num. Sup., 1934, No. 318. p. 61. N). These coins raise grave doubts about the hitherto accepted identifications of the several Puḷumavis appearing in the Pauranic list; in view of this find, ascribing a particular coin to a particular Puḷumavi becomes a very difficult if not an impossible task. There is nothing to show in the coins themselves whether all of them that have the legend Puḷumavi belong to the same king or to different kings bearing the same name. The name found in Martin's coins 'Śivaśri' suggests the later Andhras. According to the Anandāśram Matsya the name of the 25th king is Śivaśri Puḷoma; Viṣṇu calls him Sātakarṇi Śivaśri, the Radcliff manuscript calls him simply Śivaśri. Very likely the coins with the legend 'Vasiṣṭhiputra Śiva Śri Puḷumavi' are to be ascribed to this king. K. N. Dikshit has lately described a copper coin with the legend 'Rano Śivaśiris Āpilakasa (JASB. Num. Sup. XLVII. pp. 93, 94 N). This coin may be ascribed to the eighth king tentatively.

GIRINDRASEKHAR BOSE.

WAS JĪVADĀMAN A MAHĀKṢATRAPA MORE THAN ONCE ?

[Plate III-C.]

The relations between Jīvadāman and his uncle Rudrasīmha I are still shrouded in mystery. The numismatic data on the point are insufficient and inconclusive and have given rise to divergent interpretations. Rapson has advanced the view that Jīvadāman was a Mahākṣatrapa more than once. There is no doubt that he was occupying this exalted position during the Śaka years 118 and 119. Numismatic evidence is clear on the point and has been accepted by all. Rapson however holds that it is almost certain that he was a Mahākṣatrapa in the Śaka year 100, and that it is very probable that he had again acquired this high office during the years 110-12. He admits that there are no coins found so far which prove definitely that Jīvadāman was a Mahākṣatrapa during this period; but since his uncle Rudrasīmha issues coins during this period only with the title Kṣatrapa, it may be presumed that he was reduced to this lower position by the successful reassertion of power by Jīvadāman. Rapson recognises the possibility of a foreign power reducing Rudrasīmha to a subordinate position, but holds that this is not probable.

Dr. Bhandarkar and Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit dissent from this view. They attribute the degradation of Rudrasīmha during the years 110-112 to the successful invasion of Īśvara-datta Ābhira; they doubt whether Jīvadāman was at all a Mahākṣatrapa during the years 100-103. They point out that even Rapson concedes the possibility of a unit or decimal figure, or both, having vanished from the coin in question. They therefore hold that Jīvadāman became a Mahākṣatrapa only after the year 118.

If, however, we examine the coins concerned very carefully from Rapson's Catalogue, Plate XI, we are driven to the conclusion that Jīvadāman must have been a Mahākṣatrapa during two periods separated from each other by a fairly long interval. It is no doubt true that it is not impossible that a figure for a unit or a decimal or both may have disappeared from the coin No. 288, Pl. XI, of Rapson's Catalogue; this mere possibility is, however, altogether negatived by the evidence of features, which has escaped the attention of both Dr. Bhandarkar and

Prof. Rapson. Coins Nos. 289 to 291 of Rapson's Catalogue were issued during the years 118-119; the features of Jivādāman as shown on them, are decidedly old-looking and careworn (see Plate III-C, 2-3.). On the other hand, on the coin number 288, Jivādāman is portrayed as an energetic, full blooded and youthful ruler, whose age could not then have been more than 25 or 30 at the most (see Plate III-C, 1.). The age worn features on the coins issued during the year 118-119 show that Jivādāman then could not have been less than 45. It is thus clear that the coin No. 288 must have been issued at least 15 to 20 years earlier than the coins Nos. 289-291, which are definitely known to have been issued sometimes during the period 100-103. It is, therefore, hardly possible that it could have had any figure for the decimal.

Can we rely on the evidence of features for determining this important point? Were features so accurately portrayed by Kṣatrapa mint-masters as to warrant a conclusion about the age of the monarchs at the time of the issue of the coins concerned? The question has to be answered in the affirmative at least as far as the early period of the Kṣatrapa dynasty is concerned. Rudraśiṃha I ruled as a Mahākṣatrapa for about 15 years with an interval of two years. His features on the coins issued in the years 105-6 are decidedly much younger than those on his coins issued in 118 or 119 (See Rapson, Pl. XI, Nos. 295-6, and 320, 321). Rudrasena I ruled for 23 years; we find similar difference in features between his early and late coins (Rapson, *Ibid*, Pl. XII, cf. No. 328 issued in the year 121 with No. 362 issued in the year 139).

The evidence of features of the bust thus proves that Jivādāman was a Mahākṣatrapa early in his life during the period 100-103, when he was a young man of about 30. It is clear that he was superseded in 103 by his uncle Rudraśiṃha I, who continued to keep him out of his inheritance down to the year 118. It would appear that he died in that year, and then only it became possible for Jivādāman to ascend the throne once more as a Mahākṣatrapa. Whether during the period 110-112 Rudraśiṃha was reduced to the subordinate rank of a Kṣatrapa by Jivādāman or by Īśvaradatta Ābhira is a question that can be satisfactorily solved only by further discoveries of coins.

IMPORTANT COINS FROM BARODA STATE.

[Plate IV.]

The object of this paper is to place before scholars information regarding the varieties of pre-Muhammadan Indian coins so far discovered in the state including some new types of coins that the Archæological Department of Baroda has come across and their find-spots. Some of the coins are, as far as I can ascertain, quite new and not met with in any of the published catalogues of Indian coins. Such coins I have tentatively classed as tribal and a full description of them is given at the end so that more experienced numismatists may be enabled to pronounce their opinion about them. Baroda yielded ancient coins, especially of the Western Kṣatrapas, as far back as 1876, when they were found while digging the foundation of the New Central Jail and the Baroda College. The inauguration of the Archæological Department in Baroda under the kind patronage of H.H. the late Maharaja Sayajirao III and his enlightened Dewan, Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar, has given an added stimulus to the scientific study of coins and other archæological finds in Baroda. The present article is due to the opportunities I had of studying the pre-Muhammedan coins under my *Guru*, Dr. Hirānanda Śāstri, the head of the Baroda Archæological Department. The coins from Amreli were secured by Dr. Śāstri either by excavation or purchase, and those from Kāmrej (Navasari District), the ancient Kamanē of Ptolemy (*cir.* 150 A.D.), mainly by presentation. Amreli is head-quarters of the *taluk* of that name of the Baroda State and is situated in southern Kāthiāwād. As elsewhere the rainy season brings antiquities to the surface of ancient sites in this locality and enthusiastic local collectors of antiquities, like Mr. Prataprai Mehta, have been known to store such finds for a very long period. This place has yielded us 2 Avanti or Ujjain coins, an Andhra (?), piece (?), several silver, copper, potin and lead coins of the Western Kṣatrapas and a hoard of 2,000 silver coins of Kumāragupta I. Of these the Avanti and Kṣatrapa coins are important finds. The find of the former coins at Amreli is unique as Avanti coins have so far not been obtained in Saurāṣṭra, though at least under Valabhi rule Saurāṣṭra and Ujjain are known to have been under one rule. Even in the Maurya and later days Ujjain was the seat of the viceroyalty governing the Western provinces including Kāthiāwād. These coins are assigned roughly to about 200

B.C. Among the Kṣatrapa coins found at Amreli there are silver coins of Rudrasena I, one silver piece of Viśvasiṃha and 2 silver coins of Svāmi Rudrasena III. The rest are either square lead pieces of Svāmi Rudrasena III, or nameless potin coins of Vīradāman (*cir.* Śaka 157) and a few copper coins of a totally new variety. A good many square lead pieces are defaced and blank on both the sides. In shape and weight they definitely resemble the known lead pieces of Svāmi Rudrasena III. Although Āndhra rule was established over Sorath or Kāthiāwād for a short time, as is evidenced by the Nasik cave inscription of Queen Balaśri, it is not possible in my opinion, to attribute these coins to the Āndhras as no Āndhra coins of similar shape and weight are known. It is safer to attribute them to Svāmi Rudrasena III. Important Kṣatrapa coins are described in detail in this paper.

Kāmrej is the head-quarters of a *taluk* of that name of the Navasari District of the Baroda Raj. It is situated on the banks of the Tāpi about 25 miles from its mouth. Kāmrej and another town named Kathor near it have given us coins of many varieties. Indeed Kāmrej must have been an important trade centre, perhaps next to Bhrigukaccha, where currency of sorts was used. Ptolemy mentions it as Kamanè and Kamanijja is its name according to the Rāshtrakūṭa grants. The earliest coins secured from this place are 17 punch-marked coins or *Kārṣāpaṇas*. Some of them are of silver and the rest of copper. They are either circular or square in shape. The can be assigned to the later period of punch-marked coins which are generally assigned to *cir.* 300 B.C. The other varieties found here consist of Avanti coins, rectangular cast coins, anomalous circular cast coins, Āndhra pieces, Kṣatrapa coins, Traikūṭaka, Gupta and Valabhi varieties, Gadhaiyas and 27 unassignable coins, which have been tentatively classed as tribal. The coins of the last variety cannot be ascribed to any known dynasty. They have on either side symbols not met with elsewhere.

The twenty-six coins described below and illustrated in the plate are of rare types.

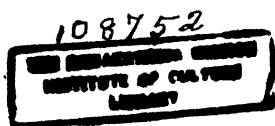
I. Avanti or Ujjain coins:—

Pl. IV, 1. Æ; 30 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—A vase; railing of a tree.

Rev.—*Svastika* with bars attached to the ends of the cross-bars, turned to the left.

This turn to the left is generally considered inauspicious. The *Svastika* is a very ancient symbol and can be traced back to the Indus Valley



Civilization period. We know of punch-marked Avanti and other coins having a *Svastika* with a turn to the right. As far as I can ascertain this coin and the coin No. 9 described below are the only examples of later coins showing the *svastika* symbol with a turn to the left. This turn to the left was in vogue in pre-historic times as is evident from a majority of the Mohenjo-Daro seals (Marshall, Sir J., Mohenjo-Daro, Pl. XIV, 502, 508, 506 and 515).

Pl. IV, 2. Æ; 60 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—A three-headed standing deity with a staff in the right hand and a *kamāṇḍalu* in the left—god Mahākāla (?); tree to the right.

Rev.—Part of 'taurine' symbol; a frog with long nails and without the bulging head.

The three-headed deity and the tree are to be seen on the obverse of a small circular coin illustrated by Cunningham in his *Coins of Ancient India*, Pl. X. 6, and the frog is observed in the same book, Pl. X. 13. So our square coin gives us a new type with the obverse and the reverse combined from two different coins in one. We see a frog represented in some Mohenjo-Daro seals, e.g., CXVIII, No. 10 of Vol. III of Sir John Marshall's book, and on punch-marked coins. Thus again ancient pre-historic traditions are continued in the Avanti coins. See coin No. 1 above.

Pl. IV, 3. Æ; circular; 29 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—Hill; dots; crescents; a trident on a base—to its staff is added the sharp edge of an axe. (Cf. *Coins of Ancient India*, Pl. XII. 12).

Rev.—Dotted circular border; dots; tree, etc.

Pl. IV, 4. Æ; sq.; 14 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—Sun-symbol consisting of arrow-heads attached to the central boss; railing of a tree to its right.

Rev.—*Svastika* with crescents attached to the ends of the bars turned to the right.

The symbol on the obverse is found on late punch-marked coins and Mr. Durga Prasad calls it a *śaḍara-chakra*.

Pl. IV, 5. Æ; sq.; 37 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—On the *obverse* we have a three-headed deity, pos-

sibly Mahākāla, with a staff in the right hand and a *kamaṇḍalu* in the left—it is now not visible.

Rev.—On the *reverse* we have the Ujjain symbol with crosses in circles.

This coin is noteworthy on account of the combination of crosses with the plain usual Ujjain symbol. But for this feature it resembles the coin in *CAI*. Pl. X, 6.

Pl. IV, 6. Æ; sq.; 71 grs.; Kāmrej. Cf. *CAI*. Pl. X, 5.

Obv.—Three-headed deity with a crescent-topped staff in his right hand and a *kamaṇḍalu* in the left; tree to the right; some indistinct symbols.

Rev.—3 'taurine' symbols; part of a frog.

Pl. IV, 7. Æ; cir.; 32 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—On the *obverse* of this circular coin we have a human figure squatting in the oriental fashion beside a tree surrounded by a railing. Below the figure is probably a seat.

Rev.—On the *reverse* we have a circular border of the 'taurine' symbols; a circle; inside the circle there is the Ujjain symbol in the circles of which there are dots. Taurine symbols alternate with the circles or dots of the Ujjain symbol.

Whereas in the coin described by Cunningham in *CAI*. Pl. X, 10, the tree in railing is to the right of the figure, in our coin it is to its left. Cunningham's coin shows no circular border of the taurine symbols. Thus this coin is an interesting new type.

Pl. IV, 8. Æ; sq.; 42 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—On the *obverse* of this coin we see a man squatting and to his left is a tree within railing. There are some indistinct symbols.

Rev.—On the *reverse* there is the Ujjain symbol with *bindus* or dots in its circles.

Pl. IV, 9. Æ; cir.; 21 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—On the *obverse* is a *svastika* with part of dotted border.

Rev.—On the *reverse* we have a vase in a border of dots or *bindu-mālā*. Here as in coin No. 1 the bars attached to the intersecting lines are turned to the left.

II. Anonymous Cast Coins.

Pl. IV, 10. Æ; cir.; 33 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—3-arched *chaitya* with a crescent above.

Rev.—Elephant facing left with a rider on its back.

The main interest of this coin is that the rider is clearly seen and this feature had not been noticed before either by Cunningham or Smith.

III. Kṣatrapa Coins.

Both Amreli and Kāmrej have given us new and interesting specimens of Kṣatrapa coins. I notice here only important pieces:

Pl. IV, 11. Viradāman (?); potin; 13 grs.; Amreli.

Obv.—Defaced.

Rev.—Traces of a *chaitya*; wavy line; date 157.

Pl. IV, 12. Viradāman (?); potin; 19 grs.; Amreli.

Obv.—Defaced; faint traces of an elephant.

Rev.—3-arched *chaitya*; wavy line; date 158.

These two interesting coins were purchased at Amreli. Though they bear no name of the king, the dates read would show that they belong to the reign of Kṣatrapa Viradāman. Prof. Rapson on pp. 122-23 of his *Catalogue of Indian Coins: Āndhras and Western Kṣatrapas* has described similar coins and has remarked that they belong to a period after 158 (= 236 A.D.). He had not succeeded in reading a date on any of the coins he has described. But, eminent numismatist as he was, he has ascribed with remarkable accuracy the coins to 158 and after of the Śaka era. In foot-note 2 on page 122 he remarks—"In place of the date some meaningless dots appear in the exergue." The coins described by me have a defaced obverse and consequently fail to show the elephant described by Rapson. But the reverse is quite clear and I have read the dates which to Rapson appeared as dots in the exergue. The earliest date read by me is 157 which is one year earlier than 158 after which Rapson has proposed to date this type of coins.

Pl. IV, 13. S. Rudrasena III.; lead; 9 grs.; Amreli.

Obv.—Bull facing left.

Rev.—Hill with clusters of stars on both sides and over the top; date at the bottom reads 28—.

Here and in coin No. 15 below the bull on

the *obverse* is seen facing left. In the published coins of this king the bull is seen facing right only. This is an interesting feature which makes this coin of a new type.

Pl. IV, 14. S. Rudrasena III.; lead; 50 grs.; Amreli.

Obv.—Bull facing right; Sun over its back; wavy line at the bottom.

Rev.—Hill; crescent over its top; wavy line at the bottom; and date below it reads 291.

Pl. IV, 15. S. Rudrasena III.; lead; 48 grs.; Amreli.

Obv.—Bull facing left.

Rev.—Hill, stars etc.

Pl. IV, 16. Svāmī Rudrasena III (cf. Rapson, Pl. XVII. 889-890) Lead; 39 grs. Kāmrej.

Obv.—Humped bull standing facing right; sq. border of dots; a crescent and two unidentified symbols above the bull.

Rev.—*Chaitya* or hill; wavy line; the Sun and the Moon; a *triśūla*; dotted border; date below *Chaitya* 28—. This addition of a *triśūla* on the reverse makes this coin interesting and it is, therefore, of a new type.

Pl. IV, 17. S. Rudrasena III.; Æ; 21 grs.; Amreli.

Obv.—Bull facing right.

Rev.—Dotted square border; 3-arched *Chaitya*; stars; wavy lines; traces of date. [2]8—.

This is a rare copper coin. From the date read it would be seen that it belongs to the reign of Svāmī Rudrasena III, and it resembles in its symbols the lead coins of that king. No copper coins of this king are known. For similar lead coins see Rapson's *Catalogue of Indian Coins: Āndhras and Western Kṣātrapas*, Plate XVII, Nos. 389, 390. Copper square coins are illustrated on Plate XII, Nos. 326-327 of the same work. The essential difference is that in our coins the bull faces right, while there it faces front. Those coins are described by Rapson as without name and date and assigned to a much earlier period, i.e., the second half of the second century A.D. The date of our coin partially read and its resemblance to the lead coins lead me to attribute it to Svāmī Rudrasena III.

Pl. IV, 18. Kṣātrapa. Æ; 49 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—Six-peaked hill with a crescent above it; date indistinct.

Rev.—The Sun at the centre with legend in *Brāhmī* round it:—*Rajño Mahākṣatra*... This is a rare type of Kṣatrapa coin with a six-arched hill and the Sun symbol.

IV. Unassignable or Tribal Coins.

Pl. IV, 19. Æ; cir.; 16 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—Sun symbol.

Rev.—Legend in *Brāhmī* "*Parama*". The Sun-symbol is found in punch-marked coins also. The *Brāhmī* of the legend is of the early centuries of the Christian era.

Pl. IV, 20. Potin; rectangular; 79 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—Sun-symbol as on the Ujjain coins; bull to its left facing right.

Rev.—Defaced.

Pl. IV, 21. Potin; sq.; 61 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—Wheel or *dharmachakra* (?); square dotted border. This symbol is found on Punch-marked coins also.

Rev.—Square dotted border and circular spot or dot in relief.

Pl. IV, 22. Potin; sq.; 59 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—A squatting female in dotted circular border.

Rev.—Dotted square border with some floral design inside.

Pl. IV, 23. Æ; sq.; 80 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—Horse facing right with a *svastika* over its head.

Rev.—Blank.

Pl. IV, 24. Æ; circular; 17 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—*Śaṅkha* in the centre and some illegible legend round it.

Rev.—Dotted circular border with the word '*Charitra*' in *Brāhmī* inside it.

Pl. IV, 25. Æ; cir.; 27 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—Dotted and plain circular borders, with a swan inside.

Rev.—Dotted circular border with a *triśūla* at the centre.

Pl. IV, 26. Æ; sq. 48 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—Dotted square border with a flower inside.

Rev.—Dotted square border with probably a crude representation of a man inside.

A UNIQUE HALF DĪNĀR OF CHANDRAGUPTA II.

[Plate V-A.]

A few months back this coin was offered to and acquired by the Prince of Wales Museum. It is a half piece of Chandragupta II, Archer type. It is in a good state of preservation and on closer and detailed examination, it is found to be a genuine piece. The technique as well as the workmanship is quite up to the mark and there are signs of ample wear and tear on both sides.

Weight—57·5 Grs. Size—6.

Obv.—King standing left, nimbate, holding bow in left hand and arrow in right. Garuḍa standard on left.
Legend 'Chandra' with letters one below the other under left arm between the string and the body.

Rev.—Goddess, nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding fillet in outstretched right hand and lotus in left hand.
Lower stroke of 'Kra' of 'Śri Vikrama' near the left elbow.

Smaller denominations of coins are to be had in India both before and after the Gupta coinage and their sudden disappearance during the Gupta period is almost inexplicable, the more so because full coins are to be had in such large numbers throughout the limits of the Gupta empire. It was believed that most probably Gupta princes never issued smaller denominations. I was hesitating a lot before putting this coin before the numismatic world. I wrote to some of my friends, who are either collectors of Gupta coins or have specialised in them. Mr. Durgā Prasād informs me that half dinārs of Kumāragupta, horseman type, are known and one such is with Mr. Śrī Nāth Sāh of Benares.¹ All others have expressed their ignorance of the existence of half dinārs of this type. Unfortunately I could not get the specimen of Mr. Śrī Nāth Sāh and hence I am unable to give any particulars of that coin.

G. V. ACHARYA.

¹ Mr. Śrī Nath Sāh's coin is not a half dinar as the weight of the piece is the same as of the average Gupta gold coin, though the size is about half the usual size, it being a thicker coin.—Ed., JNSI.

A NEW VARIETY OF THE LION-SLAYER TYPE OF CHANDRAGUPTA II.

[Plate V-B.]

The Lion-slayer type of Chandragupta II forms such an interesting series among Gupta coins that any variety unnoticed before is worth recording. In Numismatic Supplement No. XLVI, Art. 332, II, I drew attention to the "Dagger variety" of Samudragupta's Standard type. I have since acquired a beautiful specimen of Chandragupta II's Lion Slayer type, Class I, var. *a*, in which the king is represented as wearing a dagger aslant on his right side. Particulars of the coin are given below.

AV. S. .8. Wt. 123 grains.

Obv.—King standing dressed in waist cloth and sash and wearing jewellery, with dagger aslant at waist, left hand holding bow and right stretching bow string, lion falling backward to r.

Inscr.—*Chandra*.

Rev.—*Śīṃhavāhini* (Pārvati seated on lion), holding noose in r. and cornucopia in l. hand, lion facing l.

Inscr.—*Śīṃhavikramah*.

Symbol on l., above a row of five dots, cut.

AJIT GHOSE.

GOLD COINS OF THREE KINGS OF THE NALA DYNASTY.

[Plate V-C.]

These coins are from a hoard which was discovered in 1939 at the village Edengā in the Konḍegaon¹ *tahsil* of the Bastar State in the Eastern States Agency. Some coins of the hoard were melted away by a goldsmith before the State authorities came to know of the discovery. Ultimately thirty-two coins were recovered, all of which were kindly sent for examination to the Central Museum, Nagpur, by Mr. E. C. Hyde, I.C.S., Administrator of the Bastar State. But for the prompt steps taken by Mr. Hyde, this unique hoard would have been completely lost to us. The Curator of the Museum very kindly placed the coins at my disposal for publication.

All the thirty-two coins are in a state of excellent preservation. They are round in shape and are manufactured from thin sheets of gold. They are all single-die coins, with the device and the legend embossed in relief on the obverse. The reverse is blank. According to their size, the coins fall into two groups—the larger ones, which number ten, measure from 20 to 21 millimeters in diameter and weigh from 19·7 to 24·6 grains each, while the smaller ones, twenty-two in number, are about 15 millimeters in diameter and weigh about 7½ grains each. The space on the obverse of each coin is divided into two parts by lines, from one to three in number, drawn diameterwise. Above these appear the figures of the humped bull (Nandi) and the crescent and below the legend of the king who issued it. The figure of the bull is very beautifully executed especially on the coin of Bhavadatta. From the devices and legends on these coins they can further be classified as follows:—

I. Coins of Varāharāja

(A) Larger size—Here two types can be distinguished—

Type (i)—Six coins—Av. S. 21 mm., W. 19·7 grs.
Obv.—Inside a circle of dots along the edge, a couchant humped bull facing left with the crescent in front; below, the legend *Śri-Varāharāja* in a horizontal line in box-headed characters of the fifth century A.D. Plate V-C, 1.

Type (ii)—One coin—Av. S. 20 mm., W. 20.2 grs.
Obv.—Inside a circle of dots along the edge, a couchant humped bull facing right, with the crescent above its back. Below, legend as above. Plate V-C, 2.

(B) Smaller size—

Twenty-two coins—Av. S. 15 mm., W. 7.7 grains. Obv.—Device as in Type (i) of the larger size. Legend: *Śri-Varāha*.

Here two issues can be differentiated according to the shape of the crescent. Plate V-C, 3-4.

II. A coin of Bhavadatta

(A) Larger size—

One coin—Av. S. 21 mm., W. 24.6 grs.
Obv.—Inside a circle of dots along the edge, a couchant humped bull facing right with the crescent behind it; below, the legend *Śri-Bhavadattarājasya* in box-headed characters of the fifth century A.D. Plate V-C, 5.

III. Coins of Arthapati

Larger size—Two coins. Here also two types can be distinguished—

Type (i)—One coin—Av. S. 21 mm., W. 23.2 grs.
Obv.—Inside a circle of dots along the edge, a couchant humped bull facing right with the crescent in front; below, the legend *Śri-Arthapatirājasya* in a horizontal line in box-headed characters of the fifth century A.D. Plate V-C, 6. 108752

Type (ii)—One coin—Av. S. 21 mm., W. 22.3 grs.
The device and the legend on the obverse are similar, but the crescent is behind the bull and the characters are somewhat cursive, the signs of the superscript *r* in *rīha* and the medial *i* in *tī* are omitted. Plate V-C, 7.

The coins of these kings are coming to light for the first time. From the characters the coins of Varāha appear to be the earliest and those of Arthapati the latest in the whole lot. It may again be noted that the legends on the coins of Bhavadatta and Arthapati, unlike that on the coin of Varāha contain the name of the respective king in the genitive case. In the disposition of the device and the legend these coins are in the style

of seals affixed to copper-plates or documents.¹ Attention may in particular be drawn to the seal of the Mallār plates of Mahā-Sivagupta,² which also comes from Chhattisgarh and contains the figure of the couchant humped bull, though the symbols before and behind it are different. Again its legend, though in verse, is written horizontally below the device like those on the present coins.

The coins seem to be struck according to the indigenous weight system, the smaller coins representing a *māsha* of five *krishnalas* and the larger ones three *māshas* each. As Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has shown,³ there were, in ancient India, coins weighing three *māshas* like those weighing only one *māsha*, though we have not come across actual gold coins of these weights.

I have so far described these thin pieces as coins, but it may be doubted in view of their thinness if they were meant for circulation. They resemble in many respects the gold plaque with the legend *Mahendrāditya*,⁴ described by R. B. Prayag Dayal. Another plaque of the same type is the so-called silver coin of Prasannamātra,⁵ discovered by Mr. L. P. Pandeya, which Sir Richard Burn⁶ takes to be a seal or a medal. All these plaques have several common characteristics. All of them are manufactured from thin sheets of gold or silver. The device and the legend appear embossed on the obverse of all of them, while their reverse is completely blank. The legend on each is, again, in box-headed characters in a horizontal line below the device. If the aforementioned plaque with the legend *Mahendrāditya* was issued by Kumāragupta I,⁷ it must be taken to be a token, for it is unlike the numerous gold coins struck by that Gupta Emperor. It may, therefore, be suggested that the plaques under consideration also are tokens, not coins meant for circulation.^{7a}

1 Kondegaon is 81° 39' E. and 19° 36' N.

2 See the Basarh seals, *An. Rep. A. S. I.* for 1903-4, pp. 101-20.

3 *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 87.

4 *Numismatic Supplement* XLIV, No. 309, J. A. S. B., Vol. XXIX, (1933).

5 *Ind. His. Quart.*, Vol IX, p. 595 and *Proceedings of the Fifth Oriental Conference*, Vol. I, pp. 456 ff. and Plate 1.

6 *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, Vol. VIII, p. 12.

7 Mr. Ajit Ghose suggests its ascription to Kumāragupta of the Bhitari Seal, *Numismatic Supplement*, No. 332, J. R. A. S. B. Vol. II.

7a Like the tokens described by R. B. Prayag Dayal, some of these coins have two holes pierced at the top.

It should, however, be noted that the smaller among them correspond in weight to the gold coins of one *māsha* mentioned in the *Jātakas* and the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya,⁸ and the latter, if they were actually in circulation, must have been very thin. Besides, no coins of the usual type struck by any of these kings have yet been discovered. I am, therefore, inclined to take these as coins. I must, however, add that none of them, except the coin of Bhavadatta, seems to have been in circulation for a considerable time, for the devices and legends on them are in a state of excellent preservation. My friend, Mr. M. A. Suboor, suggests that like the Niṣār coins of the Muhammadan Emperors⁹ they may have been issued as largess-money. The coins were, perhaps, buried soon after they were received as gifts.¹⁰

The similarity in the devices and characters of these coins suggests that they belong to the same age and were evidently struck by members of the same royal family. The coins themselves give no clue to the identification of this family. But from inscriptions we know of a king named Bhavadatta of the Nala dynasty who probably flourished towards the close of the fifth century A.D. A copper-plate inscription in box-headed characters, recording a grant of this king¹¹ was discovered some fifteen years ago at Rithapur (Riddhapura) in the Anraoti District of Berar. It is dated in the eleventh regnal year and records the donation of the village Kadambagirigrāma which the king had made at Prayāga (Allahabad) at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna for the blessings of himself and his queen. The charter was issued from Nandivardhana, evidently after the king's return to his capital. Nandivardhana is probably identical with Nandardhan (also called Nagardhan) near Rāmtek in the Nagpur District.¹² Towards the close of the record there is mention of

8 D. R. Bhandarkar—*Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics*, pp. 52, 86 and 90.

9 H. Nelson Wright—*Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. III, p. 106.

10 If such coins were specially issued as largess-money certain gifts recorded in contemporary inscription would not appear exaggerated. The Cambay Plates of Govinda IV (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 26 ff. record, for instance, the gift of three lakhs of gold coins to Brāhmaṇas and of four more lakhs to temples, besides donations of several hundred villages, on the occasion of his coronation ceremony.

11 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 100 ff.

12 Mr. Y. R. Gupte, who has edited the record in the *Ep. Ind.*,

the Mahārāja Arthapati, who executed the charter for the increase of the religious merit of his father and mother. The editor of this record took Arthapati to be an epithet (meaning the lord of wealth) of Bhavadatta himself.¹³ But it is unlikely that Bhavadatta would say in one part of the record that the gift was made for the blessings of himself and his wife and in another part of it that it was intended for the increase of the religious merit of his father and mother. Arthapati was, therefore, different from Bhavadatta. He was evidently his son. The title *Māharāja* prefixed to his name in the Rithapur plates and the issue of coins in his name clearly indicate that he succeeded his father Bhavadatta.

Another inscription mentioning Bhavadatta was discovered in 1922 at Poḍāgaḍh in the Jeypore Agency of the Vizagapatam District in the Madras Presidency.¹⁴ Poḍāgaḍh is only about forty miles from the eastern boundary of the Bastar State. This inscription is on a stone slab and records the foundation of a foot-print of the god Viṣṇu and the grant of a town¹⁵ (*pura*) for the worship of it and for the establishment of a charitable feeding house. The gift was made by a son of Bhavadatta of the Nala dynasty in his twelfth regnal year. The name of this prince, which occurs at the end of line 5, has unfortunately been partly broken off. It has been tentatively read as Skandavarman. The subscript members of the ligatures *ska* and *nda* are not clear and in view of the close similarity between the letters *s* and *a* in the alphabet of that period,¹⁶ it may be suggested that the intended name was Arthavarman. But the reading Śri-Arthavarmanā in place of *Śri-Skandavarmanā* in lines 5-6 of that inscription would involve a hiatus and it appears doubtful if the name Arthapati would have been shortened into Artha (or Arthavarman). Besides, from his coins Arthapati seems to have been, like his father, a devotee of Śiva. He is not, therefore, likely to have himself erected a temple of Viṣṇu. For these reasons I prefer to accept the reading *Śri-Skandavarmanā* in lines 5-6 of

prefers to identify it with the village Nandur in the Yeotmal District, but gives no convincing reasons in support of it.

13 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 101.

14 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 153 ff.

15 See line 6 of the inscription. In line 9 also *purah* is the genitive singular of *pur*, a town, not an indeclinable meaning 'in front', as taken by the editor.

16 In the records of the period *a* and *su* are often confused.

the Poḍāgadh inscription and to take Skandavarman as a brother of Arthapati.

The names of Bhavadatta and Arthapati, who belonged to the Nala dynasty, are thus known from epigraphic records of the fifth century A.D. The name of Varāha is, however, coming to light for the first time. Like the other two princes he also undoubtedly belonged to the Nala dynasty. From the evidence of palaeography he seems to have been a predecessor of Bhavadatta. Perhaps he was his father.

A third inscription of the Nala dynasty was discovered at Rāim in the Raipur District of Chhattisgarh as far back as 1825.¹⁷ It is incised on a stone tablet built into the right hand wall of the *mandapa* of the temple of Rājīvalochana. As it is considerably mutilated, it has not been edited so far. The extant portion eulogises the king Nala and mentions some members born in his family, of whom the names of only two viz., Prithvirāj and Virūparāja, can now be read with certainty. On the evidence of its characters the inscription has been referred by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar to the middle of the 8th century A.D.,¹⁸ but it may be somewhat earlier. These princes were, therefore, later descendants of Bhavadatta and Arthapati.

The Nala dynasty was thus ruling over Dakṣiṇa Kosala (modern Chhattisgarh including the Bastar state and the adjoining territory). This conclusion is also corroborated by the statements in the *Vāyu* and *Brahmānda Purāṇas* that the descendants of Nala would rule in Kosala. Pargiter places these princes in the third century A.D.;¹⁹ but if Varāha was one of the earliest kings of that dynasty, they must be referred to the fourth or fifth century A.D. From the characters of their inscriptions the Nalas appear to have been contemporaries of the Vākātakas. The former ruled over Kosala and the latter over Vidarbha (which comprised modern Berar and the Marathi speaking districts of the Central Provinces.) There were occasional wars between them. As stated above, the Rithapur plates of the Nala king Bhavadatta were issued from Nandivardhana, which was situated

17 It is mentioned in Mr. R. Jenkins' letter to Mr. W. B. Bayley, Vice-President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, p. 501. For a facsimile of the inscription see Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol. XVII, Plate IX.

18 P. R. A. S. Western Circle, for 1903-4, p. 48.

19 See Pargiter's *Purāṇa Texts of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 51.

in the heart of the Vākātaka kingdom and was once the Vākātaka capital.²⁰ Bhavadatta seems, therefore, to have occupied some portion of Vidarbha. The inscriptions of the Vākātakas also contain a reference to this invasion. The Bālāghaṭ plates of the Vākātaka Prithivishēṇa II (5th century A.D.) describe this king as one who raised his sunken family.²¹ We have evidently here a reference to a foreign invasion during the reign of Prithivishēṇa's father Narendrasena. The Vākātakas, however, soon retrieved their position and even carried the war into the enemy's territory. The aforementioned Poḍāgaḍh inscription mentions that Bhavadatta's son regained sovereignty and repopulated the capital Pushkarī which had been devastated by the enemy.²² This enemy was probably the Vākātaka Prithivishēṇa II.

The Nalas appear to have continued to reign in Kosala for some generations after Arthapati and Skandavarman. As stated before, Prithvirāja and Virūparāja mentioned in the Rājim inscription were among his descendants. The family is said to have been overthrown in the last quarter of the sixth century A.D. by Kirtivarman I of the Western Chālukya dynasty. He is described in some Chālukyan inscription as the Night of Destruction to the Nalas.²³ It is not, however, unlikely that some princes of the family continued to rule in Kosala for some generations even after Kirtivarman I. For a similar statement is made about the Mauryas of North Konkan also; but we know from the Aihole inscription that the Mauryas were finally overthrown by Pulakeśin II, the son of Kirtivarman I.

V. V. MIRASHI.

20 The Poona Plates of the Vākātaka queen Prabhāvatiguptā and the recently discovered Belorā Plates of her son Pravarasena II (which I am editing in the *Ep. Ind.*) were issued from Nandivardhana.

21 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 271.

22 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 155.

23 See e.g., the Aihole inscription of the reign of Pulakeśin II, *ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 4.

A TREASURE-TROVE FIND OF SILVER COINS OF BENGAL SULTĀNS

[Plate VI]

On the 15th November, 1937, a find of twenty silver coins was made by a villager while he was out looking for his strayed buffaloes on the bank of a dead river that once flowed by Hanspukur village in the Kalna sub-division, district Burdwan, a place in the vicinity of which myriads of relics are observed of the early Muḥammadan period. The coins were found secured in an earthen pot with a lid on, and were in a good state of preservation; only a few of them were covered with a thin layer of clay coating. After cleaning simply in pure water, the whole find was found, except one common specimen of Muḥammad III ibn—Tugh-laḡ, Sultān of Dehlī, to represent the issues of the early Sultāns of Bengal from Shamsu-d-din Firoz Shāh to Sikandar Shāh son of Iliyās Shāh, and thus covered a period of nearly half a century. By comparing the dates on the coins it may be presumed that the find was buried soon after 759 A.H., i.e., in the early period of Sikandar Shāh's reign. A special feature of this find is that none of these coins are disfigured with shroff-marks, which are observed extensively in the case of Bengal coins.

The find includes, in addition to the specimen of Muḥammad III ibn Tugh-laḡ Shāh, 5 coins of Shamsu-d-din Firoz Shāh, 3 of 'Alā-uddīn 'Alī Shāh, 10 of Shamsu-d-din Iliyās Shāh and one of Sikandar ibn Iliyās Shāh.

The coin of Muḥammad III (Pl. VI, 1) ibn Tugh-laḡ in this find is an issue of Satgāon mint and bears the date 734 A.H. (I.M.C. No. 324). From the numismatic evidence it appears that the Satgāon mint first came into being in the reign of this monarch. The coins of this mint issued by Muḥammad III ibn Tugh-laḡ, so far found in the existing collections, are dated in 729, 730, 731, 733 and 734. In the absence of any earlier or posterior issues, it may be supposed that mint Satgāon must have been founded in the year 729 A.H. (A.D. 1328) and that it passed into the hands of the Bengal Sultāns soon after 734 A.H. (A.D. 1333).

Of the five coins of Shamsu-d-din Firoz Shāh, two only are fully dated; one has the date 712 (Pl. VI, 2) and the other 716, (Pl. VI, 3). The present find gains a new date in 716 which is not represented either in the Indian Museum or British Museum collections. All the coins of this king in this

find are of known types already described in the Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum. The rest of his coins are without mint and of doubtful date.

Next we come to the coins of 'Alāuddin 'Ali Shāh. In this find two of his coins are dated in 741 (Pl. VI. 4) and 745 (Pl. VI. 5) respectively, both of Firozābād Mint; whereas the mint name on his third coin is deleted and the last unit of date obscure. The Indian Museum cabinet has only two coins of this king dated 743 and 744 and the specimen in the British Museum bears the date 745; therefore the coin in this find bearing the date 741 is a new discovery and an important one.

The most interesting portion of this find consists of the ten coins of Shamsu-d-din Iliyās Shāh who reigned simultaneously with 'Alāuddin 'Ali Shāh and after killing the latter became the absolute ruler of the whole of Western Bengal. Three of his coins are the issues of Satgāon mint of which two bear the dates 751 (Pl. VI. 6) and 757 (Pl. VI. 7) respectively. It is interesting to note that no coin of this mint has, so far, been represented in the cabinets of the British or Indian Museums. Mr. A. W. Botham has, however, described three coins of this king minted at Satgāon but they are dated in 754 and 758. Both the coins, therefore, of this find bearing the dates 751 and 757 are most important as they are not represented, so far as has been ascertained, in any existing collection. The find includes seven more coins of this king. All these specimens, except one, are struck at Firozābād representing the type 'A' of the Indian Museum Catalogue and bearing the dates 754 (Pl. VI. 8), 756 (Pl. VI. 9) and 758. It is to be noticed in this connection that the last two dates viz., 756 and 758 are wanting in the specimens of type 'A' of the Indian Museum cabinet and also in the British Museum collection.

Last of all, but not the least, is the coin of Sikandar Shāh, son of Iliyās Shāh, in this find. The specimen bears the date 759 written clearly in words and is similar to the type 'C' represented in the Indian Museum and British Museum cabinets. The coins in both the collections mentioned above are without mint and in one coin only of the British Museum is recorded the date 764 which is also marked with a query by the author. The present specimen of Sikandar Shāh in the find is, therefore, a valuable addition in the field of Bengal numismatics. We look upon this piece with an added interest in as much as it is an issue of the first year of Sikandar Shāh's reign.

SHAMSUDDIN AHMAD

A GOLD COIN OF MAHMŪD SHĀH KHILJĪ. OF MĀLWĀ

[Plate VII-A.]

The Prince of Wales Museum recently acquired this gold coin from a local dealer. So far, two varieties in gold of this ruler are known. They are:—

(1) Obv.—السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا ر لدين ابو المظفر محمد شاه—

خارجى خلد الله خلافته

Rev.—سكندر الثانى يمين الخلافة ناصر امير المؤمنين—

Name of the mint Shādīābād in the margin.

(2) Obv.—السلطان الاعظم ابو المظفر علا الدنيا—

Rev.—والدين محمد شاه الخلجى خلد الله سلطانه—
and date.

Of Variety No. 1 about half a dozen coins are known and are dated 841, 869?, 870 and 871 A.H.

The coins of Variety No. 2 are extremely rare and only one piece with date 870 is noticed by Thomas on page 347 of his *Chronicles*.

The coin which forms the subject of this note belongs to Variety No. 2 and is dated 849 A.H. The script is different and the legend is not inscribed in cinquefoil as on No. 306 of Thomas. It dispels the idea that no gold coins were issued before 970 A.H. The dates 941 and 949 are clear proofs of this early currency in gold. We know from history that due to the heretical views of Nasīr Khān, the Governor of Kālpi, there was a conflict between the armies of Mahmūd Shāh Khiljī of Mālwa and Mahmūd Shāh Sharqī of Jaunpur. A general action ensued, but the result was indecisive. The terms proposed by the Jaunpur ruler were ultimately accepted by the Mālwa Sultān and peace was declared in 849 A.H. Possibly this gold coin with date 849 A.H. was issued when peace was declared and both the rulers retired to their respective territories.

The legend is as under:—

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم ابو المظفر علا الدنيا—

Rev.—والدين محمد شاه الخلجى خلد الله سلطانه—

The date ۸۴۹ over the س of سلطانه

It weighs 168 grains.

C. R. SINGHAL.

A RARE MUHR OF NIZĀM SHĀH BAHMANI.

[Plate VII-B.]

The monetary issues of Nizām Shāh Bahmani, which so far were known only in copper, are extremely rare and the Prince of Wales Museum has the distinction of possessing a unique coin in gold.

This ruler is generally known by the name of Nizām Shāh but when we turn to his currency, we do not read Nizām Shāh on either the obverse or the reverse of his issues. As a rule Muslim coins are struck either with the name of the king or his title, but on his issues, so far known, both these important features are missing. He is only known by the name of Ahmad Shāh bin Humayun Shāh. It is worth enquiring whether he assumed this name at the time of ascending the throne. As his coins bear the name of Ahmad Shāh, one might suggest that in future he may be styled as Ahmad Shāh III instead of Nizām Shāh and this suggestion deserves consideration at the hands of eminent numismatists. The name of a ruler is recognized by his currency and not by his personal name given to him in his childhood by his parents. The most important and interesting point in this *Muhr*, however, is that the obverse legend gives a clue also to this name which reads as Nizām-ud-dunya waud-din, for the first time. The reverse legend خاد الله ملكه 'May God perpetuate his kingdom' was used only by him and by no other ruler of this dynasty.

The mint Muḥammadābād (Bidar) was named by Ahmad Shāh after the name of the saint Sayyid Muḥammad Gesu Darāz. It was renamed as Zafarābād by Aurangzeb.

The legend runs like this:—

Obv.—الرائق بالله الغنى ابر المظفر نظام الدنيا و الدين

Rev.—In square

احمد شاه بن همايون شاه السلطان البهمنى خاد الله ملكه

Margin ضرب حضرت محمد ابرك سنة ٨٩٧

The weight is 170 grs.

C. R. SINGHAL.

A NEW MUHR OF MAHMŪD SHĀH BEGDA OF GUJARĀT

[Plate VII-C.]

Some time back a local bullion merchant brought some gold coins for sale and it was a great pleasure to lay my hands on a unique gold Muhr of the famous ruler of Gujarāt. In fact the issue of the kings of Gujarāt were mainly confined to silver and copper and not more than twenty coins in gold of all the rulers of Gujarāt were known so far. Out of the ten rulers of this dynasty who are known by their currency, only five, it seems, were anxious to strike their money in the precious metal and the credit of issuing the largest number of *Muhrs* goes to Muzaffar Shāh II and his grand-son, Maḥmūd Shāh III. Maḥmūd Shāh Begda, who was the most important ruler of this dynasty, did not strike many gold coins of which only one piece in the British Museum, London, is known. That piece bears no mint and is dated 914 A.H. The legend on the reverse is most common as can be seen from his other issues. The coin which is described here is unique in all aspects, except the legend on the obverse, which is common to both. The legend on the reverse of this coin is very interesting. The name of the king is inscribed in a circle and is followed by “خالد خلافت” i.e., “May his Khalifate be perpetuated.” The name of the mint with its full epithet and date 902 A.H. can be seen in the margin. If we just peep into the history of these legends, we find that it was Maḥmūd Shāh I who first introduced the sacred phrases of الدنيا و الدين ابو الفتح

الرائق بالله المذل ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابو الفتح and الرائق بتأييد الرحمن ناصر to be struck on his few earlier coins and these were followed with slight variations by his successors. It seems the legend الرائق بتأييد الرحمن was reserved for gold, while الرائق بالله المذل for his silver coins only, as these are not to be seen on any of his copper issues. On his later issues, these phrases were replaced by السلطان الاعظم with the following portion being continued. The reverse legend خالد خلافت was copied by him from the coins of his brother and grand-father Ahmad Shāh II and Ahmad Shāh I respectively. This خالد خلافته was first

used by him on his copper issues only in the year 863 A.H., when he came to the throne and these coins are exactly similar to the billon issues of his brother Aḥmad Shāh II except the name and title (*vide* No. 144 and 259 of the Catalogue of Coins of the Sultans of Gujarāt in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, 1935). It weighs 175.5 grs.

The legend runs as under:—

Obv.—In dotted circle

الرائق بنائيد الرحمن ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابو الفتح

Rev.—In circle محمد شاه الساطان خلد خلافته

In the margin:—

ضرب هذا الدينار في شهر مكرّم محمد آباد عرّف چانپانير سنه ۹۰۲

C. R. SINGHAL

A UNIQUE QUARTER-RUPEE OF SHER SHĀH SŪRĪ.

[Plate VII-D.]

This tiny piece was purchased from a Lucknow dealer for the Coin Cabinet of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay. At the time of the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India held at Āgra on 2nd January, 1927, Mr. Ratilal M. Antāni of Udaipur had exhibited a quarter-rupee of Sher Shāh of Āgra mint (*vide* N.S. No. XL, article No. 265). But the coin which forms the subject of this note is absolutely different from the one already known to numismatists. This coin bears no mint but is dated 948 A.H. and is in a fairly good condition. The type is the same as No. 630 of Indian Museum, Calcutta, or No. 1073 of Mr. H. Nelson Wright's splendid Catalogue of these coins. The legend reads as follows:—

Obv.—In square, the Kalima.

السلطان العادل

Margins indistinct.

Rev.—

شير شاه السلطان

خلد الله ملكه

ر ساطانه ۹۴۸

खीसेरसाही

Wt. 40 grains.

C. R. SINGHAL.

THE GENEALOGY OF AHMAD SHĀH III OF GUJARĀT.

An interesting inscription published by Mr. G. Yazdani in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1935-6, p. 50, clears up a doubtful reading on certain coins of this ruler. The inscription describes Aḥmad (III not II as stated by Mr. Yazdani) as ابن عم of his predecessor Maḥmūd Shāh III. The word عم, though it can be clearly read on the coins, now that the correct reading has been pointed out, was read by Mr. Nelson Wright doubtfully as دھع (I.M.C., II nos. 98 and 99, p. 238, and pl. 10), and by Mr. Singhal (*Cat. Coins, Prince of Wales Museum*, no. 718, pl. 8, and no. 732 (a), pl. 9.) as دھ.

Mr. Yazdani, taking the ordinary meaning of عم as uncle interprets this coin and the inscription as recording that Aḥmad Shāh III was the cousin of Maḥmūd Shāh. This, however, conflicts with the genealogical table at p. 711, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. 3, which Mr. Yazdani, therefore, supposed to be incorrect as it shows Aḥmad Shāh III as fifth in descent from Aḥmad Shāh I, while Maḥmūd Shāh III is sixth in degree from the same common ancestor. The table would then make Aḥmad Shāh an "uncle" rather than a cousin.

Colonel Wolseley Haig's table has, however, the good authority of the "*Arabic History of Gujarāt*," edited by Sir E. Denison Ross, Vol. 2, p. 391, and the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, as translated by Bayley, in "The History of Gujarāt," p. 454, describes him as a "relative" of Maḥmūd Shāh III. Professor Margoliouth has called my attention to Freytag's definition of عم which is equivalent, translating the Latin, to "relative" or "kinsman." In a recent letter Mr. Yazdani tells me that he now agrees that ابن عم is used in a wider sense than 'first cousin,' and as example he says that the late King Faisul of Iraq described himself as ابن عم of His Exalted Highness the present Nizam of Hyderabad, who is descended from Abū Bakr, a companion of the Prophet. The genealogical table in *Camb. Hist. India*, Vol. 3, p. 711, may thus be taken as more correct in this instance than those given by Mr. Nelson Wright and Mr. Singhal.

R. BURN.

NOTES ON SOME RARE GOLD MUGHAL COINS ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

[Plate VIII.]

It has been suggested that I should send the Numismatic Society of India some notes on the coins of Akbar and Jahāngīr which have recently been acquired from me by the British Museum. In this paper I propose to deal only with the more outstanding gold coins.

AKBAR

	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
1. Urdū	Kalima in quatrefoil.	In foliated lozenge
987	In corners, reading	غازي
Wt. 185·8	from bottom right to	اکبر بادشاه
Pl. VIII, 1.	left:	جلال الدين
	ابوبکر - عمر - عثمان - علی	In corners, from bottom right read- ing to left:
		ضرب | اردر | خاد | ملکہ

I know of no duplicate but a few rupees of similar design and mint are known.

2. Āgra The obverse has the Kalima in a looped
970 and foliated pentagon and the legend and
Wt. 166·4 arrangement of the reverse are similar to
Pl. VIII, 2. those of the coins of 971.

The interest of this coin lies in the fact that it is the earliest known gold coin of the Āgra Mint.

	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
3. Āgra	الله اکبر	اذر الہی
48 Azar	جل جلالہ	۴۸ اکرہ
Wt. 84		ب
Pl. VIII, 3.		ضر

This is a half *muhr*.

The British Museum has a coin of similar denomination but struck in the month of مهر. This was in the cabinet of the late Mr. W. E. M. Campbell, I.C.S.; I can trace no others.

4. Āgra
50 R.Y.
Shahrewar
Wt. 167.5 grs.
Pl. VIII, 4.

A *mubhr* of the same year and month and similar in ornamentation has been described and illustrated in the Lucknow Museum Catalogue under No. 80. But the arrangement of the reverse legend is different. In the coin now figured the reverse reads ب اگرو in the Lucknow ۵۰ اگرو . The British ۵۰ ضرب

Museum possesses another of these rare and beautiful *mubhrs* but of the month Amardād. It is similar to the Lucknow coin in the arrangement of the reverse.

	Obv.	Rev.
5. Lāhor	الله	دی الهے
40 R.Y.	ا بر	۴۰ لهور
Di	جل جلاله	ضرب
Wt. 181.7 grs.		
Pl. VIII, 5.		

The weight of this coin shews that it is the *Ilāhi* of Abūl Fazl's inventory in the *Āin-i-Akbari* weighing 12 *māshas* $1\frac{3}{4}$ *surkhs*, i.e., about 187 grs. *Mubhrs* of this weight were apparently struck up to the 45th regnal year. Thereafter the normal weight was 11 *māshas* (about 170 grs.) The broad flan (.95 of an inch) makes the coin a striking one. It also seems to be unique otherwise, there being no mention of any specimen of this type in the British Museum, Punjab and Lucknow Museum catalogues, or elsewhere, so far as I know. It is further the earliest of the Lāhor gold *mubhrs* with Akbar's creed, though two quarter *mubhrs* of the month of Azar of this year (40) and type are known. Dr. White King had one (Schulman Sale Catalogue Pt. III, No. 3497) and one is still in my own cabinet. The latter weighs 47 grs. and was known as a 'Man.'

	Obv.	Rev.
6. Lāhor	As on No. 5	۴۸ لهور
48 R.Y.		ضرب
Mihr		
Wt. 84 grs.		
Pl. VIII, 6.		

This coin is apparently the only gold half-*muhur* of Lāhor known. Its weight and date shew that it is a half of the round *muhur* of Abūl Fazl's inventory.

Obv.

7. Mālpūr Kalima in triple square, the centre one
A.H. 984 dotted. ۹۸۴ in bottom left corner. Margins
Wt. 168.2 grs. cut.
Pl. VIII, 7.

Rev.

In oblong area enclosed by triple lines,
the centre one dotted:

جلال الدين محمد اكبر بادشاه غازی

Below

دار الخلافة مالپور

This is the only gold coin known from this mint, so far as I am aware. A rupee—also single and also of 984 A.H.—was in the cabinet of Mr. Geo. Bleazby of Allahabad and is now in the British Museum. The date, however, runs vertically above the ج of جلال الدين on the reverse, which is enclosed in a triple square similar to that on the obverse of the gold coin. Some copper *dāms* are known, ranging between 983 and 986 A.H., but they are scarce. Mālpūr is one of the group of States included in the political agency of Mahikāntha and lies sixty miles east of Aḥmadābād. It will be noted that the *muhur* and rupee resemble in design the coins of Aḥmadābād of the same year. The necessity of having another mint so close to Aḥmadābād is difficult to understand.

Obv.

Rev.

- | | | |
|-------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| 8. No mint name . | ست | ست |
| recorded. | این زرے | انور زیورا |
| R.Y. 44 | شاه اکبر زور | مهر |
| Mihr | مهر | تا زمین و آسمان را |
| Wt. 161 grs. | ۱۶۱ | |
| Pl. VIII, 8. | | |

The Persian couplet is the same as that on the coin of Āgra described and figured under No. 169 in the British Museum Catalogue. This coin differs in having no mint name, the regnal year taking the place of the mint on the obverse. The reverse of the Āgra coin records the regnal year 49 and month—Azar. The Āgra coin also has a broader flan.

JAHĀNGIR

9. Āgra
A.H. 1014
R.Y. 1
Wt. 100.4 grs.
Pl. VIII, 9.

Obv.

In triple circle, the centre
one of dots, on floral field

لا اله الا الله
محمد
رسول الله
ضرب اگرة ۱۰۱۴

Rev.

As on obverse

غازی
بادشاه
سلیم
سلطان

1

This important and unique piece, which is a half of the heavy *mubhr* issued by Jahāngir in the early years of his reign, has been described and illustrated by Mr. R. B. Whitehead in Part III of his paper "Some notable coins of the Mughal Emperors" in the Numismatic Chronicle for 1930, p. 6. It is a pre-coronation piece as shewn by the title Sultān Salīm and recalls the Salīmī rupees of the Aḥmadābād Mint. At his official accession the Emperor took the titles of Nūru-d-dīn Jahāngir.

*Obv.**Rev.*

- | | | |
|---------------|---------------------|---------------|
| 10. Lāhor | In triple circle on | As on obverse |
| A.H. 1032. | floral field: | |
| R.Y. 17 | بادشاه | همچو ماه |
| Wt. 170 grs. | نگیر | |
| Pl. VIII, 10. | نام جہا سنۃ ۱۷ | زر سکہ |
| | مہر | زر لاہور ۱۰۳۲ |
| | از نور | شد زر |

This unique coin was also described and figured by Mr. R. B. Whitehead in the paper quoted above, p. 8. The same couplet appears on a zodiacal *mubhr*, sign Scorpio, of the same mint and the same dates in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.

- | | <i>Obv.</i> | <i>Rev.</i> |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 11. Sq. | In triple square, the | In triple square, the |
| Āgra | centre one of dots, | centre one of dots, |
| A.H. 1020 | enclosing a double | enclosing a double |
| R.Y. 6 | lined octagon with | lined eight peaked |
| Month Khūrdād | floral emblems in | star with floral em- |
| Wt. 168.4 grs. | corners: | blems in corners: |
| Pl. VIII, 11. | | |

اکبر	ماه خرداد الهی
شاه شاه	ضرب اگرة
نگهر	سنه ۶
نور الدین جها	۱۰۲۰

12. Āgra
A.H. 1022
R.Y. 8
Month Farwardin
Wt. 168 grs.
Pl. VIII, 12.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
In quadruple circle, the	As on obverse.
alternate ones of dots:	
نگهر شاه اکبر شه	ضرب اگرة الهی
جها	ماه فروردین
نور الدین	سنه ۸
	۱۰۲۲

Among the gold coins that passed from my cabinet to the British Museum were twelve *muhrs* of Jahāngir of the Āgra mint with dates between the fifth and twelfth years of his reign. From the point of view of artistic excellence these, especially those of the 5th and early 6th regnal years, can hardly be equalled in the whole range of Mughal coinage, unless it be by the coins of the last few years of Akbar's reign. The following is an abbreviated list:

- 1019-5 Isfandārmuz square.
- 1020-6 Khūrdād square.
- 1020-6 Amardād.
- 1020-6 Shahrewar.
- 1020-6 Di.
- 1021-7 Farwardin.
- 1021-7 Shahrewar.

1022-8 Farwardīn.

1022-8 Amardād.

1022-8 Shahrewar 124 grs.

1026-11 Isfandārmuz.

1027-12 Azar.

This striking series appears to have begun in the month of Mihr 1019 and the coins were for the first few months of heavy weight and alternately round and square. *Muhrs* of Azar, Dai and Bahman 1019-5 and of Ardibihist 1020-6 are not, so far as I know, anywhere recorded. A look out should be kept for these. Of the above twelve coins I am describing and figuring only two. The Khūrdād coin of 1020-6 seems to mark the commencement of the lighter weight series and it is noticeable for being square instead of round as it should have been had it continued the earlier and heavier series. After it all the *muhrs* are round and of light weight, though in the rupee issue the alternation of round and square is kept up to the end of the series in 1028-13. I look on the Khūrdād *mubr* of 1020-6 with its legend enclosed on the obverse in an octagon and on the reverse in an eight-peaked star as the most beautiful coin of the series. It is also in very fine condition. So is the other *mubr* figured. It is typical in its design of the gold issues struck between Bahman 1021 and Azar 1027 when the gold series seems to have ended. In the months of Shahrewar and Mihr 1022-8 a new experiment seems to have been tried. No *mubr* of the usual type and weight is known, but coins of 124 grains take its place. The experiment, however, evidently met with no success and in Abān the former type was brought back. I do not think that the coins of Shahrewar and Mihr (R.Y. 8) should be regarded as spurious.

	Obv.	Rev.
13. Ajmer	دين پناه	ابن اکبر
A.H. 1024	شاه	بادشاه
R.Y. 10	در اجمير ۱۰	نگير
Wt. 166.7 grs.	سکه	نور جہا
Pl. VIII, 13.	زد بزر اين	الدين شاه
		۱۰۲۴

A coin of similar mint and type but of 1025-11 has been described and figured in the Punjab Museum Catalogue No. 890 and another in the British Museum Catalogue No. 302. There

are, however, differences in the arrangement of the reverse legend, i.e., the dies are distinct. On the British Museum coin the Hijra date is in the centre of the reverse instead of at the bottom. On the Punjab Museum coin the regnal year is placed at the top of the reverse—on my coin it is at the left of the mint name on the obverse.

	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
14. Sūrat	جهانگیر	شاه
A. H. 1036	ز حکم شاه	باد
RY.—	صد زیور	جهان
Wt. 161·2	یافت	ایام نور
(a little worn.)	ضرب سررت	بیگم زر
Pl. VIII, 14.		۱۰۳۶

The British Museum has a second example of this very rare coin—of the same mint and date, and the Punjab Museum Catalogue records a Nūr Jahān *muhr* of Aḥmādābād of 1037. I can find no record of any orders. Neither the Indian Museum and Lucknow Museum catalogues nor the sale catalogue of the White King collection contain any mention of a gold coin in the name of Nūr Jahān.

H. NELSON WRIGHT.

A UNIQUE BI-MINTAL *MUHR* OF SHĀH JAHĀN.

[Plate VII-E.]

The coinage of the Mughal Badshāhs of Hindustan, although generally not so artistically executed as those of the Imperial Guptas and some other indigenous ancient Indian coins, provides ample materials and information for study by research scholars not only of numismatics but of history and economics as well.

It cannot be said that the fine arts did not sufficiently develop during the Mughal period to leave a definite impress on coins nor can it be said that they deteriorated so much as to make it impossible to produce fine examples of artistic pieces in the form of coins in view of the fact that the legacy the period has left behind in the shape of carvings and inlaid works on precious and semi-precious stones, textiles and miniature paintings still remains unparalled even after nearly three centuries.

The simplicity of execution in Mughal coinage can be explained for two reasons. One was their religious sentiments which prohibited the representation of living beings in art. Their artistic spirit was diverted towards ornamental writing in the form of Tugra and fine Nastaliq Caligraphy. Of course, the portrait and zodiacal coins of Jahāngir and the hawk, duck and Ramchandri *muhrs* of Akbar are the only exceptions. The other reason was the influence of the types and forms of coins then in circulation in Iran and Turan which they imitated and from where the Pathan and Mughal soldiers of fortune had come over to Hindustan.

In spite of the paucity of artistic designs as compared with the coinage of the Imperial Guptas etc., the Mughal coinage abounds in historical and other information which I can safely say no other system of coinage in the world, ancient or modern, has yet supplied to historians and numismatists. The following peculiarities are to be particularly noted:

- (1) The Hijra year
- (2) The regnal year
- (3) The Ilāhī year
- (4) The name of the month
- (5) The name of the mint towns
- (6) The mint marks, and
- (7) The Caligraphy.

The mint towns themselves only give us the idea of the extent of the Empire of the particular Emperor, but the name of a new mint town in conjunction with the year on the coin of a particular Emperor furnishes information regarding the date of the real conquest by the force of arms of that particular province of which the mint town was the capital or a formal acknowledgment of allegiance on the part of the hereditary chiefs of the province; because the reading of the Khutba i.e. proclamation of the regnant appellation and titles of the actual occupant of the throne of Dehli in the Friday prayers and the stamping of coins were in those days universally regarded as manifestoes of unchallenged supremacy.

The Mughal Badshāhs of Hindustan were so particular as to their royal prerogative of minting coins that they carried mint and apparatus along with them on their march with their armies as well as on pleasure excursions, thus we have coins struck in the mint URDŪ (Royal Camp) URDŪ ZAFAR QARĪN (Camp associated with victory) and URDŪ DĀR RAH I DAKHĀN (Camp on the road to the Dakhān).

The mint name URDŪ first appears on a coin of Babur in the Punjab Museum and on a few coins of Akbar also. Three unique zodiacal muhars of Jahāngir are also of URDŪ mint. The mint name URDŪ ZAFAR QARĪN is only too familiar to the collectors of Akbar's coins as they were abundantly struck.

URDŪ DĀR RAH I DAKHĀN is a mint on a unique coin of Jahāngir in the Lucknow Museum.

Of Shāh Jahān there is only one known Nisar with the mint name of URDŪ ZAFAR QARĪN.

From the above it is clear that although there are plenty of Akbar's coins with the mint name URDŪ ZAFAR QARĪN, there are only a few of Jahāngir and Shāh Jahān with the Camp as their mint. This fact suggests that carrying of coin-dies with the Camp names engraved on them gradually came into disuse, and the later Mughal Emperors after Akbar, whether on their military expeditions or on their pleasure excursions to other provinces carried with them coin-dies of the capital towns of either Āgra or Dehli from wherever they made their start, and used them for stamping the obverse side only and for the reverse used the die of the capital town of the province where they made a longer halt, and struck coins during their sojourn. This supposition is borne out by an interesting gold *muhr* of Shāh Jahān, so far known to be unique, which is in my cabinet. The coin has on the obverse the name of the Emperor with full Imperial titles

and the mint name of Akbarābād, the execution of the die being exactly in the artistic Āgra and Dehli type, while on the reverse side appears the Kalima, the mint name of Patnah, a portion of the regnal year 3 and the month Ardibihist; the die is engraved in exactly the peculiar and comparatively inartistic Caligraphy of Patnah as is found on all other Patnah coins of this Emperor.

Another explanation which might be advanced is that obverse dies with the name of the Emperor only without any mint name were usually carried on such expeditions or excursions but on this occasion an obverse die with the name of the Emperor and the name of the mint town was taken from Akbarābād through oversight.

The above mentioned conjectures seem to be most plausible and the matter is left to the judgment of eminent scholars of history and numismatics.

BAHADUR SINGH SINGHI.

THREE BRONZE COINS OF PERSIS

[Plate VII-F.]

Persia is the Latinized form of a name which originally and strictly designated only the country lying along the north-east coast of the Erānian Gulf and bounded on the north by Media, on the north-west by Susiana and on the east by Carmania. It had of old its capital at Istakhr or Persepolis, the cradle and sacred hearth of the Achaemenian and Sāsānian dynasties. This country and its people were anciently called Pārsa. This name figures in the cuneiform inscription of Darius the Great (B.C. 521-486) at Persepolis. "This land Pārsa," says Darius, "which Ahura-Mazdā has given to me, which is beautiful and rich in horses and men, according to the will of Ahura-Mazdā and myself it trembles before no enemy." The Greek form *πέρσαι* with *ē* for *ā*, which all European languages follow, seems to have come from the Ionians, who disliked to pronounce *ā* even in foreign words. Thus *περσαι* would stand for Pārsa. The form *περσις* is exclusively Greek. The name Persia, which with slight variations, is the name for Erān in all European languages, has its historic origin in the Greek appellation of this land. The Achaemenian dynasty, which rose from this province, so extended its power over the whole upland country, and built up such a mighty empire that the name of Pārsa was applied to the entire country and its people, and so again, when a second great empire, that of the Sāsānians, arose from the same land, all its subjects began to be called Persians, and Persis or Persia was used for the whole Sāsānian lands. The name Erān, on the other hand, was of much wider signification than Persia, and the whole-upland country from Kurdistan to Afghanistan, may be called Erān.

After the conquest by Alexander (B.C. 331) and under the Greek Seleucids, who had become masters of Alexander's Eastern Empire (B.C. 323-140), Persia or Pārs became a satrapy, governed like the others by a satrap. At the time of the dissolution of the Seleucid Empire, this province revolted almost about the same time as Parthia in B.C. 249-48, and gained its independence.

Persis never became a part of the empire of the Arsacids, although her kings recognized their supremacy when they were strong. It had throughout the whole Arsacid regime held an

isolated position, and is so seldom mentioned by ancient writers that our knowledge of its history and native princes is wholly due to its coins, but we cannot state whether these princes were all of one dynasty or more. From the different series of its coins, it is possible to assume that there were distinct periods in its history and consequently several reigning dynasties. The emblems on the coins show that Persis was always loyally Zoroastrian, though the Greek deities and Phil-Hellenism had penetrated the court of the Arsacids. Even after the researches of well-known numismatists for the last fifty years, we cannot compile with certainty a list of its rulers or determine with precision the limits of their reigns. It must not be assumed that the kings followed one another in a continuous sequence, because allowances have to be made for the possibility of contemporaneous reigns as well as the rise of usurpers and rival rulers, but we cannot prove such events from the coins, which are devoid of dates.

The coinage of Persis covers a period beginning about B.C. 249/48 and lasting until the rise of the Sāsānian coinage in the first decade of the third century after Christ. It consists of four distinct series, the first of which appears to date from B.C. 249/48 to about 150, because the coins in question are Achaemenian in style, the Achaemenian tradition being much stronger in Persis than in Parthia. The coins of the second series are characterized by the difference in style to those of the first series, and by the new title *shāh* assumed by the kings, as borne by all the other satraps of the Arsacid Empire. It seems probable that during the reign of Mithradates I (B.C. 171-138), Persis was subdued and became one of the semi-independent satrapies of the Arsacid Empire. It is, therefore, possible to date this series of coins from about B.C. 150 to about 100. The third series covers the period of the first century before Christ. It is greatly influenced by the type of the Arsacid drachms. The head of the king, which is turned to the right on the coins of the earlier series, is here turned to the left in accordance with the Parthian fashion. This direction of the head of the king continues on the coins of the fourth series till the time of Ardashīr Pāpakān (A.C. 211/12-241), when the old type is resumed. The arrangement of the inscription in a square is another feature copied from the Arsacid coinage. The small fire-altar is of the Parthian type as found on the Parthian bas-relief near Behistūn, on several Arsacid seals, and in strata of the Parthian age in Babylonian and Assyrian excavations. The inscriptions on the

coins of this series add the name of the father to that of the reigning king, which rule prevailed up to the time of the early coinage of Ardashīr Pāpakān. This innovation enables us to arrange these coins in chronological order with certainty. In the fourth series of coins two groups are distinguishable, the one subsequent to the third series and the other immediately preceding the Sāsānian coinage. This series naturally covers the remaining period upto about A.C. 210.

The coinage of Persis offers important palaeographic evidence. The characters in the inscriptions on the coins of the first series are almost identical with the Babylonian Aramaic of the fourth and third centuries before Christ, and the Aramaic inscriptions on Achaemenian seals. The early coins of the second series show that the script commences to deviate from the archaic to the Pārsik form, and the coins of the third series display so marked a difference that the two scripts are clearly distinguishable. In the fourth series several characters have reached their final forms, and during the course of the first century after Christ the differentiation between the Aramaic and Pārsik scripts was complete. On the later coins of this series the script become nearly the same as that on the coins and rock-cut inscriptions of the early Sāsānian kings. This evolution of the script is very different to that which produced itself in the country of the Semitic language, such as Susiana and Babylonia, the Aramaic writing preserved for a very long time, than in Persis, their archaic characters.

Pahlavī is the name given by the followers of Zoroaster to the language and characters in which are written the ancient translations of their sacred books and other works of a critical character, but the correct term should be Pārsik. The name Pahlavī means Parthian, Pahlav being the regular Pārsik transformation of the older Parthava. This fact points to the conclusion that this language belongs to the Pahlav country. On the other hand, the name Pārsik indicates that this language was current in the principality of Pārs (Persis). Other linguistic, graphical and historical indications point the same way. But it is far from clear how the strange practice of writing Semitic words which were to be read as Pārsik was developed. This system cannot be the invention of some individuals, for in that case this practice would have been more consistently worked out.

With these preliminary remarks I here introduce to the notice of students of this epoch three bronze coins, now in the cabinet of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, which as far

No. 3. Third Series.

Artakhshatār II (Artaxerxes II)

Metal	Æ	Wt.	71 grs
Axis	↑	Size	.85"

Obv.—Bust of Artakhshatār II l., with short beard and thick waved hair, wearing Persepolitan crown with stepped battlements, diadem, torque, and cloak.

Rev.—Small fire-altar; on r. the king stands l., holding with both hands a sword inclined towards the fire; inscr. in square, above (*A*)rtakh(*sha*)tr. on l. *malkā*, in ex. *bareh* (*Dārayav*), on r. (*ma*)lkā, 'Ardashir the king, son of Darius the king'; the ideogram *bareh* stands for *pus*, 'son'. A symbol (badly struck up) counterstruck, obliterating the letter 'sh' in the top line and the fire on the altar.

FURDOONJEE D. J. PARUCK.

OBSERVATIONS ON FIVE SĀSĀNIAN COINS*

[Plate IX.]

I propose to describe five interesting Sāsānian coins, or rather, without insisting on their descriptions, to point out their peculiarities. The reader would, therefore, examine with care the figures on the plate.

The drachm No. 4 illustrates an event known in history, but the pieces Nos. 1 and 2 have the advantage of bringing forward new documents for history itself. In the total absence of any other document, the legends on these latter coins permit us to reconstruct the history of the farthest conquest in the East by the Sāsānian kings. The third century of the Christian era is justly regarded as the most obscure in the whole of the Indian historical period. It is, therefore, necessary to collect everything that can throw the least light on that period. The coins Nos. 1 and 3 are preserved in the British Museum, and the drachms Nos. 2, 4 and 5 belong to my cabinet.

No. 1. The British Museum possesses two drachms of Firōz, son of Ardāshīr I (224-241), the reverse of which has been misrepresented on account of the incorrect reading of a part of the inscription. I, therefore, propose to give the correct reading and to identify the personage seated on a throne. The reverse of these drachms is much defaced, but we can now restore the details by the aid of the drachm of Hormazd I (No. 2 of the present article). On the reverse, to the left of the fire-altar, we find the crowned figure of Firōz, and to the right, a personage in whom Herzfeld recognizes a god. Behind Firōz, we read *PEROZI MLKA*, and behind the personage, the brief legend *MLKA INDI*,¹ though Herzfeld² claims to read *Buddā yazde*, 'Buddha god'. As this reading was erroneous, I pointed it out to this savant and justified my correction.³ But he persists in maintaining his erroneous reading with one modification of

* F. D. J. Paruck: 'Observations sur cinq monnaies Sassanides' in 'Revue Numismatique', 1936, pp. 71-86, pl. I; translated by the author by kind permission of the editors of the 'Revue Numismatique'. Additional notes are enclosed in brackets, thus [].

1 See my book: 'Sāsānian Coins', pp. 82 and 322.

2 'Paikuli', p. 45.

3 'Revue Archéologique', 1928, p. 241.

no importance: *Buldā yazde*.⁴ It is fortunate that he has given in his Memoir an enlarged drawing of the reverse (p. 30, fig. 22), and the enlarged photographs of the two drachms (pl. I, figs. 5a, 5b). On the drawing, this brief legend begins with the Pahlavi letter B, but this sign does not appear on the photographs. On the contrary, the first letter resembles the Pahlavi letter M in the Sāsānian rock-cut inscriptions, therefore, we ought to read it M and not BU. The third is K without the horizontal stroke. This omission is not rare in the monetary epigraphy of that period. The second letter of the second word is, without any doubt, N and not Z. On the reverse of the drachm of Hormazd I (No. 2 of the present article), the second letter of the word INDI resembles exactly the Pahlavi letter N in the Sāsānian rock-cut inscriptions. This confirms my reading INDI on the reverse of the drachms of Firōz. I may be permitted to say that the reading *Buddā* or *Buldā yazde* is impossible, for we have only to examine the photographs to convince ourselves that we can easily read MLKA INDI, that is *malkā Inde*. This reading has not only a reasonable sense, but it has the merit of agreeing precisely with the indications afforded by the epigraphy of the period.

It appears to me to be certain that the name *Inde* on these coins signifies Sind. The Pahlavi form of this name is Hīnd, but, due to Greek influence, the first letter H has been dropped. These drachms were struck in the kingdom of the Kushāns, where Greek influence was profound at that time. The artistic aspect of the reverse, moreover, illustrates this influence very well. The design in fact depends more on Greco-Bactrian art than Sāsānian. The type of the representation of the personage seated on a throne is derived from that of Zeus seated on a throne, as found on the Greco-Bactrian coins, and the style of the perspective representation of the throne is also due to the same influence. I submitted this note to Sir Aurel Stein, and I am glad to say that he has approved of my identification. The brief legend *malkā Inde*, to the right, depicts the personage seated on a throne as being the king of Sind.

A few letters appear on the upper part of the reverse of these drachms. Herzfeld⁵ proposed, at first, the reading MZD or

4 'Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 38; Herzfeld: Kushano-Sasanian Coins', p. 31. This Memoir requires to be read with caution, for it contains many fanciful conjectures.

5 'Paikuli', p. 45.

MLK, then later on, SML, that is Samarkand.⁶ From the enlarged photographs in the Memoir (pl. 1 figs. 5a, 5b), I am able to decipher these letters as IRD. There are traces of the fourth letter, but it is not inscribed in full for want of space. The word *Iradatī* is found following the name *Inde* on the reverse of the drachm of Hormazd I (No. 2 of the present article). This confirms my reading IRD[TI] on the reverse of the drachms of Firōz. Thus, we know that this word is continued in the brief inscription to the right, therefore, the complete reading is *mallā Inde Irada (tī)*.

The last name may be applied to the valley of the river Rāvi, one of the five rivers of the Punjāb, that of the centre, that is Multān, which the early Arab geographers included in the kingdom of Sind.⁷ I have not been able to find any reference to prove that the name of this river was applied to the country which it waters. It is difficult to say whether the Pahlavī form *Iradatī* is derived from the Indian name *Irāvati* or from its Greek form *Hydrāotes*, the old course of the river Rāvi.

[*Irāvati*, 'rich in food', and *Hydrāotes*, 'rich in waters', are obviously two distinct names of one and the same river. It seems probable that the form *Iradatī* is merely the phonetic transcription of the Greek name *Hydrāotes*, the transposition of the letters 'd' and 'r' being not an unusual occurrence.

Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archaeology in India, informs me that the name *Irāvati* persists upto modern times, the present name *Rāvi* being only an abbreviated form—the initial vowel being dropped as is the tendency in the Punjāb. There is, however, no evidence to show that the Central Punjāb was named after the *Irāvati* valley, although this should not be impossible.]

The nimbus around the head of the king of Sind, on the reverse, attracts our attention. The solar halo is not a distinctive characteristic of the deities, but it is also proper to great men. The principal argument of Herzfeld⁸ is that the nimbus around the head is the sole distinctive attribute which permits us to recognise the identity of Mithra. To accept this attribution, we must remove many difficulties. A study of Indo-Scythian coins⁹ shows that not only Mithra but even other deities were represented with the solar halo. Thus the presence of the nimbus does not permit us to identify the figure with Mithra.

6 Herzfeld, Memoir, pp. 14–15.

7 'Encyclopædia Britannica', 9th edition. *sub* Multān.

8 Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

9 'Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum', 1886, Pls. XXVI-XXVIII.

Herzfeld asserts, moreover, in his Memoir (p. 29), that it was the divine prerogative to hold in the hand the Sāsānian diadem with long bands and to present this symbol of royalty to the king. This assertion is proved to be false by the testimony of the coins of several Sāsānian kings. The presentation of the diadem by the queen and the prince, on several coins of Bahrām II (276-293), is an instance in point. Herzfeld has overlooked these Sāsānian coins. On the reverse of the drachms of Firōz, the presentation of the diadem by the king of Sind, seated on a throne, appears to be the symbol of *hamā-zor*. We have noticed representations of this kind not only on the coins of several Sāsānian kings, but also on some of their bas-reliefs. Thus, on that of the Naqsh-i Rustom, Ardashīr I is *hamā-zor* with Ahura-Mazdā, then between the supposed tomb of Darius II and that of Darus I, Narses is figured as *hamā-zor* with Anāhita. This conception of *hamā-zor* is based on religious tradition and texts.¹⁰

[The inscription on the drachms of Firōz is:—

Obv.—Inscr. around, beginning on r., upwards, *Mazdēsni bagi Pērōzi rabā Kūsān malkā*, to be read *Mazdēsni bage Pērōze vazurg Kūsān šāh*, 'Mazdā-worshipping lord Firōz, the great Kushān king.'

Rev.—on l., downwards, *Pērōzi malkā*, to be read *Pērōze šāh*, 'king Firōz'; on r., upwards, *malkā Indī*, to be read *šāh (i) Hind*, 'king of Sind'; on top, *Irada (ti)*.]

No. 2. I have published this drachm in another journal,¹¹ where I have attributed it to Hormazd II (303-310), but after having studied it once again, I believe that it was issued by Hormazd I (272/73). It was not possible for me to explain at that time the meaning of the inscription on the reverse to the right, and to decipher the word in the second line on the upper part of the field. The legend to the right of the reverse is: A INDI IRDŪ. By analogy with the same inscription on the drachms of Firōz (No. 1 of the present article), I think that the first word is *malkā*, of which the letter A only could be deciphered. As I have explained above, the names *Inde Iradatī* signify Sind and Multān. The reading of the word in the second line on the upper part of the reverse remained for a long time completely illusive, but now I am able to propose the reading HREZI.

¹⁰ Coyajee, J. C., in the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal', 1926, p. 403.

¹¹ Revue Archéologique, 1930, p. 234 sq.

According to all the early Arab geographers,¹² the old name of Rājputāna was Haraz. It is probable that the original form of this name was Harez, as on this drachm.

[In Pahlavi the letter 'h' has also the phonetic value of 'kh', so the name Harēz may be pronounced Kharēz.

Cunningham has observed that "The name of the country is somewhat doubtful, as the unpointed Arabic characters may be read as *Haraz* or *Hazar*, and *Kharaz* or *Khazar*, as well as *Jurz* or *Juzr*. But fortunately there is no uncertainty about its position, which is determined to be Rājputana by several concurring circumstances. Thus the merchant Sulimān, in A.D. 851 (Dowson's Elliot, I, 4), states that Haraz was bounded on one side by *Tāfek* or *Tākin*, which, as I have already shown, was the old name of the Punjab. It possessed silver mines, and could muster a larger force of cavalry than any other kingdom of India. All these details point unmistakably to Rājputāna, which lies to the south-east of the Punjab, possesses the only silver mines known in India, and has always been famous for its large bodies of cavalry" ('Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India', ed. by Sāstri, 1924, p. 358).

It is difficult to establish the exact limits of the extension of the power of the Sāsānian kings in India, for the old historians use the name India in a vague sense, but the inscriptions on these drachms permit us to extend the eastern limits of the Sāsānian Empire to the countries of Sind, Multān and Rājputāna. In the absence of any positive evidence, it is not possible to determine whether the conquest was made by Shāpūr I (241-272) or his immediate successor to the throne. As Hormazd I (272/73) appears to be the first to assume the title of "Great Kushān, king of kings", it is natural to suppose that he aggrandized the empire. This king may possibly be the first to penetrate so far, the conquest of his predecessor may have been limited. The British Museum possesses a few copper coins of Shāpūr I, struck in the kingdom of the Kushāns, but unfortunately they are much defaced. The fragmentary inscriptions on these pieces are of no help to us. It is proper, therefore, to await the discovery of other coins of the same type,—specimens with clear and correct inscriptions, which may permit us to solve the question. According to the 'Kitāb-al-Fihrist',¹³ Firōz was the viceroy of Khorāsān [that is the East], during the reigns of Shāpūr I and Hormazd I. It is, therefore, difficult to decide in whose reign these drachms were struck. These coins, however, authorise us to state that Sind, Multān

¹² 'Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India', ed. by Sāstri, 1924, p. 358.

¹³ Flügel und Roediger, p. 428, No. 26.

and Rājputāna were at that time in the hands of the Kushāns, and that their king was a vassal of Hormazd I, and possibly also of Shāpūr I.

[Vincent Smith, in his invaluable 'Early History of India' (3rd ed., p. 273), has remarked that "Absolutely nothing positive is known concerning the means by which the renewed Persian influence, as proved by numismatic facts, made itself felt in the interior of India. Bahrām II is known to have conducted a campaign in Sistān, at some time between 277 and 294; but there is no record of any Sāsānian invasion of India in the third century, during which period all the ordinary sources of historical information dry up. No inscriptions certainly referable to that time have been discovered, and the coinage issued by merely local rulers, gives hardly any help. Certain it is that two great paramount dynasties, the Kushān in Northern India, and the Āndhra in the tableland of the Deccan, disappear together almost at the moment (A.D. 226) when the Arsacidan dynasty of Persia was superseded by the Sāsānian. It is impossible to avoid hazarding the conjecture that the three events may have been in some way connected, and that the persianizing of the Kushān coinage of Northern India should be explained by the occurrence of an unrecorded Persian invasion. But the conjecture is unsupported by direct evidence."

If Vincent Smith had been alive today, he would have been delighted to find a confirmation of his suggestion of "an unrecorded Persian invasion" in the inscriptions on the drachms of Firoz and Hormazd I.

Vazurg Kūšan śāh was the official title of the Sāsānian viceroy of Khorāsān, that is the East, whereas the title *Vazurg Kūšan śāhān śāh* implies not only the actual suzerainty over the whole of the Kushān kingdom, but also over the hitherto independent Kābul valley and the Punjāb. The result of the wars of the Sāsānian kings in the East, must have been the recognition of their claim by the Kushān shāh and the Kushān kings of Kābul and the Punjāb, otherwise these titles could not have been assumed by the Sāsānian viceroy and the king.

On the obverse of a drachm of Bahrām I (273-276), the king bears the title of *Vazurg Kūšan* (see Mordtmann, in the 'Z. D. M. G.', 1880, p. 30, No. 82; and Paruck, 'Sāsānian Coins', p. 293 sq.). This fact implies that this king had retained possession of the Eastern provinces conquered by his predecessor on the throne.

From the Paikuli inscription we know that several vassal kings from remote parts of the empire had gone to Persia to express their allegiance on the occasion of the accession of Narses (293-303) to the throne. Among these vassals were the Kushānshāh, the king of Surāshtra (the modern Kāthiāwād and Kacch), the king of Avanti (the modern Mālwa) and twelve Saka kings of the adjoining hinterland. Thus we see at a glance the extent of the Indian dominions of the Sāsānian kings. One fact comes out clearly from this inscription that the Sāsānian kings had maintained their suzerainty over the countries conquered by their predecessors.

Ardashīr I (224-241), in his inscriptions on rocks and coins, calls himself *śāhān śāh i Erān*, whereas his son Shāpūr I (241-272) styles himself *śāhān śāh i Erān ut Anērān* in his rock-cut inscriptions, but his son Hormazd I (272/73) and his successors to the throne bear the same

title on their coins. The extent of the Sāsānian Empire towards the East at the time of the death of Ardashir I is uncertain. The general belief appears to be that the earlier Sāsānian kings were too much engaged with Rome and Armenia to spare time for Eastern expeditions. Byzantine and oriental historians assert that the empire of Ardashir I extended to the Indus and the Oxus, and upon their authority Gibbon ('Decline and Fall', Vol. I, p. 349) observes that this king had obtained easy victories over the wild Scythians and effeminate Indians. From a coin collected in the Jhelum district, Punjab, and from a statement made by Firishta, the historian Vincent Smith ('J.R.A.S.', 1920, p. 221 sq.) has been able to show that Ardashir I had invaded the Punjab, advancing as far as the neighbourhood of Sirhind or the Satlaj, and then retired when the principal Indian monarch expressed his allegiance and paid tribute.

Anērān means 'non-Erān', and signifies the sovereignty over non-Erānian kingdoms. From the above mentioned titles, it appears that it was Shāpūr I, who had extended the realm beyond what was then known as Erān. On the obverse of one of the few known copper coins of Shāpūr I, struck in the kingdom of the Kushāns, there are traces of the inscription *Mazdēsñ bagī Sabpūbri Kūśān malkā* (see Herzfeld, 'Kushano-Sasanian Coins', Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 38, 1930, p. 25, fig. 16). The reason for this title was the conquest of the Kushān kingdom made by this king. From the coins of Shāpūr I, Firōz and Hormazd I, struck in the kingdom of the Kushāns, we now know the exact signification of the term *Anērān*. The name of Erān signified the whole upland country from Kurdistān to Afghānistān, whereas the name of *Anērān* was applied to the provinces in India conquered by the early Sāsānian kings.

The drachm of Hormazd I bears the inscription:—

Obv.—inscr. around, beginning on r., upwards, *Mazdēsñ bagī Aūhrmazdī rabā Kūśān malkān malkā*, to be read *Mazdēsñ bage Obormazde vazurg Kūśān šābān šāh*, 'Mazdā-worshipping lord Hormazd, the great Kushān, king of kings.'

Rev.—inscr. beginning on top first line, downwards, *Aūhrmazdī rabā Kūśān malkān malkā*; on r., upwards, (*malkā*) *Indi Iradati*; on top second line, *Harēzi*.]

N. 3. We know that Hormazd II (303-310) had married a daughter of the Kushān king of Kābul. This fact has led several numismatists to attribute to Hormazd II, the two gold coins preserved in the British Museum. On these coins, the king calls himself "Hormazd the great Kushān, king of kings". From a comparison of these coins with the above-mentioned drachm (No. 2 of the present article), it seems a proper inference that these three coins were issued by the same king, that is Hormazd I.

The ideogram MLKY, 'royal',¹⁴ appears near the fire on the reverse of some Sāsānian coins. Mr. Herzfeld¹⁵ considered its

¹⁴ See my book, p. 288.

¹⁵ 'Paikuli', pp. 46 and 217.

signification, at first, to be obscure and remarked that it was neither *shāh* nor *shāhik*, but in his Memoir (pp. 12-14) he reads it *shāhikān*, 'royal', and after having discussed his own suggestions, he concludes that the ideogram MLKY is a mint-mark of the city of Merv. As this ideogram appears above the fire, on the reverse of these two gold coins, he says that they were struck in Merv. But the inscriptions on these pieces prove that they were struck in the kingdom of the Kushāns. The city of Merv was never conquered by the Kushāns; it belonged to the Sāsānian king. It is, therefore, difficult to admit that these pieces, bearing such inscriptions, were issued by Hormazd I in Merv. It is surprising that Herzfeld did not recognise this difficulty which went contrary to his identification.

In his Memoir (p. 15), he remarks that the only scientific method for establishing the attribution of the mint-marks to different mints, is to prove their continuity till the end of the Umayyad period. But it is singular that he has not followed this method himself. The ideogram MLKY is not found on the Arab coins, on the contrary, the name of the city is inscribed in full: MRV. In order to show that the mint-marks appeared under the form of ideograms, he cites (p. 14) the mark BBA and identifies it with Ctesiphon. He has failed to observe that this mark appeared on the coins of Yezdegerd III (632-651), dated the years 19 and 20, and after 20 years it reappeared on the Arab drachms bearing the bust of Khusrau III (590-628) and dated the year 40, though Ctesiphon was in the hands of the Arabs since 637. It may be noted that the year 40 is calculated after the era of Yezdegerd. But as this mark appears on the coins struck in the year of the death of Yezdegerd, it is probable that this mark indicates the city in the neighbourhood of Merv or Herāt. The identifications of Herzfeld cannot but surprise those who know the subject.

The obverse of the gold coins of Hormazd I resembles much that of the drachm (No. 2 of the present article) of this king, the reverse is different. However, on the reverse, two analogous details arrest our attention: the presentation of the diadem by the personage to the right, and the nimbus around his head. Herzfeld¹⁶ sees in him Mithra, on account of the solar halo around his head. But how are we to admit that Mithra, the god of the *celestial* light, was figured as adorning a *terrestrial* fire? Obviously, this personage is the king of Sind.

16 'Paikuli', p. 46.



The coins Nos. 1, 2 and 3, of the present article, are closely related and form a homogeneous series. The type of the reverse of the drachms of Firōz, in reality, resembles that of the drachm of Hormazd I, whereas the obverse of the gold coins and the drachm of Hormazd I bear the same inscription and the same bust of the king in almost every detail. The title of these kings shows that these coins were struck in the kingdom of the Kushāns. The drachms inform us, besides, that the personage seated on a throne, on the reverse, is the king of Sind. It is, therefore, reasonable to identify the personage, to the right on the reverse of the gold coins, with this king.

[The coins of Firōz and Hormazd I reveal to us an interesting fact that the Kushān king of Sind, Multān and Rājputāna was a Zoroastrian. The Kushān king would not have been represented, on one side of the fire-altar, as *hamā-zor* with the Sāsānian king, unless he was a follower of Zoroaster.

The inscription on the two gold coins of Hormazd I is:—

Obv.—inscr. around, beginning on r., upwards, *Mazdēsn baḡi Aūhrmazdi rabā Kūshān malkān malkā.*

Rev.—the same inscr. as on obv., but above fire, *malky*, to be read *šābik*, 'royal'.

For the reading and meaning of the inscriptions on the obverse and reverse, see the inscriptions on the drachm of Hormazd I given above.]

No. 4. This drachm of Bahrām I (273-276) presents certain peculiarities, which are very interesting to study. The inscriptions on the two sides are ordinary. On the obverse, a rosette is found in the field to the right of the crown. The fire-altar, on the reverse, is of a design different to that found on the other coins of this king. It is formed of a pedestal of three steps and a fluted column supporting four slabs of stone forming the top. The mark SKSTAN (Sakastān) is inscribed above the fire. This is the earliest instance known of a mint-mark inscribed in full in the Sāsānian series of coins. I do not know of any other Sāsānian coin bearing this mark. To the left of the altar, the king stands wearing a crown adorned with spikes and surmounted by a globe; the hair and beared in plaits as on the obverse. To the right, a personage stands wearing a round crown surmounted by a globe and having the hair in curls. Who is this personage? The mint-mark enlightens us about him. We know that the crown prince Bahrām had subjugated the Sakastānī (the Sakas), one of the most warlike of nations, and had obtained the title of Sakānshāh. It is probable that this drachm was struck after the conquest of the kingdom of Sakastān, which included the whole of the north-west of India, and that Bahrām Sakānshāh was represented on the reverse to

the right of the altar. The representation of the figure of the heir presumptive on the coins of a reigning king is not a rare case for there exist—we know certainly—instances of coins of this kind.

Vasmer¹⁷ describes a drachm of Bahrām I (273-276), in the Ermitage Museum (No. 177), which bears on the reverse, to the right of the altar, a personage wearing a mural crown surmounted by a globe, and believes (p. 268 sq.) that this personage is Shāpūr I (241-272). It is difficult to admit that a deceased king was represented as a guardian of the fire consecrated in the name of the reigning king. This would be apotheosis, which would be contrary to the tenets of the religion of Zoroaster. By analogy with the above-mentioned coin, which is in my cabinet, we can be convinced that the personage is not Shāpūr I, but a member of the royal family, who was the viceroy (*shāh*) of one of the provinces where this drachm was struck. It appears to me to be certain that the personage, whom we find wearing a mural crown surmounted by a globe on the reverse of some coins of Bahrām II¹⁸ (276-293), is no other than this viceroy. This means that these coins were struck in the same and only province. Firdausī tells us that a prince ruling as the viceroy wore a crown and was called *shāh*. Noeldeke¹⁹ expresses the opinion that this observation indicates a characteristic trait of the Sāsānian custom. It appears that the wearing of the globe above the crown was not a prerogative of the king only. This right appears to have been ascribed to other members of the royal family on rare occasions. On the reverse to the left of the field of a hemi-drachm of Hormazd I (272/73), in the Ermitage Museum (No. 162),²⁰ a personage is found wearing a petticoat and a mural crown surmounted by a globe. This personage is evidently the queen. Shāpūr, son of Yezdegerd I (399-420), who was viceroy of Armenia, also wore a crown surmounted by a globe. The obol in the Bartholomaei Collection (pl. XI, fig. 18) is unfortunately pierced on the very spot where the globe ought to have been visible, but the obol, which is in my cabinet,²¹ shows the globe very distinctly. All coins of Jāmāsp (497-499) bear the bust of a prince wearing a crown surmounted by a globe. A gold coin of

17 'Numismatic Chronicle', 1928, p. 274, No. 24.

18 'Bartholomaei Collection', Pl. IV.

19 'Das Iranische Nationalepos' in the 'Grundriss der iranischen Philologie', Vol. II, p. 171; and 'Tabari', p. 49, note 2.

20 Vasmer, *op. cit.*, p. 267, No. 20.

21 Paruck in the 'Revue Numismatique', 1933, pl. VI, fig. 6.

Kobād I (488-531), in the Ermitage Museum,²² shows on the reverse the full-length figure of the crown prince Khusrau wearing a crown surmounted by a globe.

Vasmer (p. 268 sq.) asserts, moreover, that the personage wearing a round crown surmounted by a globe, having plaited hair and beard, and standing to the right of the altar, on the five coins of Bahrām I (273-276), in the Ermitage Museum, is Ardashīr I (224-241). As I have already remarked above, it is not probable that a deceased king was represented as a guardian of the fire consecrated in the name of the reigning king. Thanks to the kindness of Mr. Vasmer, I have received the casts of the 31 coins of this king, preserved in the Ermitage Museum. After examining these casts, I find that on the reverse of the five specimens in question, the crown of the king and that of the other personage are similar and without spikes. Of the remaining twenty-six specimens, there are no less than sixteen pieces on the reverse of which the crown of the king is without spikes. This omission is not rare on several other coins of this king examined by me. This shows that the personage to the right of the altar, on the above-mentioned five coins, is not Ardashīr I, but that the reigning king is represented on either side of the altar.

A personage wearing a mural crown without globe is represented on either side of the fire-altar on the reverse of most of the coins of Shāpūr I (241-272). A similar personage appears almost always to the right of the fire-altar, the left side being reserved for the reigning king, on most of the coins of Hormazd I (272/73), and of his successors to the throne up to Hormazd II (303-310). We cannot conceive the idea that the one and the same person was represented on the coins of seven successive kings for a period of about seventy years (241-310). In all probability, the mural crown without globe was, therefore, an insignia of honour for a person holding an eminent rank.

We know what dominant role the questions of rank and title played in the life of the Persians of the Sāsānian period. The royal custom to distinguish a person by giving him a robe of honour was very ancient. A crown or a diadem was the greatest mark of honour next to the royal rank. When the king gave to someone a tiara, this implied the right to occupy a place at the royal table and to take part in the council of the

22 See my book, pl. XVIII, fig. 394.

king. Even foreigners were admitted in the classes of the very eminent.²³

As for the series of the supreme officials of the central administration, we owe to Mas'ūdī,²⁴ an interesting notice. This Arab author says that the highest officers of the State, among the Persians, were five, of whom the first rank was held by the *mōbedān mōbed* (the high priest). Ya'qūbī²⁵ has given a list of the most important dignitaries of the Sāsānian State. Immediately after the king of kings, he mentions the *wazurg framādār* (the prime minister) and then the *mōbedān mōbed*. Mr. Christensen (p. 30) has reason to remark that, concerning the five supreme posts of the empire, there is no doubt that Mas'ūdī has given exactly as he found them in the old royal almanac (*gābnāmak*). Thus, the order, which Ya'qūbī has observed in his enumeration, responds almost to the real situation of the time of Khusrāu I (531-579). According to the 'Dēnkard',²⁶ the *mōbedān mōbed* came after the king.

From this, we may conclude that the personage wearing a mural crown without globe, represented on the reverse of most of the coins of the early Sāsānian kings, was the *mōbedān mōbed*, the superior of all the *mōbeds*, the great pontiff or the Pope of the Zoroastrian world. It was quite natural that the head of the State and the head of the Church were the guardians of the sacred fire.

Mr. Vasmer (p. 299 sq.) expresses the opinion that the weapon held by the king and the priest is not a sword, but a bundle of *barsom*. Such *questions* should be interpreted in the light of the religious cult and the historical traditions of the period. There is no ceremony in the sacred writings of the Zoroastrians in which the *barsom* is held near the fire, precisely as it is represented on the coins. The king and the priest are represented in the attitude of guardians of the sacred fire (the holy warrior), that is as defenders of the faith. [In the Avestā, fire is called 'the holy warrior.'] The proper weapon for this service is a sword. Sir J. C. Coyajee²⁷ has conclusively proved that the figure with the solar halo around his head, on the Tāq-i Bostān,

23 A Christensen, 'L' Empire des Sassanides', p. 99 sq.

24 'Kitāb at-tanbih wa'l-īsrāf', ed. by Goeje, 'Bibl. geogr. Arab.' Vol. VIII, p. 103, cited by Christensen, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

25 Ed. by Houtsma, Vol. I, p. 202, cited by Christensen, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

26 Ed. by Sanjana, Vol. VI, p. 423.

27 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal', 1926, pp. 391-409.

is Bahrām *yazata*, the angel of victory, and that the weapon, which he holds in his hands, is a sword. On comparing the length of the weapon on the Sāsānian coins with that of the figure on the Tāq, it seems to be certain that the weapon represented on the coins is really a sword. An equal comparison with the weapon held by the king on the Persid coins of the third series, during the first century before Christ, would give the same result. There appears to be a remarkable resemblance between the figure on the Tāq, and those of the king and the priest on Sāsānian coins, and also that of the king on the Persid coins, as regards the attitude and the manner of holding the sword. Obviously, it was a regulation manner to present the weapon in religious ceremonies. Other ways of holding the sword or other weapons on similar occasions are also found on Sāsānian coins.

The gradual tendency to identify or to confuse the attributes of the sacred fire (the holy warrior) and Bahrām *yazata* (the angel of victory) was complete some centuries before Ardashīr I (224-241) succeeded the Arsacids. It must be remembered that we treat of an epoch of syncretisms. We know from the 'Kārnāmak' that this king had established sacred fires of Bahrām, in order to procure favourable auspices. This identification is also found in the establishment of other fires of Bahrām in Persia and also by the Pārsīs in India. The angel Mithra was the guardian angel of the Achaemenians and the Arsacids, whereas the angel Bahrām was of the Sāsānians. The 'Kārnāmak' and the 'Shāhnāmāh' both attribute to this angel the good fortune which Ardashīr had to escape from the great dangers which threatened him. On Sāsānian coins we often find kings and even a queen and a prince wearing crowns ornamented with crests representing the eagle, the boar, the horse and the ram, which all are the incarnations of the same angel. On all important occasions, the Sāsānian kings testified their devotion to their guardian angel. It may be interesting to remark that this angel remains the same even at the present time, the guardian angel of the followers of Zoroaster. From the description of the characteristics of Bahrām *yazata*, such as given in 'Bahrām Yasht' (verses 26-27),²⁸ we know that this angel is the best armed of the heavenly deities, and that he holds a sword with a golden blade (or a golden hilt, according to other translators). Even at the present day, in almost all the temples, a sword is kept fastened on one of the walls of the room where

28 'Sacred Books of the East', Vol. XXIII, p. 238.

the sacred fire is installed. This fact may corroborate the opinion that, according to this identification, the sword is a necessary attribute of the sacred fire (the holy warrior) and of Bahrām yazata, the angel of victory.

No. 5. On certain coins of Bahrām II (276-293), it is difficult to determine the animal represented above the crown of the queen and that of the prince. Vasmer²⁹ has remarked that what we have taken for the head of an eagle above the crown of the prince, on certain coins, is rather that of a lion. Similarly, I propose to mention certain coins on which the head appears to me to be that of a horse instead of a boar. It must be admitted that these animals are generally so badly engraved that it is sometimes difficult to determine whether the head is that of a boar or that of a horse. The drachm of this king, which is the subject of this note, bears the head of a horse above the crown of the queen and that of the prince. A similar piece was described by Mordtmann.³⁰ With the help of the specimen, which is in my cabinet, I am able to determine that on the following coins the head represented is that of a horse and not that of a boar.

I. Type with the bust of the king and the prince.

Above the crown of the prince:

A drachm in the Ermitage Museum.³¹

II. Type with the busts of the king, the queen and the prince.

A. *Above the crown of the queen:*

1. A gold coin in the Berlin Museum.³²

2. A drachm in the Ermitage Museum (No. 214).

B. *Above the crown of the prince:*

A drachm in the cabinet of the author.³³

C. *Above the crowns of the queen and the prince:*

1. A drachm in the British Museum.³⁴

2. An obol in the British Museum.³⁵

3. An obol in the Ermitage Museum (No. 219).

4. A gold coin in the Zubow Collection preserved in the Historical Museum in Moscow.³⁶

FURDOONJEE D. J. PARUCK

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 290.

³⁰ 'Z.D.M.G.', 1880, p. 158, No. 547.

³¹ Vasmer, *op. cit.*, pl. XV, fig. 32.

³² See my book pl. VI, fig. 133.

³³ See my book, pl. VII, fig. 144.

³⁴ See my book, pl. VII, fig. 134.

³⁵ See my book, pl. VII, fig. 158.

³⁶ Vasmer in 'Numismatik international Monatsschrift', Oct.-Nov., 1933, p. 111, fig. 12.

SOME RARE AND UNPUBLISHED COINS OF THE SINDHIAS.

[Plates X-XI.]

For a study of the coins of the Sindhias it is necessary to follow up the history of the growth and rise of this dynasty which once influenced the history of the whole of India. The later Mughals were Emperors in name and nothing but their name is connected with the coinage of India during the 18th and 19th centuries. After the invasion of Nadir in 1739, during the reign of Muhammad Shah most of the States and local authorities took over the control of currency in their own hands and consequently a number of mints sprang up. Almost every important district town had a mint during the sway of the Marathas. This holds good in the case of the Sindhias as well. We are here dealing with only a few of such mints. Though the name of the Mughal Emperor and his regnal year with the corresponding Hijri date appear on these coins, they must be assigned to the Sindhias on historical grounds. An overhauling re-examination, based on this theory, of coins assigned to later Mughals hitherto, is in hand. In the meanwhile, some coins in the cabinet of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, that can be assigned to the Sindhias without any fear of contradiction, are being published here in order of mints. Coins Nos. 1 to 6 are silver, the remainder are copper coins.

SHEOPUR.

Sheopur, commonly known as Sheopuri or Sipri, is a district town of the Gwalior State situated in $25^{\circ} 40' N.$ and $76^{\circ} 42' E.$ on the right bank of the river Sip. The town and the fort here are said to have been founded by Gaur-Rajputs in 1537. In 1567 the fort was surrendered to Akbar during his march to Chittor. In 1808 the country fell to Daulat Rao Sindhia. He granted this place and the adjoining tract to his general Jean Baptist Filose, who wrested the fort from the Gaurs in 1809.*

It is said that Sindhia's general mentioned above established

* Imp. Gaz., Vol. XXII, P. 271-72.

a mint at Sheopur with a cannon surmounted on a gun carriage as mint mark. It is not possible without a reference to the records of the State to say exactly when this mint was closed. But from the evidence of coins mentioned below it can be safely said that the mint was working down to the end of the reign of Jiyaji Rao II (1843 to 1886). The mint is not mentioned in I.M.C., Vol. IV. W. H. Valentine does not seem to have been aware of the existence of coins from this Mint. They were, however, dealt with in a paper entitled "Notes on Coins of Native States" by R. Hoernle as early as 1897 in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Vol. LXVI, part I.), wherein he has given a short description of coins based almost entirely on materials supplied to him by Mr. C. Maires, the then Curator of the Museum and Superintendent of the Horticultural Garden at Gwalior at the suggestion of His Highness the then Maharaja of Gwalior. This article includes many rare coins though the assignment in some cases needs revision. The coins put under Seorha, Ciopur and Sipri mints can all be grouped together under Sheopur. These coins are locally known as Sheopuri or Topshahi rupees. There are three specimens of this in our cabinet. All are in the name of Akbar II with his regnal year and the corresponding Hijri date. No. 1 was issued during the reign of Daulat Rao Sindhia while Nos. 2 and 3 belong to Jiyajirao, who seems to have continued the name and regnal year of Akbar II throughout, like the Holkars of Indore, irrespective of the change of rulers and events at Delhi. Coin No. 3, for instance, bears the R.Y. 113 of Akbar II corresponding with the Hijri year 1333 (1886 A.D.) when neither the ruler nor the Mughal empire existed any more.

1.

Obv.
 (محمد) اکبر شاہ دہلاہ (غاز)
 اصحاب ۱۲۲۸ قرآن شاہ
 سلم مبارک

Rev.
 دہلاہ شاہ دہلاہ
 خزانہ خزانہ
 شیخ پور

2. Same as above in a crude caligraphy with the date 1271 on the obverse above حب of صاحب and the initial letter جی of Jiyajirao on سنہ on the reverse.

3. Same as above except the Regnal year 113 which can be seen on both the sides of the coin.

BASODA.

Basoda is a small portion of Gwalior State comprising about 23 villages bordering on Bhopal and is under the Bhopal agency. It is under the chiefship of a family of Nawabs tracing their establishment from the middle of the 18th century. In 1817 Basoda fell into the hands of Sindhias and the coins said to have been issued from this mint bear the name of Jankoji on the reverse in Devanagari characters. The mint marks, however, resemble those of Bhopal, viz., a trident on shaft and a chauri or flywhisk on the reverse and the date is the 32nd regnal year of Akbar II together with corresponding Hijri date 1252, i.e., 1836 A.D. The coin reads:—



4.

Obv.
(۲) ۱۲۵ محمد (البر شاه)
صاحب قران تانی



Rev.
(میرزا جاس) (لوس)
۳۲
۱۲۵۲
(لوس) جاس

There is no mint name to be seen on this coin. Out of about half a dozen coins noticed by me, not a single coin showed any trace of the mint name. All the same Mr. Hoernle has assigned a similar coin to this mint and it is locally also known as Basodi rupee. Hence it is given here. Possibly a collective study of a hoard of these coins may give a definite clue.

ISAGADH.

5. Like the Basoda rupees, on the basis of local nomenclature, Hoernle has assigned a rupee and half rupee to the mint Isagadh.* Isagdah is a district town in Gwalior State, formerly belonging to the Rajas of Chanderi. It is divided into four Parganas with headquarters at Bajranggad, Kumbhraj, Isagadh and Mungaoti. Hoernle describes the coins as having the legend صاحب قران on the obverse and جاس on the reverse with the symbols of two cannons, one above the other, below the legend and  |  above the upper cannon on the obverse, and on the reverse two cannons similarly placed with the letter ज (ja) to the left and a bow and an arrow below. We have a

* J.B.A.S., 1897, P. 266, Nos. 22 & 23, Pl. XXII.

similar coin in the Prince of Wales Museum cabinet. The mint name cannot be seen on this coin too, but what Hoernle takes as two cannons are the strokes of ت of میمنت and ب of ضرب respectively on the reverse and the strokes ے of ےزے and ےزے respectively on the obverse. The letter ج stands for Jankoji. The legend on our coin being of a better caligraphy clears the mystery of the two cannons on either side. It has the usual legend of Akbar II with the letter ج and the symbol of bow and arrow on the reverse and the mark  |  on the obverse, the explanation of which I have not yet been able to find.

6. There is another silver coin in the aforesaid cabinet which does not show any mint name but can be safely assigned to Jankoji Sindhia. It has the usual legend of Akbar II on the obverse with the Hijri date 1248 corresponding with 1833, the year in which Jankoji took over the reins of administration from the queen regent Baijabai. The reverse bears the fragmentary portions of the usual legend of جاس میمنت مانرس with two symbols, bow and arrow and a battle axe with the regnal year 28 (of Akbar II). The initial letter ج standing for Jankoji can be seen placed upside down in the middle.

BURHANPUR.

Burhanpur is at present a tahsil town in the Nimar district of the Central Provinces. During the Muhammadan rule it played a very important part in the history of India and had all along been a mint town. The issues of the Mughals begin from Akbar's conquest of this place in 1600 A.D. In 1760 Burhanpur was ceded by the Nizam to the Peshwa who, after 18 years, transferred the place to Sindhia. The old mint continued even during this period down to the year 1860 when the British finally got possession of the place. Coins of the Burhanpur mint assigned to the later Mughals after 1720 A.D. need revision. Mr. H. N. Wright, in his Catalogue of Mughal Coins in the Indian Museum, is inclined to assign coins Nos. 2346 and 2347 included therein to the Sindhias who had complete control over the finances and administration of the place. Even the crude caligraphy and the symbols on the coins point towards the same direction. Coins of this mint, therefore, issued after 1760 A.D. even in the name of the Mughal emperors must be

assigned to the Sindhias. A study of the marks on these coins shows that in the earlier stages they bore the same Mughal mint mark (No. 105 I.M.C. III) of a tree which continued in a cruder form and was finally changed into a flower. To this mark was added the trident or a snake at a later stage.

It is usually noticed that the coins issued by local authorities or various Indian States invariably bear the name of the Mughal emperor till 1275, i.e. 1857 A.D., the date of the Indian Mutiny which finally closed the possibility of the revival of the Mughal rule in India. From this date the States began to have their coins in their own names instead of the Mughal Emperor's or substituted it, with that of the British sovereign. But from the coins published herewith, it appears that as early as 1260, i.e. 1842 A.D. the Sindhias had already introduced their own title of Alijah Bahadur on the coins. Let us now see some coins of this mint issued by the Sindhias.

7. This is a dumpy copper coin with big Persian letters showing only the word شاه عالم of شاه on the obverse and the word ضرب with the Mughal Mint mark of a tree.

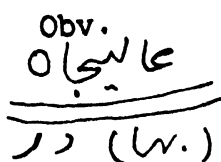
8. This is similar to No. 7 but bears the inverse stamp of شاه عالم on the obverse, which is evidently the die cutter's mistake while introducing this new legend. The obverse though indistinct shows the same mint mark clearly.

9. This is a similar copper coin with the mistake corrected. The obverse has شاه عالم of شاه in the first line and a part of پادشاه while on the reverse we find the central mint mark changed into a five petalled flower with a snake to the right which is also a symbol of the Sindhias used even to this day on the copper issues in a modified form. We also find the figure 60 to the left of the flower which is without doubt meant to be preceded by 12. In the lowest line can be read letters reading هان evidently of Burhanpur. So, this is definitely a coin issued by Madho Rao in 1260 A.H. from Burhanpur mint.

10. This is a similar coin of Madho Rao Sindhia issued from this mint in the year 1275 A.H., i.e. 1857 A.D.

The legend on this coin is the same on the obverse while the reverse shows the symbols of the flower and snake prominently with the date (1)۲۷۵. The lower margin shows traces of the mint mark.

11. This is the same as No. 10 but the specimen being clearer affords an easier reading. The coin reads:—



On some coins of this type we find the mint name written in the original form as برہانپور.

UJJAIN.

Ujjain is a very ancient town and from a very remote age of the punchmarked coins down to the advent of the British rule, coins were issued from this place by the respective ruling powers at different intervals. It has been the capital of Malwa (the ancient Avanti of the Malava desh). Like Burhanpur, Ujjain also fell to the Sindhias during the declining period of the later Mughals. In 1726, Ranoji Sindhia, founder of the present house of Gwalior got the right to collect chaauth (25%) and Sardeshmukhi (10%) in the Malwa district on behalf of the Peshwa Bajirao I and was allowed the remaining (65%), Mokassa for himself. He fixed up his capital at Ujjain and carried on the administration of the Province till his death in 1745. It remained the capital of the Sindhias' dominions till the year 1810 when the headquarters were removed to Gwalior.

As the mint marks or symbols of the Sindhias, he adopted a dagger or a sword, an emblem of bravery and a trident, an emblem of Shiva who is the presiding deity of the town, being sacred to the Hindus. Ujjain is the abode of Mahankaleswara, one of the 12 Jyotirlingas of Shiva. Thus their religious zeal and military spirit are both depicted on the coins of the Sindhias. We have, for instance, a number of coins in the name of the later Mughals with one or both of these symbols on them. They must be assigned to the Sindhias and not to the Mughals, as has been done hitherto. Under the mint note of Ujjain in Vol. III, Nelson Wright has himself made it clear that the series of coins on P. 295-96 of that Catalogue can only by courtesy be called Mughal coins. They all bear the distinctive mark (sword) of the Sindhias. In a later stage these coins and specially the copper coins had very little of the legend while the symbols occupied the prominent position.

12. This is a copper coin of the Ujjain series with a sword on the obverse in the centre with a fragment of س and a trident in the س of perhaps جارس and traces of مانوس above on the reverse. There is no date or mint name to be seen but the symbols are indicative enough of the mint and the issuing authority.

13. This is a coin with a different type of dagger with fragments of usual legend مانوس میمندت جارس on the reverse side below and a part of عالیچاه above on the reverse and some letters reading like بائر باجه (Bai Baja) with the date 12 on the obverse. Can this be a coin of Baijabai issued during her regency between 1827 and 1833? This requires further investigation.

14. This coin has the year 16 on the obverse and a prominently placed dagger of the type of coin No. 13 on the reverse.

15. This is a dumpy coin with a shorter dagger surrounded by a dotted border leaving practically no space for any inscription on the obverse; on the reverse, while the upper half of the coin is worn out, the lower half shows crude writing which can be read on some coins of this type as جین of Ujjain. This mint name together with the dagger help in assigning these coins to the Sindhias. It is, however, impossible to assign them to any ruler.

16. Similar to No. 15 on the obverse while the reverse bears a trident surrounded by dots which is again a Ujjain symbol of the Sindhias.

17. There is still a third variety of dagger to be noticed on this coin with a similar dotted border on the obverse and a trident in the lower two thirds of the reverse with a horizontal line above. There are traces of some letters in the left corner one of which is evidently ضرب of

18. Obverse, similar to No. 17 while the reverse has a few dots and lines which cannot be explained.

19. This small coin bears the name of Muhammad Shah who ruled from 1131 to 1161 A.H. He was a weak ruler and most of the States issued coins in his name with their own distinctive symbols. Here we have a trident, the Ujjain mint mark of the Sindhias, on the reverse with 57 as a part of the date 1157. This falls within the administration of the founder

of the dynasty Ranoji who was in power at Ujjain between 1139 and 1158 A.H. We may, therefore, assign this coin to Ranoji Sindhia. The arrangement of the coin is as under:—

Obv.

محمد شاه
بادشاہ

Rev.

طبرستان
شاه

20. This coin is similar in size and legends to No. 19 but the legend on the obverse is more fragmentary in as much as only دشا of بادشاہ can be seen on the obverse while on the reverse we have fragments of جلوس میمنت مانوس and ضرب with two symbols—a trident (of Ujjain) and a tree (the mint mark of Burhanpur). It cannot be said which of the Sindhias issued this coin with both the mint marks together, but it seems to have been issued, definitely later than No. 19 and earlier than Nos. 7 to 10. The mint is uncertain.

21. This is a square copper coin having on the obverse شاه with date 30 and a six petalled flower which may be a further corrupted form of the Burhanpur mint mark. On the reverse there is a line dividing the coin diagonally in proportion of $\frac{2}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{3}$. The larger area shows a part of the trident and inverted fragment جلوس of جلار . The traces of letters in the remaining portion are illegible. If we take 30 to be the R.Y. of Akbar II, the coin can be assigned to Jiyajirao (1827-1843 A.D.).

22. This is similar to No. 21, but the date on شاه of the obverse side is 106 which, if taken as a continued regnal year of Akbar II, corresponds with 1306 A.H. which falls during the reign of Madho Rao Sindhia.

23 to 26. Like the above coins there is still another variety which bears the flower of Burhanpur on the obverse and a trident of Ujjain on the reverse in modified forms. These coins can be safely said to be the forerunners of the current Gwalior pice. The arrangement on these coins is as under:—

Obv.

شاه
۲

Rev.

شاه

Obv.:—A shafted lance to the left and the snake above the flower mark to the right with the letter ज्ञी (standing for Jayajirao) in the middle with 2 or 12 below, which may be a part of the Hijri date twelve hundred and odd.

Rev.:—An ordinary or a shafted trident with the trace of a date standing probably for the regnal year with جلس of placed upside down.

All the four coins seem to have been issued by Jiyaji. They are illustrated here to facilitate a collective study and to show slight differences in each of them in the ornamentation of the trident and lance.

The mint is uncertain. Possibly they may have been issued from Gwalior by Jiyajirao.

In Vol. IV of the Catalogue of the Indian Museum, we have a dynastic list of the Sindhias beginning from Daulat Rao. But as in this paper we have dealt with the coins of earlier rulers as well, it would not be out of place to give a list of all the rulers of that dynasty from the founder down to the present ruler with Hijri and A.D. dates for ready reference.

		A.H.	A.D.
(1)	Ranoji ...	1139-1158	1726-1745
(2)	Jayappa. or Jiyaji I	1158-1173	1745-1759
(3)	Jankoji ...	1173-1175	1759-1761
(He was killed in the third battle of Panipat).			
(4)	Mahadji ...	1175-1209	1761-1794
(5)	Daulatrao ...	1209-1243	1794-1827
(6) (a)	Baijabai (Queen Regent)	1243-1249	1827-1833
(b)	Jankoji Rao	1243-1259	1827-1843
(He assumed power in 1833).			
(7)	Jayajirao II ...	1259-1302	1843-1886
(8)	Madho Rao ...	1302-1341	1886-1925
(Obtained powers in 1894 on attaining majority).			
(9) (a)	Court of Regency ...	1341-1353	1925-1936
(b)	Jeevaji Rao — ...	The present ruler installed in	1936 A.D.

R. G. GYANI.

THE LAW OF TREASURE TROVE IN INDIA AND THE PRACTICE IN DEALING WITH IT.*

The method by which the East India Company dealt with cases of treasure trove is described in Harrington's *Analysis of the Bengal Laws and Regulations* (Vol. iii, p. 764). At the outset, probably following the practice of Mughal governors, the Company appears to have claimed everything found. As this led to oppression a proclamation was issued in 1777 declaring that, for the future, 'all treasure shall be the property of those who may discover it'. This sweeping renunciation of claims was modified later by a resolution that it should apply only to cases where the treasure found did not exceed a lac of rupees. Hidden treasure which exceeded that amount should be at the disposal of government if no owner was ascertained. Inquiry was then made from the law officers of the Court of Sadar Diwani (or chief civil court) to ascertain the provisions of Muhammadan and Hindu law, and as their reports differed materially from each other it was decided to lay down uniform principles.

According to Hindu texts, as quoted by the Pandits, a learned Brahman who found a treasure was entitled to the whole. If the king himself discovered a treasure he should give half to the Brahmans and retain the rest. Opinions differed as to the rights of other finders. Manu and Yājñavalkya declared that the finder might keep one-sixth but must surrender the rest to the king. Gautama would give the whole to the king except a trifle to the finder. Viṣṇu would distinguish cases as the finder was a Kṣatriya, a Vaisya or a Sūdra, making each of them surrender a stated portion both to the king and to Brahmans. The Pandits thought that Manu's dictum should be followed.

The Muslim law officers drew a distinction between treasure which bore a distinctly Mussalman impression, such as the Kalima, a verse from the Qoran or the name of a Muhammadan

* We are indebted to Sir Richard Burn for obtaining permission for the re-publication of his valuable paper in this Journal so that the important information contained in it may be available to numismatists and collectors in India. As the paper was originally published in the *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress*, 1936, it has been revised and brought up-to-date by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., F.R.A.S.B., Director General of Archaeology in India and President of the Numismatic Society of India—Ed., J.N.S.I.

king, and treasure bearing other impressions such as the image of an idol, or the name of a non-Muslim king. Muslim treasure became the property of the finder if after he had advertised it properly no claimant proved a title to it. It was added that if the finder were a rich person he must bestow it in alms upon the poor, though the pauper recipients might be his parents, children, or wives.

Of non-Muslim treasure the king was entitled to a share of one-fifth, and the finder to the remainder if the treasure was found in waste land. The authorities differed as to the rights of the finder when the find-spot lay in appropriated land, some giving the four-fifths not to him but to the person to whom that land was first granted after the subjugation of the country by the faithful, or to his heirs. But it was said to be the universally received opinion that when an existing proprietor laid claim to the trove, declaring that it was deposited by himself, his declaration was to be credited.

Regulation 5 of 1817 embodied in law the rules for dealing with cases. It applied to hidden treasure consisting of gold or silver coin, or bullion, or precious stones or other valuable property found buried in the earth or otherwise concealed, and it laid down a procedure of inquiry. A finder was required to notify his discovery within one month to the district or city judge, and to deposit the treasure in court. Failure to notify rendered him liable to lose his rights to it. The discovery was advertised and a period of six months allowed for claim. Any claim of title made was inquired into, and if no right was proved the finder received the whole treasure up to a value of one lac, any excess going to government. An appeal lay from the judge's order to the provincial court. Revenue officers had to bring forward any claim of right which government might appear to possess.

Similar provisions were enacted for the Madras Presidency in 1832 and 1838, and were applied to territories acquired later, such as the Punjab, Oudh, the Central Provinces, and Burma. They remained in force till 1878, when Act VI of that year replaced them. The reasons for new legislation are of interest. It was found very doubtful what law was actually in force in the Bombay Presidency outside the city. In the three Presidency towns of Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta it was not certain what law applied and it was thought probable that English law was in force there. The Regulation of 1817 had been found to give inducements to the finder to conceal or make away with his treasure. Sir Steuart Bayley when he introduced the Bill stated

that in the last thirty years he had known no case in which government had benefitted by a share, as no trove had been reported exceeding a lakh in value.

By the new Act which is still in force treasure is now defined as 'anything of any value hidden in the soil, or in anything affixed thereto.' A finder of treasure exceeding in amount or value ten rupees is required to give notice in writing to the Collector of the district showing the nature and amount or approximate value of the treasure, the place where it was found and the date of finding, and he either deposits the treasure in a government treasury or gives security for its production when required. A notification is then published calling for claims on a date between four and six months later. Notice is also given to the person in possession of the place where the treasure was found if he was not the finder.

If the Collector sees reason to believe that the treasure was hidden within 100 years before the date of finding by a person who appears, or by some other under whom such person claims, he adjourns the inquiry to allow the claimant to establish his right in a civil court. Failing such a decision and where the treasure appears to be more than 100 years old the Collector may declare the treasure 'ownerless', subject to an appeal by any aggrieved person to the Chief Revenue Authority. If there is a dispute as to the ownership of the land a period is allowed for decision by the civil court. When all these questions are decided the law provides that in the absence of any agreement to the contrary the finder takes three-fourths and the owner of the land one-fourth.

But when treasure has been declared 'ownerless' the Collector may acquire all or any part of it on behalf of government, and in that case he values the amount to be acquired at a sum equal to the value of the materials of such treasure or portion together with one-fifth of such value.

This provision for acquisition by government at a price fixed by the intrinsic value of the treasure plus a definite percentage was explained by Sir S. Bayley as borrowed from a law in force in Denmark which had had the result of marking the government collection of national antiquities in that country the finest then existing. It is gratifying to know that the working of Act VI of 1878 has certainly improved the official collections of coins in India.

Penalties for failing to report finds have been made more severe, as a finder who does not give notice is liable not only to forfeit his share, but also to fine and imprisonment. And the

owner of the place of finding, if he abets the finder, may also lose his share and be fined and imprisoned.

Now we pass on to the measures taken to advise government as to what specimens should be acquired by the Collector on its behalf when the treasure consists of coins. In 1884 the Government of India issued a resolution to guide Local Governments in this matter, as the power of making rules under the Act of 1878 was vested in them. They were advised to frame rules directing that Collectors should invariably acquire for government all old coins not of British mintage. They were then to send the coins to the Asiatic Society of the Presidency in which the coins had been discovered for report on the nature of the coins and their numismatic value. Specimens worth acquiring were to be given to certain public collections in a specified order and the rest sold at the mints. The instructions that all coins should be acquired was modified almost immediately and discretion was allowed, though in some provinces indiscriminate acquisition continued. It was reported that the Madras branch of the Royal Asiatic was practically defunct and coins found in that Presidency were examined by the authorities of the museum. Other variations were made from time to time in the arrangements for skilled examination which need not be detailed. In 1899 it became necessary to reconsider this matter in the United Provinces where coins had latterly been examined at the Lucknow Museum and the Government decided to appoint a small committee of persons interested in numismatics, one of whom acted as secretary and prepared a detailed report which was circulated to other members for their criticisms and also contained proposals in regard to the acquisition and distribution of specimens. At that time and almost continuously since then members were and have been available whose joint interests covered the entire field of coins found in the United Provinces.

In 1905 the Director-General of Archaeology, Mr. (now Sir) John Marshall, referred the whole question to the Government of India at the instance of the late Mr. Henry Cousens, who was in charge of the Archaeological Survey of Western India. Mr. Cousens pointed out that though he was examining on behalf of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and reporting on treasure trove found in Bombay, the Poona Museum which was in his charge received no specimens as it was not on the list drawn up by the Government of India twenty years earlier. Inquiries showed that the Asiatic Society of Bengal was still responsible for examining coins from Bengal, Assam, Bihar,

the Central Provinces, and the Punjab, while Dr. (now Sir Aurel) Stein examined those found in the North-West Frontier Province, and the arrangements in Madras, Bombay, and the United Provinces were as already described. It was also ascertained that the procedure in Bengal had not been satisfactory. Before Mr. Nelson Wright was appointed Honorary Numismatist to the Society in 1905, no detailed record of each find was maintained, though in the past scholars like Blochmann and Hoernle had published accounts of specially interesting discoveries. Some local governments were unable to say what had become of treasure they had sent to Calcutta. Official attitude is sometimes sceptical about the value of such things. In 1891 a Secretary to the Government of India wrote in criticism of a proposal to purchase a celebrated collection:

'There is perhaps no very useful object gained in making a complete collection of coins any more than in making a complete collection of postage stamps. Every new coin found may be of historical use and interest, but known coins described already are of little use and cost a good deal. If required for comparison duplicate sets can be obtained at any time from the British Museum. It is doubtful, therefore, if any encouragement should be given to the purchase of known coins merely for the purpose of making a collection more perfect.'

I have heard a similar expression of belief by the author of a well-known book on the history of an Oriental country more recently, but I do not find it shared by the Keeper of the Coins in the British Museum or by his assistants. Fortunately it was not shared by the Government of India, which in 1907 issued general orders that still govern the main principles of dealing with treasure trove.

In the first place they laid stress on the importance of recording the origin, surroundings, and exact nature of each find, pointing out that such a record might be of value for two reasons: it might throw light on the history of the place of discovery, or it might give a clue to the attribution and arrangement of different series of coins. To secure such records the value of which increases with their number and accuracy local governments were asked to communicate with the Director-General of Archaeology, who undertook to maintain a list of persons who were competent and willing to examine coins and prepare reports on them. At present every Province and many of the larger States have been able to make satisfactory arrangements for examination, and I hope that records are being maintained. Rai Bahadur

Prayag Dayal, Curator of the Lucknow Museum, who is Secretary to the Committee in the United Provinces, tells me that for the last thirty-six years they have detailed records filed in the Museum of 95,326 coins which have been received as treasure trove. It not infrequently happens that finds are reported the intrinsic value of which is less than Rs. 10. In such cases the practice in the United Provinces is to offer the numismatic value, and many coins have been acquired in that way.

One important provision made by the Government of India in 1921 deserves attention. According to the Treasure Trove Act the finder of a treasure is entitled only to one-fifth of the value in addition to the intrinsic or bullion value of a treasure. In order to induce the finders of treasure of exceptional value to report the discovery, special rewards are now allotted to the legal claimants by the Director General of Archaeology in the case of valuable finds. A reward of Rs. 500/- was given in accordance with this provision for the find of an exceptionally rich hoard of Bengal Sulṭāns at Keteen in the Dacca District.

It is gratifying to find that the lead of British India in respect of the Treasure Trove Act and the regulations thereunder is followed by several of the forward Indian States, and such of the States as have not yet enacted such laws have agreed to adopt the provisions in dealing with finds of Treasure Trove within their jurisdiction.

Arrangements for publication vary. Important finds are often described in detail in various journals, while annual notices are published in Museum or Archaeological Reports and the Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India includes a summary of all such notices as are received by the department. Beginning with the present issue information regarding Treasure Trove will be published in the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India. Since 1931 a note on Indian numismatics has appeared in the *Annual Bibliography* published by the Kern Institute at Leyden.

After examination, the question of the disposal of the coins arises, and in 1907 it was decided to alter the order in which collections had been arranged for the receipt of duplicates. First choice is given to the principal museum in the Province in which a treasure has been found. It had been argued that the Indian Museum should come first, or that a rare coin should go to the Museum nearest the place where it had been struck. But it was pointed out that local enthusiasm had made several Provincial Museums richer in various series than the Indian Museum and

that students would be more likely to visit their own institutions than Calcutta. And to the second argument it was replied that modern territorial divisions did not coincide with ancient kingdoms. The Indian Museum was, therefore, placed next after the provincial museum, and the remaining official museums in India, numbering about a dozen at that time, were ranged in order of the importance of their existing collections. After supplying specimens to all these, the British Museum was named, and then local museums in a province maintained by universities or other non-official bodies. If coins of real numismatic value turn up in numbers more than sufficient to supply all institutions on the list the extra coins are also acquired and placed on sale at the museum or at one of the mints in India. Such coins are advertised, and collectors may register their names to receive lists of them. After five years those remaining unsold are melted down.

One difficulty in distribution arose from the absence of catalogues, as it is unnecessary in many cases to send duplicates to a museum. That has been remedied by the publications of Dr. V. A. Smith, Mr. Nelson Wright, and Mr. Allan for the Indian Museum, of Mr. Whitehead for Lahore, of Mr. C. J. Brown and Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal for Lucknow, of Drs. Thurston and Henderson for Madras, Mr. C. S. Botham for Assam, and of Messrs. Singhal and Acharya for the Gujarāt coins in the Prince of Wales Museum at Bombay. It is to be hoped that other museums will follow suit.

In this connection it is fitting to refer to the stimulus to numismatic studies in India caused by the foundation of the Numismatic Society of India in 1910 through the energy of Mr. Nelson Wright. Its publication, the Numismatic Supplement to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (now the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India), has spread an interest throughout the country which has shown itself in advancing knowledge and in the enrichment of public and private collections. We have seen and heard much lately about Federation in India, and are waiting to see what is going to happen in the matter of administrative relations. The latest report I have received from Lucknow shows that in numismatics federal relations have already come into existence. As many as thirty-four Durbars of Indian States have entered into exchange relations with the United Provinces and several more desire to obtain by exchange certain classes of coins. The omen seems favourable.

R. BURN.

REVIEWS

TWO CATALOGUES OF COINS, CHIEFLY OF THE BENGAL SULTĀNS.

Catalogue of Coins presented to the Dacca Museum by Sayyid A. S. M. Taifoor, by N. K. Bhattasali, M.A., Ph.D. With 6 Plates. Pp. xx+40. Rs. 2.

Catalogue of Coins presented to the Dacca Museum by Hakim Habibar Rahman Khan, by N. K. Bhattasali, M.A., Ph.D. With 3 Plates. Pp. 12+45. Rs. 2.

Both these collections were the outcome of many years' accumulation, handed down as heirlooms in their families by the ancestors of the two donors and added to by their own respective acquisitions. The two collections have greatly enriched the coin cabinet of the Dacca Museum and will help research in Muhammadan numismatics, especially of the Bengal period. The Taifoor collection, besides a few punch-marked coins, comprises the coins of five dynasties, of which the Sultāns of Bengal and Dehli form the major portion. Hakim Habibar Rahman's collection, on the other hand, represents eleven ruling houses and here, too, the Bengal and Dehli Sultāns predominate. Three coins of outstanding interest from the historical point of view merit mention here. Two are silver issues of Sher Shāh, one in each of the above-named collections, dated in 945 A.H. Another coin of Sher Shāh's bearing this date has been described and illustrated by H. Nelson Wright (*vide*: The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultāns of Dehli, p. 270, coin 1040 B, Pl. 21), who also mentions a duplicate. This date puts back the coronation of Sher Shāh by a year. The third notable coin is in the Hakim Sahib's collection and is a silver piece of Humayun minted at Tānda, once the capital of Bengal during its later rulers. The mint name cannot unfortunately be read from the photograph of the coin.

Mention must be made of the author's discovery of some new mint names on some coins of these two collections: he has found, for instance, the mint name Chandrābād in coin No. 149 of Husain Shāh, Bārbakābād in No. 119 of Bārbak Shāh and Muzaffarābād in No. 132 of the same king in the Taifoor collection, and of his attempts at finding a satisfactory solution of the date 899 A.H., which appears on coins of Husain Shāh of Bengal as well as on rupees of some of his successors. We regret

that the symbols impressed on the nine punch-marked coins have not been described.

Dr. Bhattasali's method of describing the coins is interesting and peculiarly his own. Scholars will find a ready reference to important and exceptionally interesting specimens. The plates illustrating typical specimens seem to have been prepared with care and attention.

SHAMSUDDIN AHMED.

NEW VIEWS IN INDO-GREEK NUMISMATICS.

In trying to recover "a lost chapter in Hellenistic history", Dr. W. W. Tarn, in his work entitled 'The Greeks in Bactria and India', has brought together a mass of important materials which, with the strikingly original contribution made by him to his subject, will stimulate further research. I propose to discuss a few points which may be of immediate interest to investigators in the field of Indo-Greek numismatics. Dr. Tarn makes out a strong case for interpreting the monograms on Indo-Greek coins as denoting not mint-cities (as originally suggested by Cunningham) but names of moneyers. The recurrence of the same monogram in the coinage of several generations can be explained on the supposition that the moneyer's office was hereditary, so that the same name but not necessarily the same personality may lie hidden behind one and the same monogram. The theory must, however, labour under one difficulty. When a particular monogram is found on coins of king X as well as on coins of king Y, we cannot at once infer that X and Y reigned in succession, in the absence of corroborative evidence.

Perhaps the most startling suggestion is made in respect of the commemorative medallions associated prominently with the name of Agathocles. Dr. Tarn regards these issues as "Agathocles' pedigree coins", which is the caption of one of a number of important Appendices. To reach this far-reaching conclusion he draws upon the analogy of a fictitious pedigree set out in a series of inscriptions for which Antiochus I of Commagene was responsible. The inscriptions are stated to occur below representations of his ancestors "each inscription giving the name and patronymic of the corresponding figure; these inscriptions professedly give the respective pedigrees of his father, going back to Darius, and of his mother Laodice Thea Philadelphos, who was a Seleucid princess, a daughter of Antiochus VIII Grypus; and his mother's pedigree is the ordinary Seleucid pedigree but begins with Alexander." Dr. Tarn offers his own explanation of how the descent from Alexander may have been derived fictitiously by making Seleucus Nicator's wife, Apama,—in reality the daughter of the Sogdian baron Spitamenes—a daughter of Alexander. He then proceeds to argue that a similar pedigree is intended to be proclaimed on behalf of Agathocles by his medallion series, admittedly struck in his reign but bearing on the obverse representations of Alexander, Antiochus Nikator,

Diodotus Soter, Euthydemus Theos and Demetrios Aniketos. By affiliating the two series he draws up the "fictitious" genealogy: Alexander—Apama (*m.* Seleucus I)—Antiochus I—Antiochus II (= Antiochus Nikator)—daughter (*m.* Diodotus)—daughter (*m.* Euthydemus of Magnesia)—Demetrius—Agathocles. Critics will probably be slow to accept the complete parallelism between the inscriptions series and the coin series; and the presence of a "fictitious" element will no doubt stand in the way of their utilisation as documents of genuine history. But there can be no doubt that Agathocles was, if not a son, at any rate a close relative—say a younger brother—of Demetrius; this is shown by the resemblance in features between Euthydemus and Agathocles. A similar resemblance may be detected between Demetrius and Pantaleon. And numismatists have long regarded Agathocles and Pantaleon as closely related by their coin-types and by their common employment of nickel for the type 'Bust of king as Dionysus: Maneless lion touching vine,' which I have connected with the locality called Nysa, whose people convinced Alexander of their special association with Dionysus and the vine-cult (IHQ., 1934, p. 511). Another link between Pantaleon and Agathocles is provided by their common coin-type bearing on one side a 'maneless lion' and on the other a female figure holding a lotus, usually described as a 'dancing girl'. Dr. Tarn has rejected my suggestion that she is the goddess of Pushkalāvati on the ground that "one cannot imagine the Fortune of a city without her mural crown and dancing, and on the solitary autonomous coin of Pushkalāvati she wears her mural crown". If, however, reference be made to the Indian Museum specimen figured by Smith (I.M.C., Pl. II, 2) the mural crown will be distinctly seen. On that specimen as well as on the specimens figured by Gardner (B.M.C., Pl. IV, 9) and by Whitehead (P.M.C. Pl. II, 35) we find below the lotus-bearing civic divinity the Indian crane, for which the Sanskrit name is '*sārasa*', and '*Pushkara*' can in Sanskrit signify both the 'lotus' and the '*sārasa*'. Eliminating the crane, the lotus-bearing divinity ceases to look like a dancing girl, although curiously enough the dancing pose might be justified by the fact that '*Pushkara*' also means the art of dancing; and, apart from the circumstance that Indian deities are not always averse to poses usually associated with dancing, the instability of Fortune was proverbial and may possibly be represented by a dynamic pose.

A brilliant interpretation is offered by Dr. Tarn (p. 158) of the three-headed Hecate in the hand of Zeus on a silver type of

Agathocles. She is Hecate of the three ways, who was worshipped where three roads met and only one such meeting place of three ways can be meant, namely the meeting place of the three routes across the Hindu Kush from Bactria. Alexandria-Kapisa, that "gateway of the trade between India and the West" stood at the point of junction and Hecate of the three ways was doubtless worshipped there. Equally acute is the suggestion that Demetrius modelled much of his activity on Alexander's example. His title "Aniketos", 'the Invincible', is aptly connected with the story in Plutarch that, when Alexander visited the oracle of Delphi, the Pythea hailed him by that title.

The Graeco-Bactrian invasion of India is reconstructed on the basis that it was carried out by the joint efforts of Demetrius, Apollodotus and Menander. Dr. Tarn accepts Rapson's theory of the contemporaneity of Demetrius, Apollodotus and Menander but contests the conclusion, and (I believe) rightly, that Menander belonged to the house of Euthydemus. It is, however, difficult to agree with him in his view that Apollodotus may have been a younger brother of Demetrius rather than a mere general or 'chief'. Demetrius' confidence in him cannot be made a measure of originally near relationship: the same confidence in Menander may be presumed on Dr. Tarn's own data. Dr. Tarn says that Apollodotus' regular coin-type for bronze is Seleucidan, but while the Seleucid type as noted by him has the '*Head of Apollo with Tripod lebes*'; the type employed by Apollodotus '*Standing Apollo: Tripod lebes*', as Rapson observes, bears "evident allusion to the king's name". Not recognising such "evident allusion", Dr. Tarn is led to express surprise at the circumstance that the royal portrait is absent from the coins of two other Indo-Greek princes. I suggest that the absence of royal portraits in these three cases—(quite exceptional in view of the general rule among the Indo-Greeks) can be best explained by their employment of types bearing allusion to their names or distinctive epithets. As Apollodotus' coins represent *Apollo* on the obverse in lieu of his own portrait, so the issues of Antimachus II, who takes the epithet 'Nikephoros', figure *Nike* on the obverse. The case of Telephus is more interesting. Dr. Tarn goes very near what appears to be the true solution when he observes that the silver issue of Telephus "shows on the obverse a serpent-footed giant and on the reverse a radiate king or god facing a male figure with horns, a group which might belong to Iranian mythology. The giant suggests that the artist of the coin had seen the Pergamene frieze,

another sign that intercourse with the west was maintained till the end; if we knew why the giant occupies the place on the coin normally filled by the king's head we might know who and what Telephus was." The allusion, I think, is to the mythical Telephus, son of Herakles, whose legend pervades the Pergamene scheme: what Apollo was to King Apollodotus, Telephus was to King Telephus. One other point of numismatic interest relates to Dr. Tarn's interpretation of the 'Wheel'—symbol along with the 'Palm' on a rare type struck by Menander. The Wheel has hitherto been considered to represent *dharmachakra*, symbolising Buddhism; but Dr. Tarn suggests that it signifies Menander's claim to political overlordship—to the status of a *chakravartin* in the political sense. I do not propose to argue at length here the question whether Menander became a Buddhist. But I may point out that, if the 'Wheel' of Menander had been intended to denote the status of political overlordship, we would hardly have found the same symbol on copper coins of Bhumaka, a mere satrap. Bhumaka probably ruled shortly after Menander, since he preceded Nahapana whose successor was Gautamīputra Sātakarnī, founder of the Vikrama era of 58 B.C., as I hope to have shown in *Zeits. f. Ind. u. Iran.*, 1922, pp. 255 ff; and the coins of Bhumaka are found 'in the coasting regions of Gujarat and Kathiawad; and also some times in Malwa' (Rapson, *Andhra coins &c.*, p. cvii, citing Bhagvanlal), that is to say, in an area once subject to Indo-Greek sway. It seems more reasonable to hold that Menander's 'Wheel' and 'Palm' represent, in their combination, the Asokan concept of *dharma-vijaya*—the 'Wheel' representing *dharma*, the 'Palm' representing *vijaya*. We find the concept specially emphasised by Asoka (in his Rock Edict XIII) in connection with his contemporary Hellenistic monarchs as also the Greek settlers (Yonas) in India; and Asoka exhorts his successors to pursue his ideal of *dharma-vijaya*. It would be natural for the Indo-Greek Menander to proclaim his loyalty to the ideal; and grateful recollection of such loyalty would admirably account for the existence of the *Milinda-pañha*.

HARIT KRISHNA DEB.

NOTES AND NEWS

OURSELVES :

At the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India, held in Calcutta on 26th December, 1938, the following Resolution was moved from the Chair and passed unanimously :

“Resolved that henceforth the journal of the Numismatic Society of India be published independently as the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.”

The Resolution gave expression to a long-felt desire of the members of the Society to have their own journal and marked the termination of the arrangement under which papers contributed to the Numismatic Society of India had been published as the “Numismatic Supplement” to the Journal of the Asiatic (now Royal Asiatic) Society of Bengal. We now present our readers with the first issue of our Journal published in accordance with the above Resolution. We are in complete accord with the remark made by Col. H. R. Neville, C.I.E., I.C.S. (ret'd.), the then President, eleven years ago, when a journal which the Society could call its own was only a vision of the future, that such a journal should have but one standard, namely the highest. We have, therefore, endeavoured to maintain the high standard of excellence set by the first editors of the Numismatic Supplement, the predecessor of our Journal, and have attempted to improve upon it wherever possible. The present issue comprises fully a hundred pages, containing papers in almost every field of Indian numismatics and allied spheres; and nearly a dozen carefully prepared plates. The ‘Notes and News’ is a new feature and in this section we aim to give the latest available information regarding finds and acquisitions made by museums, both in India and abroad. News regarding treasure trove coins for sale will be included, whenever thought desirable. In this first issue we have even succeeded, through the ready collaboration of our contributors, in including exhaustive papers on some of the latest finds, e.g., the important find in Bastar State, C.P., made only a few months ago, and on some of the latest acquisitions made by museums, e.g., Mr. Nelson Wright, I.C.S. (ret'd.)’s paper on the recent additions to the collection of Mughal coins in the British Museum. We shall also keep our

readers informed about the publication of articles of interest in our field in other journals; wherever the importance of an article demands it we shall publish a comprehensive summary and, if considered desirable, the paper itself will, if possible, be reproduced with additions and alterations, if necessary, and in this connection we would refer to two valuable papers in this issue, one on Sāsānian coins and the other on the law and practice of treasure trove in India. To successfully accomplish these objects we look for co-operation to the Archaeological Survey of India, the various museums, treasure trove authorities, journals devoted to the study of Indology and to all who are interested in Indian numismatics.

MUSEUM REPORTS :

The Director General of Archaeology in India, who is at present also the President of the Numismatic Society of India, requested a number of the principal museums to forward copies of their annual reports to the Editor so that information of interest to numismatists could be included in the Journal. The following reports have been received :

Annual Report of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, for the year 1937-38.

Annual Report of the Managing Committee of the Patna Museum for the year ending 31st March, 1938.

Annual Report of the Dacca Museum for 1937-38, as well as

Annual Report of the Dacca Museum for 1936-37, and
A Resume of the Activities of the Dacca Museum from 1926-27 to 1934-35 and Annual Report of the Dacca Museum for 1935-36.

Annual Report of the working of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmere, for the year ending 31st March, 1938.

No reports have been received from the Central Museum, Madras, the Provincial Museum, Lucknow (except a detailed statement regarding acquisitions to the Coin Cabinet), the Central Museum, Lahore, Nagpur Museum, Peshawar Museum, Phayre Rangoon Museum, Victoria Museum, Karachi, and Historical Museum, Satara.

MUSEUM ACQUISITIONS :

British Museum : The British Museum Quarterly, Vol. XII, No. 4, 1938, mentions the acquisition of important gold

coins of Akbar and Jahāngīr from the collection of Mr. H. Nelson Wright, I.C.S. (ret'd.). Mr. Nelson Wright has described the coins in this Journal (*vide*: pp. 43-49).

The Indian Museum acquired during the current year the twenty silver coins described in "A Treasure Trove Find of Silver Coins of Bengal Sultāns" by Maulavi Shamsu-d-din Ahmed in this issue (*vide*: pp. 36-37).

The Curator of the *Provincial Museum, Lucknow*, reports that 91 coins, of which 2 were gold, 40 silver and 49 copper, were acquired during the year 1938. Of the two gold coins purchased, one is a fine *muhr* of Jahāngīr, minted at Aḥmadābād in the fifteenth year of his reign, corresponding to A.H. 1029; it was formerly in the Gotha Museum. The other gold coin is a half *muhr* of Amjād 'Alī Shāh of Oudh and was struck at Lucknow in A.H. 1258. The silver coins represent issues of the kings of Oudh required to fill gaps in the collection of Oudh coins, for which the claim is made that it is the most representative.

The Prince of Wales Museum acquired during 1937-38, 28 silver and 56 copper coins by presentation, and 23 gold, 89 silver and 53 copper coins by purchase. Beyond a brief statement as to the number of coins added to the cabinet and a classified list of the coins, no information is given as to whether any coins are of outstanding interest to numismatists. The list, however, shows that 9 silver and 3 copper punch-marked coins were purchased along with two copper Indo-Greek, 3 Indo-Parthian and 12 tribal coins of copper and 63 silver Sāsānian coins, the remaining coins being coins of the Sultāns of Dehli, the Mughal Emperors and the Indian States and one Indo-Portuguese coin.

Patna Museum: The Machuatoli (Patna) hoard of punch-marked coins, consisting of 2,232 coins, was the most important acquisition to the coin cabinet of the Patna Museum during the period, according to the consolidated report for the years 1935-36, 36-37 and 37-38 of the Coin Committees, published in the Annual Report of the Managing Committee of the Patna Museum for the year ending 31st March, 1938. A very large number of Muhammadan and non-muhammadan coins were added to the Bihar Coin Cabinet, Patna Museum, by presentation or purchase and a list is given in an appendix to the Annual Report, mentioned above. It is stated that a separate descriptive list of the Machuatoli hoard would be published later as a supplement to the Annual Report. A paper on this hoard as well

as on the Ramna (Patna) find has since been published by E. H. C. Walsh, C.S.I., I.C.S. (retd.) in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

Dacca Museum: Besides 6 silver coins of Yasomānikya-deva of Tippera and the Queens Lakṣmīgaurī and Jayā, dated 1522 Śaka, and 1 silver coin of Rājādharmaṇikya of Tippera and Queen Satyavatī, dated 1508 Śaka, presented to it, the Dacca Museum did not acquire any other important coins during the year 1937-38.

The Rajputana Museum, Ajmere, acquired, during 1937-38, 51 silver and 16 copper coins, being coins of the Sultāns of Dehlī and of the Mughal Emperors, with the exception of one coin each of Śivajī, of a Bahmani king and of a Peshwa (name not given) who struck a coin in the name of Shāh 'Ālam II.

It is to be regretted that museum reports generally furnish only statistics of coins acquired and very rarely information regarding any coins of special numismatic interest.

TREASURE TROVE REPORTS :

The following report has been received :

Triennial Report on Coins dealt with under the Treasure Trove Act for the years 1934-35, 1935-36 and 1936-37, published by the Central Provinces and Berar Government.

As many as forty six treasure trove finds are recorded in the report, comprising 78 gold, 826 silver and 177 copper coins, in all 1,081 coins, which were acquired by government under the Act. The coins included coins of Sultāns of Gujarāt, the Bahmanī kings, Imadshāhī dynasty of Berar, kings of Vijayanagar, Emperors of Dehli and coins of William IV, Queen Victoria and even of King Edward VII. Barring 20 silver and 16 copper coins which were kept for sale at the Nagpur Museum, the remaining coins were distributed among various museums and Durbars. The latest find, that made in Bastar State, C.P., is later than the above Report and has been described in this Journal by Prof. V. V. Mirashi (*vide*: Gold coins of three kings of the Nala dynasty, pp. 29-35).

The Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, reports that 20 silver coins of the Sultāns of Bengal were found at Hanspukur, in the Kalna Sub-division of the Burdwan district, Bengal, and were acquired for the Indian Museum. The coins have been described by Maulavi Shamsuddin Ahmed

in this issue (*vide*: A Treasure-Trove Find of Silver Coins of the Bengal Sultāns, pp. 36-37).

The Curator of the Patna Museum refers to the find of antiquities in the course of building operations in the compound of the Imperial Bank, Patna Branch, the most remarkable being a copper band, 11" long, 1" wide and 1/10" thick with punch marks found on punch-marked coins. The band has been discussed in two articles contributed to the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society (*vide*: *infra*).

TREASURE TROVE COINS FOR SALE:

The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society forwards several lists of treasure trove coins available for sale at the Mint, Bombay. Besides 332 gold Fanams of Travancore of the 18th and 19th centuries, there are a number of silver and copper Mughal coins for sale as well as a gold coin of Sadāśivarāya of Vijayanagar and a silver coin of Bajirao II.

The Central Museum, Lahore, has for sale a number of gold *muhrs* of Shāh Jahān of Akbarābād mint besides a number of silver coins of Muḥammad Shāh and 'Ālamgīr II.

The Central Museum, Nagpur, has a number of silver punch-marked coins, coins of the Western Kṣtrapas and of Kṛṣṇa Rājā as well as a few Gadhiya coins for sale.

PATNA MUSEUM'S LOSS:

The Coin Room of the Patna Museum was burgled either on the night of the 27th April or in the early hours of the 28th April, 1939. As many as 502 gold coins and about 19 gold articles were found missing on the morning of the 28th April. The Gupta gold coins included the valuable collection of W. E. M. Campbell, in which the most important coin was the second known specimen of the Aśvamedha coin of Kumāragupta I. The collection of the coins of the Sultāns of Dehli and of the Mughal Emperors was also large and important. Before this, gold coins had been stolen from other museums in India but a burglary on such a large scale had never been attempted. The coins have not been recovered so far. All museums in this country should take immediate steps to properly protect their coin collections. As surmised by the Bihar Government it is not unlikely that a gang with ramifications in several provinces is at work.

EXCAVATION OF RAMNAGAR :

After examining the merits of various well-known sites in North India, Sir Leonard Woolley, who was brought out by the Government of India to advise on Archaeological work in India, has come to the conclusion that Rāmnagar, in the Bareilly district of the United Provinces, is the most likely to reward systematic and scientific excavation. It is understood that the excavation will be undertaken by the Archaeological Department shortly. The choice of Rāmnagar is of considerable interest to numismatists as the site has for a very long time yielded ancient Indian coins as well as Kushan and Gupta coins and further rich finds likely to add to our knowledge of Indian numismatics may be expected.

ITEMS OF INTEREST FROM THE PERIODICALS :

British Museum Quarterly, Vol. XII, 1938, No. 4, mentions among recent acquisitions the gold coins acquired from Mr. H. Nelson Wright's collection (described by him in this Journal, *vide*: pp. 43-49).

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XXIV, 1938, Pts. I & II).

"Note on the Kosam coin of Bhavanāga." By E. H. C. Walsh.

Ibid., Vol. XXIV, 1938, Pt. III:

"Punch-marked copper band from Patna." By A. Banerji Sastri.

Ibid., Vol. XXV, 1939, Pt. I:

"Some notes on the punch-marked copper band found at Patna. By E. H. C. Walsh.

Ibid., Vol. XXV, 1939, Pt. II:

"Notes on two hoards of silver punch-marked coins, one found at Ramna and one at Machuatoli." By E. H. C. Walsh.

Indian Culture, Vol. V, 1938, No. 1:

"A new type of Andhra coin." By Sushil K. Bose.

Ibid., No. 2, 1938:

"Some Sunga coins—hitherto misread." By Miss Bhramar Ghosh.

Ibid., 1939, No. 4:

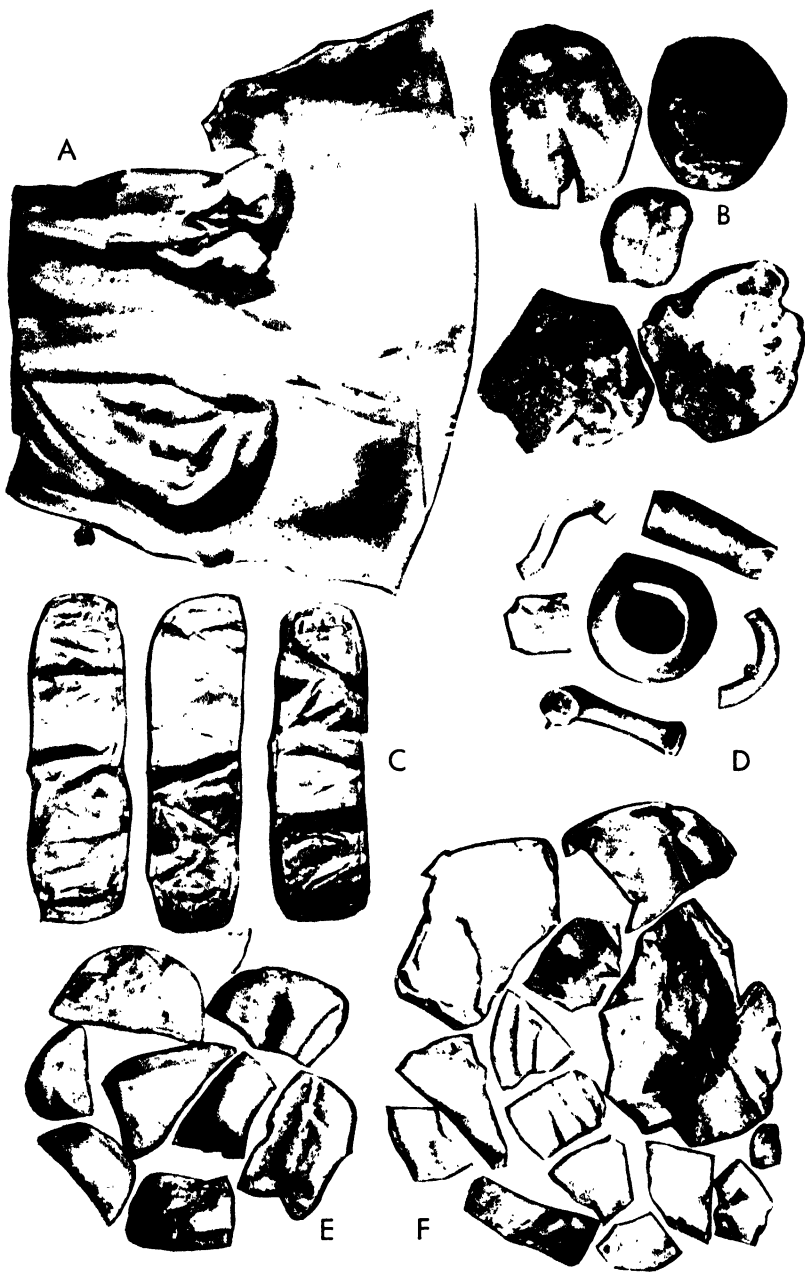
"Note on some punch-marked coins of Mysore Museum." By Adris Banerji.

Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, Vol. XI, 1938, Pt. I:

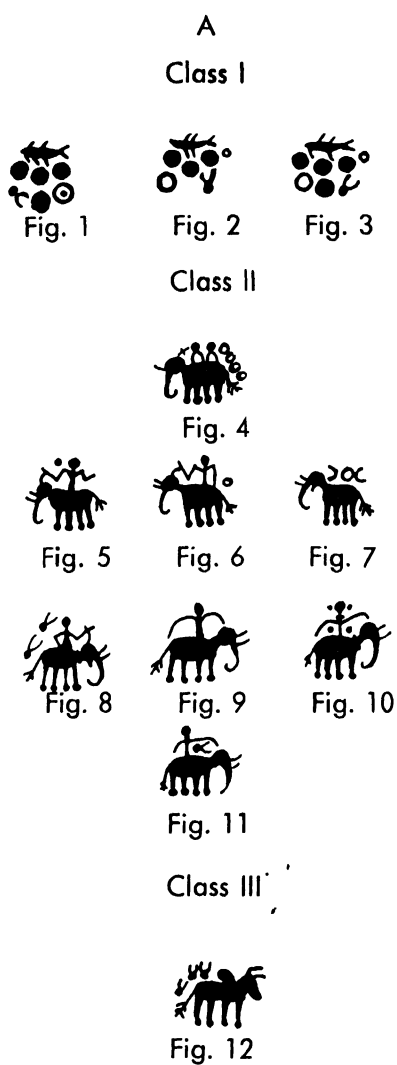
Ancient Indian coins as known to Pāṇini. By V. S. Agrawala.

Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XV, No. I:

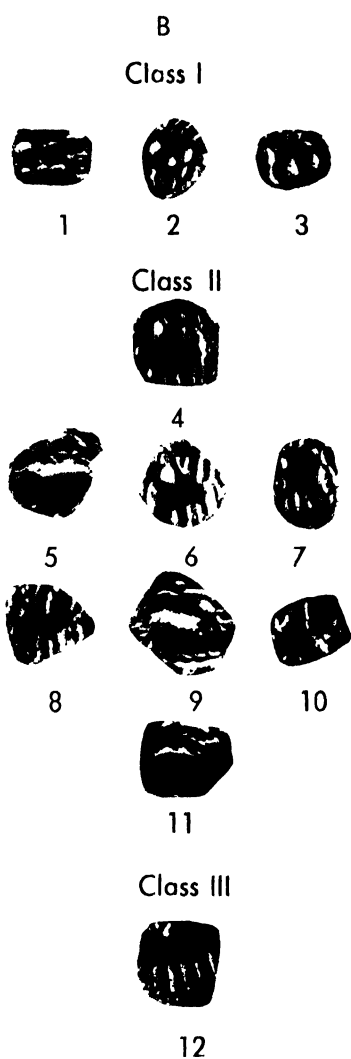
"Foreign denominations of ancient Indian coins." By S. K. Chakraborty.



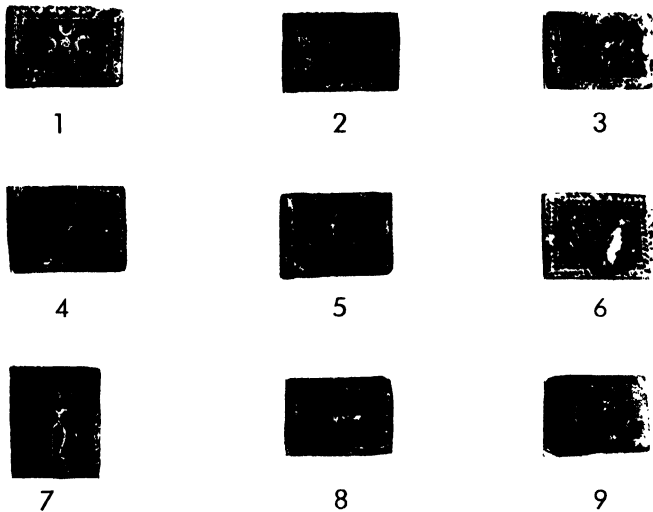
BIJNOR HOARD.



Symbols on one side
of the Punch-Marked Coins.

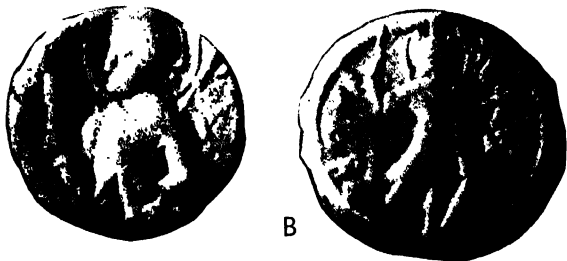


Punch-marked Coins.

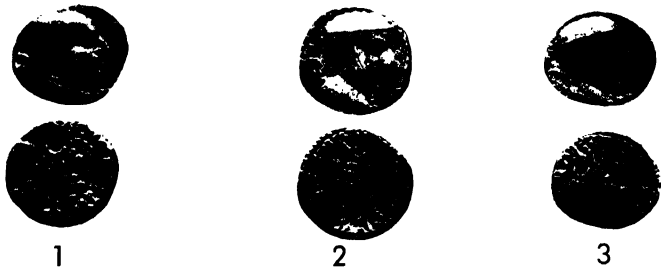


A

Oblong Coins from Rajgir.

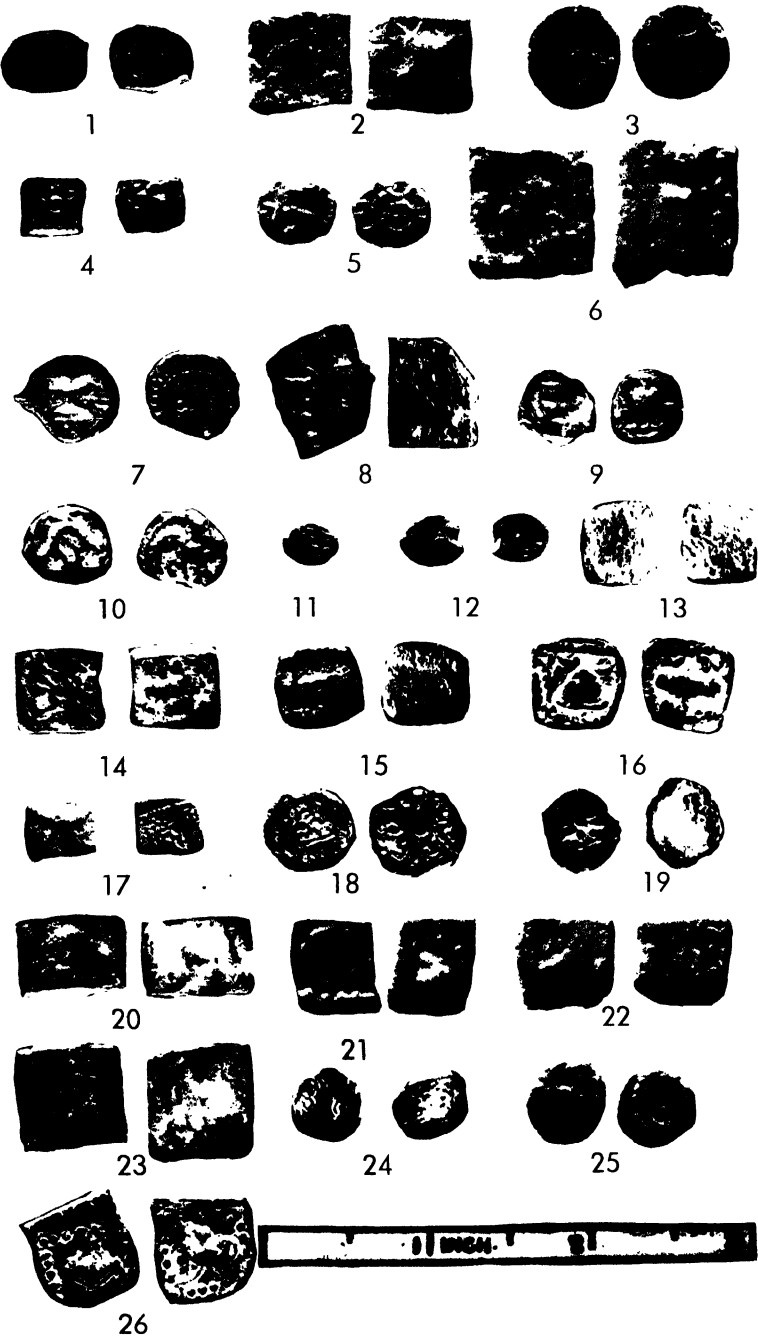


HUVISHKA

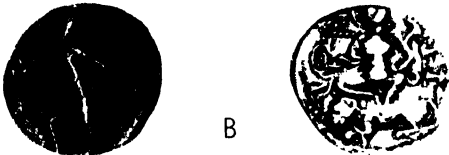


Coins of Jivadaman as Mahakshatrapa

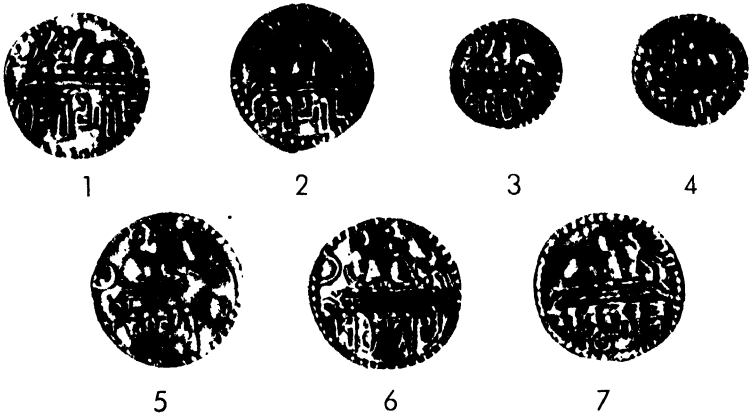
(From Rapson's Catalogue., Plate XI)



COINS FROM BARODA.



CHANDRAGUPTA II



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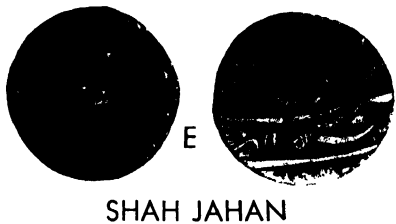
COINS OF NALA DYNASTY.



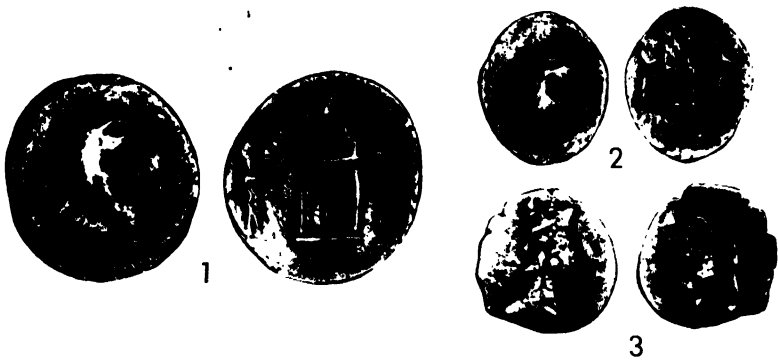
COINS OF BENGAL SULTANS.



- A. MAHMUD SHAH KHILJI
- B. NIZAM SHAH BAHMANI
- C. MAHMUD SHAH BEGDA
- D. SHER SHAH SURI



SHAH JAHAN



F. COINS OF PERSIS

The order for printing Plate VIII was placed in England with the Oxford University Press, but, owing to the outbreak of the war, the Plate has not been received in time for inclusion in this issue; it will be supplied with the next issue.—Ed. JNSI.



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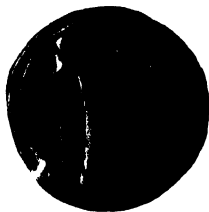
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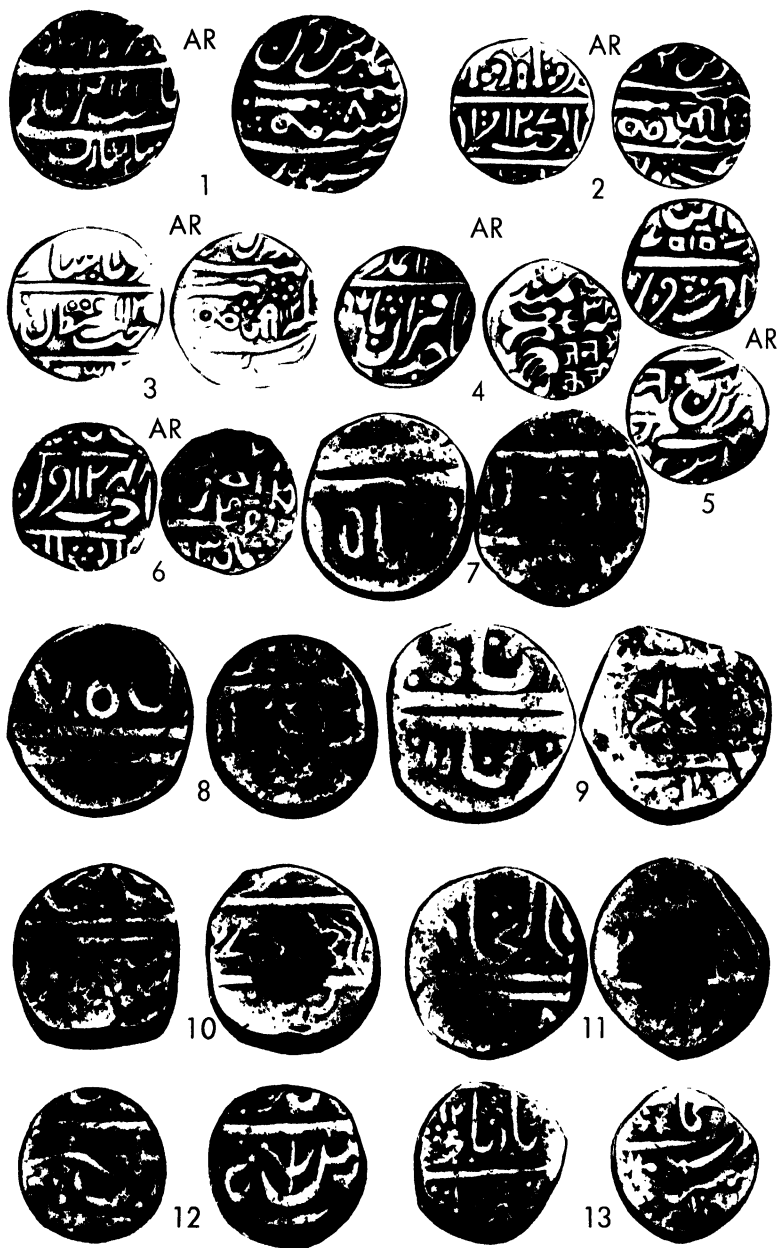
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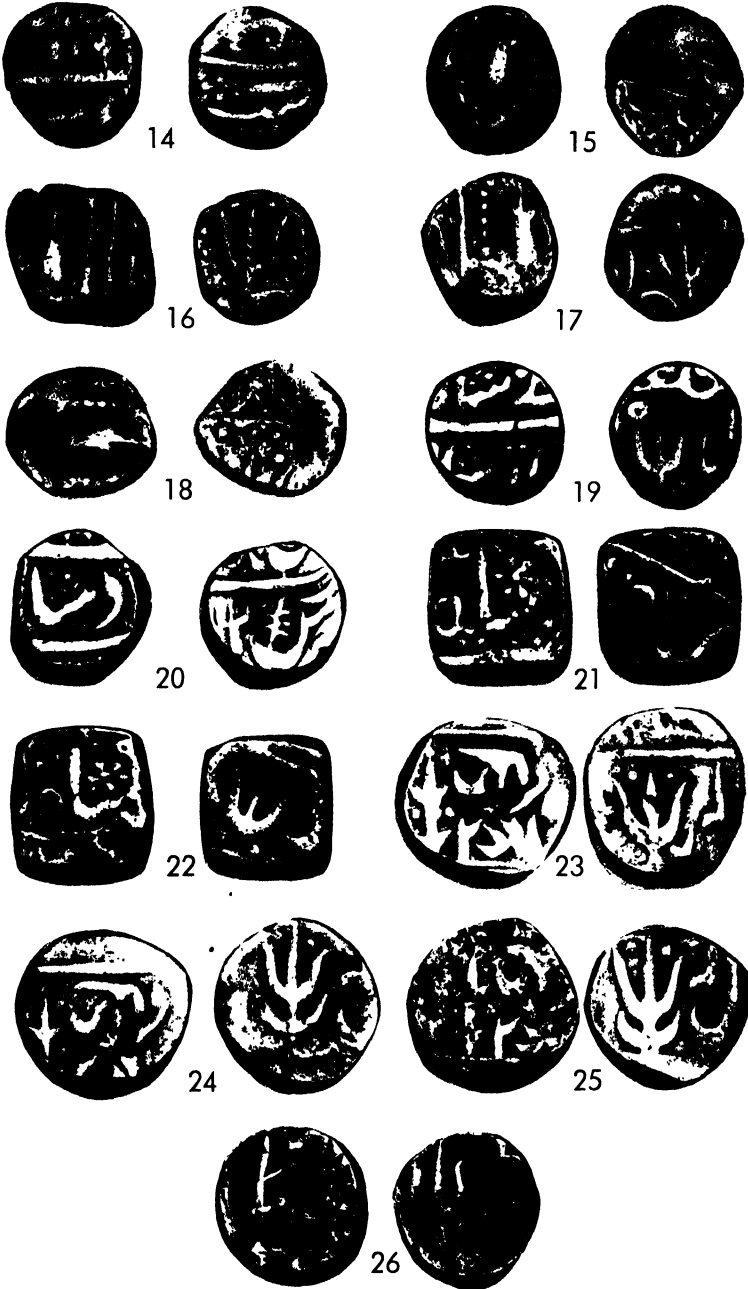
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SASANIAN COINS



COINS OF THE SINDHIAS I



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VOL. VIII

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PART I

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ERRATA

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ERRATA

Read Pl. VA for Pl. VB on pp. 66-68.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS,
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA, 1945

Suggestions for Future Work and New Finds of Coins

BY THE LATE RAI BAHADUR K. N. DIKSHIT, M. A.¹

It is an unusual occurrence that we are meeting in this Southern Metropolis in two successive years, last year also the Numismatic Society having held its annual meeting at Madras along with the Eighth Session of the Indian History Congress. This exceptional circumstance is due to the fact that our Society is timed to meet here along with the Museums Association of India, with which it is more closely connected than with other All-India Conferences and Congresses. Last year you elected here an erudite scholar and numismatist of the type of Mahamahopadhyaya Principal V. V. Mirashi to be your president for the year. Unfortunately for us he was unable to continue as President very long and felt it necessary to resign owing to the onerous administrative duties with which he is saddled. The same excuse having been absent in my case, it was apparently decided to offer your presidentship to me. I must however confess that having been first elected as the President fifteen years ago and having worked as your editor and as President subsequently for some time, I thought I had tried to acquit myself of my obligations to the Society. However, I had to consent to be your President as a purely temporary measure, pending the selection of a younger and more energetic numismatist to guide your affairs.

Madras has been the venue of the Society's annual meeting more than once, but the object of Society in holding the meetings here may not be said to have yet been fulfilled. South Indian Numismatics has not apparently attracted so many votaries as might be expected from the rich field of research that awaits the investigator here, as the progress of other Indological studies in South India may indicate. Actually there is no standard book or catalogue yet available to replace Elloit's *'Coins of Southern India'* which is now hopelessly out of date. The entire numismatic record of South India from the punch-marked coins to the East India Company's coinage is well worth serious study, and scholars are not wanting who

1. It is a matter of profound regret that Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit should have died suddenly on the 12 of August 1946 without being able to see the proofs of his address.

can do justice to the task if they apply themselves seriously to it for some time. Dr. M. H. Krishna, Director of Archæology, Mysore State, has indeed laid the foundation for such work, but other engagements have prevented him from preparing his work for the press. The Madras Museum, which has always had a numismatist on its staff, has accomplished a certain amount of spade work on finds of punch-marked coins and is getting ready with a catalogue of Roman Coins and I hope with other sections of its cabinet as well. Private cabinets such as those of Sir Deshikacharya and Mr. S. T. Srinivas Gopalchari have shown the potentialities of coin collecting in South India, but it is indeed high time that the contents of the public and private collections in Madras were better known. The Numismatic Society considers it as one of its foremost tasks to bring out *a comprehensive work on South India in coinage from the earliest times to the present age*. As a knowledge of South Indian Epigraphy is essential for dealing with South Indian Coins, it follows that South Indian scholars alone will be able to cope with this task and I wish to reiterate here my appeal to them to cooperate with the Numismatic Society in the realisation of this project.

A proposal for a new Bibliography of Indian Coins has been mooted and is being considered for adoption by the Society. The time has now come when the Society should arrange with scholars for the production of standard works on Numismatics not only in English but in Indian languages. I have suggested above some work on South Indian and Deccan Numismatics. We urgently require a standard work on ancient North Indian coins upto the Muslim conquest, another on the early Muslim Numismatics and a third on Mughal and later coins. The catalogues of most of the Indian Museum cabinets are long out of print and unless we are able to place in the hands of the students an authoritative work particularly on early Indian coins, numismatical studies in several of the Indian Universities which have prescribed the subject in their post-graduate course will be seriously handicapped. It is hoped that before long this want will be fulfilled through the efforts of the Numismatic Society.

One of the features of the modern Indian Renaissance movement is the production of scientific literature in Indian languages and articles on Indian Numismatics often make their appearance in high class Hindi journals such as the Nagari Pracharini Sabha's Journal. One of the volumes projected by the Sabha deals with Indian inscriptions and I hope at least one volume in the series will be devoted to Numismatics. Such literature in the languages of the country would go a long way in spreading correct knowledge about Indian coins, showing the important part they play in the reconstruc-

tion of Indian History and bringing home this great heritage to the Indian nation. Coin collecting as a hobby deserves to be encouraged in our schools and colleges and for this purpose cheap but authoritative literature in our Indian languages is essential, and this is one of the new directions in which our Society ought to help and encourage.

It would not be out of place if I just refer in passing to the recent decision of the Government of India about reorganising coinage on the basis of the decimal system. In a country, which claims to be the original source of invention of the zero and the decimal system it should not be necessary to offer an apologia for its introduction in coinage, but the way in which the change is being effected without considering the convenience of the rural areas who are accustomed to the present ratios for at least several centuries, does not ensure its ready acceptance. Enlightened public opinion in India has deprecated piecemeal application of the decimal system to coinage only leaving out weights and measures. It is also essential that the Indian public ought to be prepared and educated about the advantages of the adoption of the metric system, so that the consensus of informed opinion turns in its favour. The opportunity should also be taken to introduce aesthetics into India's coins, which are at present among the dullest and most uninspiring in the world's currency.

The abnormally high prices of bullion and the absence of full-weight silver and gold coins in the market invariably act as deterrent to villagers to bring stray coins to the shroffs and this no doubt reacts adversely on the numismatic discoveries, bringing fresh material for study to the notice of numismatists. Some of the more skilled dealers in places like Rawalpindi are however busy advertising some of the rarer Indo-Greek and Scythian issues, but it is a moot point how far one can rely on the genuineness of the specimens offered. Among the Treasure Trove coins officially brought to light during the year perhaps the most important is the hoard of 690 silver punch-marked coins from Bahal in the East Khandesh District of the Bombay Presidency. These coins are about the only instance in recent years of this oldest currency being found in the province of Bombay and what is more, it has thrown new light on the antiquity of the site which stands in a commanding position on the bank of the Girna river, and whose antiquity before the Muslim period is vouchsafed by extant remains. If the site is also to be identified with Valkha, the capital of local dynasty of Khandesh ruling in the 4th and 5th centuries A. D. recently brought to light by Principal V. V. Mirashi, it is likely to prove one of the most important archaeological sites in the Deccan. In response to the request of the Society that, in

accordance with the practice followed in respect of punch-marked coins in U. P., Bihar, etc. the Bahal hoard should be maintained intact in the Prince of Wales Museum cabinet at Bombay, so that it may in future be available for study in all its aspects, the Government of Bombay have agreed to keep it intact. If the local implications of the symbolism, the study of reverse symbols as indicative of wear and tear and other aspects of the study of punch-marked coins are to be available to the future numismatists, the hoard cannot be distributed. The more widely these special considerations which operate in respect of hoards of punch-marked coins are known, the better for all concerned, as punch-marked coins continue to be found in fresh localities every year, the latest finds to be brought to notice this year being from the extreme south viz. Cochin and Travancore. It is proposed to pass a resolution of the society in this matter and to distribute it among all the Provincial and State Governments who have to deal with Treasure Troves. A short paper covering the main aspects of this hoard has already been published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

Another important hoard worth noticing is that found during the year at village Ree, Tahsil Mansehra, Dist. Hazara (N.W.F.P.) which consisted of 367 silver coins of the Indo-Scythian and Indo-Greek kings. 235 of these represent the joint issue of Vonones and Spalahores (king on horse back and Zeus type) and 125 coins refer themselves to the Indo-Scythian or Saka ruler Azes, attributable to two main types viz. mounted king and standing Zeus and mounted king and Pallas respectively. Three of the former type and five of the latter are didrachams, while the rest are hemidrachams. Two small silver pieces of the Indo-Greek kings are also included in the hoard, one of them being definitely identifiable as an issue of Strato whose aged bust appears on the obverse while the reverse is said to show pilæ of the Dioscouri. This last would indeed be a rare issue and on the evidence of the hoard, we can also conclude about the comparative position of the Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian rulers. There is reason to conclude that just as Hermaios, the last king of Kabul, was succeeded by Kadphises, the first king of the Kushānas in the 1st century A.D., similarly Strato, the Indo-Greek ruler was nearly contemporary with or was actually displaced by Azes and Spalahores of the Indo-Scythian or Saka series in the latter part of the first century B.C.

In the Madras Presidency, at least two hoards consisted of Chinese currency, one of 1822 Chinese copper cash and five pieces representing Chinese spade money, knife money and ring money. Three other hoards consisted of gold coins totalling 473 coins, the most important among them being a find from

Sidhout town, Cudappa Dist. This contained 17 Vijayanagar, 4 Star pagodas, 3 Hyder pagodas, 6 Tipu Faruqui coins, 5 Alamgir II, 2 Ahmedshah, 37 Shah Alum II, 228 Swami pagodas and 157 *fanams* of Hyder and Alamgir. Such finds illustrate the great variety of coins current in South India in the latter part of the 18th Century and it is high time that the whole numismatic wealth of the South be reduced to systematic arrangement for the benefit of the students.

In Bengal the only mentionable acquisition is that of a base gold coin of Skanda-gupta, representing the archer type, which came from the vicinity of Mahasthan (ancient Pundravardhana) in the district of Bogra. The coin has been added to the cabinet of the Asutosh Museum of Art, Calcutta University, and a paper on it has been published in the Society's Journal, Vol. VII, pp. 13-18. In the C.P. 5 cases of Treasure Trove coins were reported, of which 2 are still under disposal and 2 were not recommended for acquisition owing to their late date and common character. The only important hoard was that of 14½ seers of copper coins found in an earthen pot at village Borkhedi, Taluk Mehekar, Dist. Buldana, (Berar); 529 of these coins which contain many dated issues of the Bahamani rulers have been acquired and distributed according to the standing rules. A comprehensive paper on the issues of the Bahamani Kingdom and its successors in the Deccan is one of the prime necessities of South Indian Numismatics and it is hoped that some scholar from Hyderabad will be able to take this up in the near future.

We have had two issues of the Journal (Parts I and II, Vol. VI) during this year. Part I contains as usual a large number of interesting and important papers, while Part II is almost entirely taken up by the paper of the late Mr. Fardunji D. J. Paruck, on the mint-marks on the Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian coins. The next number is expected to be out within two months. The difficulty of obtaining a quota for our Journal has been further aggravated by the inability of most presses to undertake printing and carry it out within a reasonable time. We must indeed be grateful to our chief editor, Dr. A. S. Altekar, for not sparing himself in the discharge of his onerous duties. Indeed had it not been for him the Journal would not have attained the high standard it has during the first few years of its independent existence, and it would be extremely difficult to find a suitable successor, now that he has more than once earnestly requested to be relieved of his heavy responsibilities.

The special monograph on the technique of ancient cast coins by Dr. Birbal Sahni, F. R. S., has been printed and is

ready for distribution. As the cost is somewhat high, it has become necessary to charge a small price for the book to our members.

Finally I must thank on behalf of the Society, the authorities of the Madras Museum for allowing us the use of the Museum Theatre, the different Provincial and State Governments who have continued to give us their generous support and the public for giving us encouragement in pursuing our studies in this interesting but not very popular branch of knowledge.

NEW AND INTERESTING COINS AND SEAL FROM MADHYADEŚA (U.P.)

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES.

The coins and the seal that are being published in this paper belong to the valuable Allahabad Municipal Museum collection collected by Rai Bahadur B. M. Vyas of Allahabad, which is already familiar to the readers of this *Journal* as a very valuable reservoir of historical and numismatic information. Rai Bahadur Vyas, as usual, showed me the favour of permitting me to examine the coins at my own leisure. This enabled me to study them in detail and make the discoveries of some new kings and types noted in this paper. All the coins excepting Nos. 13 and 14 belong to Kauśāmbī rulers.

A Coin of King Mitra (?), A New King of ¹Kauśāmbī

Metal, copper; size roughly circular, diameter, .55";
weight, 33.5 grams.

Obverse: at the top, tree in railing laid on its side; below the railing of the tree and above the legend a three-pronged symbol, with a triangle without base line below, also laid on its side; inscription at the bottom,
Mita. Pl. 1, 1.

Reverse: Bull to right, above traces of Ujjain symbol.

Many coins of kings with names ending in *mitra* have been found at Kauśāmbī, Ayodhyā, Kanauj (?) and Mathurā, but the first member of their names is usually multi-lettered. Only one king has been so far found with only one letter before *mitra*, viz., Gomitra at Mathurā.² In the case of the present coin also it may be argued that there is space for one letter before *mita*, midway between *ma* and the left edge of the coin; but there are faint traces of an incuse line between them, which leaves hardly any space for another letter. To the left of *ma* beyond the vertical incuse line, what appears to be traces of a letter are most probably the traces of a symbol. It therefore appears that the present coin was issued by a king named Mitra, without any adjunct before that term. The forms of the letter *ma* and *ta* are Mauryan, and so the palæography suggests that the king Mitra belonged to a very early time. Can it be that he was the first king of the *mitra* series of Kauśāmbī, with Mitra

1. We regret that all diacritical marks were not possible in this type.
2. Allan, *Catalogue of Coins in Ancient India*, pp. 169-70.

alone as his proper name, and that his successors started adding prefixes to that term to distinguish themselves from him? We have the parallel case of king Gupta of the Gupta dynasty, who had no adjunct before his name, *śrī* being merely an honorific prefix. Later kings started adding prefixes to Gupta, like Chandra, Samudra, Kumāra, Skanda, etc.

The three-pronged symbol on this coin deserves to be noted. A symbol closely resembling it occurs on a rather rare Kuṇḍa type¹, but its lower triangle has the base line, which is absent from the present symbol. If we suppose that one of the prongs of the lower part has been blurred, this symbol will resemble a thunderbolt.

THE COINS OF PURAMAGHA (?) A NEW KING OF KAUSĀMBĪ.

Metal, copper; size, roughly circular; diameter, about .7"; weight, 40 grains of No. 2 and 27 grains of No. 3

Obverse: Above, tree within railing; faint traces of other symbols; legend below *Purama(gha)*.

Reverse: The animals are rather blurred, but in one case there is probably a bull to left (Pl. I, 2) and in the other, an elephant to right (Pl. I, 3).

The legend *Purama(gha)* is fairly clear on Pl. I, 2 but blurred on Pl. I, 3. In the case of the legend on Pl. I, 2 the letter preceding *ra* appears like a *va*. But this *va* would be of the Mauryan period, whereas the coin type is clearly five centuries later. The upper loop of *pa* can also be clearly seen to the left of the vertical of the letter. The first letter of the legend therefore must be taken to be a *pu* of the 3rd or 4th century A.D., with the medial *u* sign of *pu* accentuated into a loop. The closing of the loop on the left was not there on the coin at the beginning; it began to appear accentuated as a result of its cleansing prior to its photographing.

The coins belong to the well-known Magha series of Kauśāmbī. Puramagha is similar in construction to Sivamagha, whom we already know from coins of this series. The palæography of the coins is almost Gupta, being of the eastern Gupta variety. Puramagha probably flourished in the 4th century.

It may be observed that elephant is not so far known to have figured on the Magha coins of Kauśāmbī. Its appearance on one of these coins is therefore worth noting.

1. Allan, *Ibid.*, p. 168, No. 78.

(YA)GAMA(GHA), A NEW KING OF KAUSĀMBĪ.

Metal, copper ; size, circular, .4" in diameter ; weight, 27.5 grains.

Obverse : above to the left, tree within railing ; to the right, three arched hill, as on other Magha coins ; below, legend, -*gama(gha)*.

Reverse : within a dotted circle, a seven spoked wheel, with a thick knob at the centre. **Pl. IA, 4.**

This coin is very important both for its type and the name of its issuer. Unfortunately the latter cannot be read with certainty. The second letter is certainly *ga* and the third *ma*, but the first is doubtful and has come out only partially on the coin. Such traces of the letter as have been preserved suggest that it may have been a *ya* with its left limb cut off. I am inclined to think that the legend was *Yagamagha*, being the Prakrit of *Yajñamagha*. The suggestion of my esteemed colleague Dr. V.S. Agrawala that the first letter may have been a *yu* rather than a *ya* is also worth considering. If we accept it, the name of the king will be *Yugamagha* and not *Yāgamagha*. It is possible to suggest that the third letter was not *ma* but *mi* and then to read the legend as *(Ya)gamitra*, i.e. *Yajñamitra*. But the clear similarity of the present type with the known Magha series indicates that we should read the name rather as *Yagamagha* than as *Yagamitra*.

In Gupta period inscriptions, *ta* is often without its short vertical when it has the medial *e* or *o* attached to it. It is possible to suggest that the second letter of the legend is such a *ta* and that the first letter may be a *sa* with its left limb cut off. In that case the name of the king will be *Satamagha*, or *Śatamagha*. All things considered, I am however at present inclined to take the legend as *(Ya)gama(gha)* rather than *(Yu)gama(gha)* or *(Sa)tama(gha)*.

The reverse type of this coin is very important. So far we have not found any coins of the Magha series with such a wheel on the reverse. Usually they have the bull. A wheel similar to the present one is to be found only on the coins of king *Achyuta*, overthrown by *Samudragupta* ; but it has usually eight and not seven spokes and is not surrounded by dots ; see Allan, *Catalogue*, Pl. XIV, 1-5.

The similarity of this wheel to the wheel appearing on the coins of *Achyuta* may suggest that *Yajñamagha* flourished by the middle of the 4th century A.D.

A COIN OF KING BHĪMAVARMAN (?)

Metal, copper ; size, circular, .5" in diameter ; weight, 21.8 grains.

Obverse : above, tree in railing at the centre and a partly visible symbol on either of its side ;
below *Rājābh[īma]* **Pl. IA, 5.**

Reverse : bull.

The type of the tree on the obverse is closely similar to that occurring on some late Kauśāmbī coins like those of Nava and some other kings whose names are but partly legible. The coin, therefore, seems to have been issued late in the 3rd or early in the 4th century A.D. The legend presents considerable difficulties ; the first letter is *rā*, the second *ja* and the third *bha*. The issuer therefore may have been either king Bhadramagha or Bhīmavarman, who belonged to the Magha dynasty of Kauśāmbī. The palæography of the coin is rather late for King Bhadramagha, who ruled in the 2nd century A.D. It is not also bearing any close similarity to the coins of that ruler published *ante*, Vol. II, Pl. IX, 1-2. It is therefore likely that the coin may have been issued by King Bhīmavarman. On the coins of that ruler published *ante*, Vol. II, Pl. IX, No. 9, the legend has the letters *mavama*. I am however not quite certain that the present coin belongs to this Bhīmavarman. His known dates 130 and 139 (in the Śaka era) are rather early for this type. No king of the Magha series has the epithet *rājā* before his name. The coin may therefore have been as well issued by a hitherto unknown king of the Magha dynasty, whose complete name can be made out only with the help of fresh future discoveries.

AN UNINSCRIBED COIN OF A KUSHĀNA GOVERNOR OF KAUSĀMBĪ.

Metal, copper ; size, irregularly circular, .9" in diameter, weight, 72 grains.

Obverse : Śiva standing by the bull, as on the coins of Wima Kadphises and Vāsudeva. In the original, the right hand appears to be raised up, as if for darting a missile.

Reverse : Within an incomplete border of dotted circle, another incomplete circle ; tree within railing with a horizontal line above and a crescent at the top.
Pl. IA, 6.

The coin is a close imitation of the degenerated type of Vāsudeva as far as the obverse is concerned. The reverse bears a tree within railing as on other Kauśāmbī coins. The coin appears to have been issued by some local Kushāna governor, having a precarious hold over Kauśāmbī, before it rebelled

against the Kushānas under the leadership of the Magha rulers. Imperial Kushāna coins with tree within railing on the reverse are unknown, hence the conjecture that this type may have been issued by a Kushāna governor, ruling at Kauśāmbi.

COUNTER-STRUCK COIN OF POTHAMITRA

Metal, copper; size circular, but broken in one corner; diameter; .7"; weight 113.5 grains

Obverse: above, in deep incuse, Nandīpada symbol; below, legend, *Poṭhamitasa*. **Pl. IA, 7.**

Reverse: faint traces of bull to left with Ujjayini symbol above.

A coin of Poṭhamitra, king of Kauśāmbī, is already published in this *Journal*, (*ante*. Vol. IV, pp. 133-4). The present coin of this ruler is interesting, primarily on account of the *nandīpada* symbol, counterstruck in a deep incuse on its obverse. The counterstruck mark has obliterated the symbols, but luckily the name of the king is left undamaged. The first letter *po* however is too faint to come in the plate. Such faint traces as can be made out on the original coin show that the coin was probably having a tree within railing in the centre. The reverse is completely blurred and is therefore not illustrated. The coin is broken slightly in one corner.

So far the coins of Agnimitra and Jyeshthamitra are known to have been counterstruck by the Nandīpada symbol. Now we have to add Poṭhamitra also to the same series. These three kings must have been closely connected in time, since the coins of all of them bear this countermark. Who the authority was which counterstruck this symbol, we do not know yet.

The coins of Brihaspatimitra have also been counterstruck, but the counterstruck symbol in their case is a *v*-topped banner with two prongs to right enclosed in a railing of two storeys; (*ante*. IV. p. 143)

A NEW COIN OF NĀVIKA

A coin of king Nāvika of Kauśāmbī has been already published, (*ante*., Vol. IV., p. 136, Pl. XII, 9). That coin, however, was damaged and most of its symbols were indistinct. The new coin shows a number of symbols quite distinctly. It is also entire.

Metal, copper; shape irregularly circular; size, 7" in diameter; weight, 49 grains; cast from mould.

Obverse: Ujjayini symbol on the right in the upper corner; below perhaps another Ujjayini symbol partly preserved; to its left, a cross; *v*-topped banner, clear on the coin published earlier, not visible on

this piece. The symbol at the top is indistinct. Legend across the coin nearly at the centre; (*Nā*) *vikasa*. **Pl. IA, 8.**

Reverse: completely blurred, hence not illustrated. It may be added that the Ujjayinī symbol is quite common on Kauśāmbī coins.

A COIN OF JYESHTHAMITRA

Metal, copper; size roughly circular, but damaged at one corner, about .7" in diameter; weight, 69 grains.

Obverse: across the centre, the legend *Jeṣṭhamita(sa)*; below, Ujjayinī symbol; above, *v*-topped banner laid on the side with a horizontal line across its staff; probably there were two prongs to the right of *v*. The banner is rather indistinct on the plate but quite clear on the coin. **Pl. IA, 9.**

Reverse: Tree within railing; other symbols indistinct.

This coin is identical with that published in the *B. M. Catalogue*, Pl. XX, 7 in its general type. But the former does not show any banner similar to that which can be distinctly seen on the present coin.

A NEW UNINSCRIBED KAUSĀMBĪ TYPE.

Elephant and Bull Type.

Metal, copper; size roughly circular, diameter .65"; weight 98 grains.

Obverse: Elephant to right; lower part of the coin peeled off; it may have had a legend.

Reverse: Bull to the right with traces of Ujjayinī symbol above it; another partly visible symbol to its right.

Pl. IA, 10

Bull is quite common on the Kauśāmbī coins; Ujjayinī symbol occurs on its early uninscribed issues, as well as on the coins of Sudeva and Brihaspatimitra. Elephant is rather rare, but it occurs on the coins of Sudeva, where it is facing left. On this coin, as also on the coin of Puramagha illustrated above, the elephant is to right. No other coin from the place has so far shown elephant on one side and bull on the other.

AN UJJAYINĪ COPPER COIN AT KAUSĀMBĪ.

Walking Horse and Ujjayinī Symbol Type.

Metal, copper; size irregularly rectangular, .35" x .5", weight, 17.5 grains.

Obverse : in a circular incuse, horse walking to right; above, a blurred symbol.

Reverse : double-circled Ujjayinī symbol.

Pl. IA, 11

I had once thought that this was a new Kauśāmbī type, the double circled Ujjayinī symbol being known to occur only on the coins from Ujjayinī and Eran. I knew that it was possible to suggest that this coin might have been imported in Kauśāmbī from Ujjayinī or Eran; but this possibility appeared to me to be improbable because though a number of animals occurred on Ujjayinī coins like bull, elephant and frog, the horse was conspicuous by its absence. Recently however a copper coin of this type was found among the coins found at Kasrawad in the Nimad district of the state of Indore, about sixty miles to the south of Ujjayinī. The resemblance is striking and leaves no doubt that this tiny coin had travelled to Kauśāmbī from Ujjayinī. There seems to have been a busy intercourse between the two cities, both being famous in contemporary times.

Horse to right occurs on a blurred coin of Brihaspatimitra¹, but it is apparently standing and has an uncertain symbol before it. The posture and attitude of the horse on the present coin bear closest resemblance to that of the same animal occurring on a Kāḍa coin.² The latter coin, however, has a rayed sun on the other side, and not a double circled Ujjayinī symbol, as on the present coin.

A SEAL OF PRATĪHĀRA KĀLĀHIRAKA

Metal, copper; size, rectangular .8" x .55"; weight, 103.7 grains.

Upper line, *Pratihārika*

Lower line, *Kālāhīrakashya(sya)*

Pl. IA, 12

The seal is of an officer occupying the exalted position of a Pratihāra or royal chamberlain. The second letter of his name is rather indistinct, but most probably it is *lā*; we can read the legend as Kālāhiraka. The genitive termination is spelt as *shya* instead of *sya*. The exact significance of the name Kālāhiraka is difficult to understand.

The characters belong to the 4th century A.D., *ha* being of the eastern Gupta variety. Kālāhiraka was probably a chamberlain of the royal family ruling at Kauśāmbī.

The seal of a Mahāpratihara named Vinayaśūra was found at Vaiśālī among the Gupta seals and sealings. It bore

1. Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 150, No. 15.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 146, No. 12.

the symbol of the Sun and the Moon. The present seal bears no symbols.

JYESHTHADATTA, A NEW KING OF AYODHYĀ.

Metal, copper ; size, roughly square, each side about .6"; weight, 18 grains.

Obverse : bull to right, in its front, probably traces of a v-topped banner ;

above the bull, legend in a straight line *Jethadattasa*.

Reverse, blurred ; the original shows faint traces of a tree within railing and some other symbols too indistinct to be made out.

Pl. 1A, 14.

Though Rai Bahadur Vyas found this coin at Kauśāmbī, there can be no doubt that king Jethadatta or Jyeshthadatta, who issued it, was ruling at Ayodhyā. For the coin bears a striking resemblance in type, fabric and appearance to the rectangular cast coins from Ayodhyā. Bull to the left appears on the coins of other kings of that city like Satyamitra, Saṅghamitra and Vijayamitra, who have issued the well known Bull and *Haṃsa* series. This series is, however, die-struck. In the case of cast coins, bull to right is common and appears on the coins of Mūladeva and Dhanadeva; the bull to left appears only on one variety of the latter. Among the kings represented in the square cast series, Mūladeva and Viśākhadeva are named after lunar mansions (*nakṣatras*) ; the name Jyeshthadatta would be a third one of the same series, the king being probably born on the Jyeshthā *nakṣatra*.

The time of Jyeshthadatta can at present be determined only with the help of the palæography of his coin. *Da* opens to the left and *ta* has a remarkably long verticle. We can therefore, safely place Jyeshthadatta early in the 2nd century B.C.

AN UNDECIPHERED COIN

I close this paper by illustrating a copper coin **Pl. 1A, 13** in the Allahabad Municipal Museum Collection, which is blank on one side and has apparently a legend on the other, along with some symbols. The legend seems to be arranged circularly ; its letters are clear, but I am unable to read them. My colleague Dr. V. S. Agrawala suggests that the coin may be a faked piece forged in modern times by a die-cutter, who had but an imperfect knowledge of ancient epigraphy. I am unable to offer any suggestion. I hope that the publication of this coin will enable the scholars to offer suggestions about its decipherment, which may one day solve its mystery. If any collector has a similar but better preserved coin, he will help our task by sending it for publication.

TWO INTERESTING KAUSĀMBĪ COINS.

BY MR. SUBHENDU SINGH ROY, M.A., BURDWAN, BENGAL.

Dr. Altekar has won the gratitude of the numismatists by bringing to light the names of several new kings of Kauśāmbī from the very rich and varied coin collection of the Allahabad Municipal Museum, collected by Rai Bahadur B. M. Vyas of Allahabad. These discoveries will throw a flood of light on the history of the so-called 'dark age' of India.

During the winter of 1943-44, I was fortunate to add several lots of coins to my collection from the different ancient sites of the United Provinces. These were either picked up by me locally in the ruins or purchased from the local inhabitants. The lots include, silver punch marked coins, cast coins, copper coins of the Kushāna and the Gupta dynasties and also the issues of the Afghan Rulers of Delhi and Jaunpur. Acting on the advice of my learned friend, the Chief Editor of this Journal, I have since then, classified the coins comprised within each lot. While engaged thus, some coins which appeared to me to be new and unpublished, were selected for publication. Out of these I am publishing herewith two Kauśāmbī coins. The rest I propose to publish in the next issue of this Journal.

I. AN UNIQUE COIN OF BHĪMASENA.

A King named Bhīmasena was long known to us from inscriptions only. There are a few inscriptions wherein his name occurs. The Bhita Seal Inscription¹ refers to one "*Rājño Śrī Bhīmasena*". The Ginja Inscription² records the name of one Mahārāja Śrī Bhīmsena and is dated in the year 52. The scripts of the two inscriptions show that they belong to the same age. The style of the script of the Ginja Inscription is similar to that of the Kushānas. Hence it is generally held that the year 52 refers to the Śaka Era. Dr. Jayaswal assigned it to *cir.* 300 A. D.³. But the style and the script would suggest its assignment to 2nd century A.D. The year is probably to be referred to the Śaka era and Dr. Altekar has shown how this ruler was probably the first ruler of the dynasty and ruled from *c.* 125-150 A.D.⁴. It is

1. *E.I.* Vol. II, p. 805.

2. *Lüder's list.*, No. 906.

3. *History of India*, p. 109.

4. *Ganga Nath Jha Research Institute Journal*, I. p. 154

now generally believed that the rulers referred to in the two inscriptions are identical and that king Bhīmasena or Maharaja Bhīmasena ruled in the Kauśāmbī region either independently or as a feudatory of the Kushānas towards the end of their rule.

Inscriptions lately discovered from the Rewah State mention the name of Bhīmasena with his two successors Poṭhasiri and Bhada or Bhatadeva¹. A coin of Poṭhasiri of familiar Kauśāmbī type is long known from Bhita.² In a recent paper in this journal,³ Dr. Motichandra contends that Bhīmasena group of rulers belongs to the dynasty of Magha kings and that they preceded Śivamagha group. Now that a coin of Bhīmasena is known, only the issues of Bhada or Bhatadeva remain to be identified. It may not be a matter of surprise if some day it is proved that Bhādrāmaga, known so long from his inscriptions and coins, is the same ruler as Bhada or Bhatadeva. I will now describe the coin of Bhīmasena in my collection.

Metal	...	Bronze (silver white)
Size	...	·55 "
Weight	...	48 grs.
Shape	...	Almost circular
Provenance	...	Bhita

Obv. Tree in railing above; immediately below, a small *nandīpada* symbol; circular legend beginning at IX to the left of the railing legend in bold Kushāna script, "*Rajño Bhīmasena*". [*Ra* is fairly clear, only the upper limb of *j* of *jno* has been preserved; *bhīd* is much blurred; *ma* is distinct, *sa* is fairly clear, but its loop looks like a straight line and it has an *ā* instead of *ce* matra by mistake. Only faint traces of *na* have remained. A.S.A.]

Rev. Humped bull to l ; above traces of another symbol.

Pl. IB, 1 shows the coin in an enlarged size. Pl. IB, 1A gives a beautiful pencil impression of the obverse of the coin, where the whole legend can be clearly read with the exception of the damaged letter *bhī*.

II. A NEW TYPE OF VARUNAMITRA'S COIN COUNTER-STRUCK

Uptil now three coins⁴ of Varuṇamitra of the Kauśāmbī type have been published. Dr. Altekar has published two of

1. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. II p. 99. n. 18

2. *A. S. I. An. Report.* 1911-12. p. 66

3. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. II, p. 99.

4. [The coin of Varuṇamitra, published *ante* V, p. 17, belongs to a ruler of Abhicchhatra and so is unrelated to the present king of Kauśāmbī. A. S. A.]

his coins in *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 6. and *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 141 and the third coin is in the Indian Museum¹, where late Dr. Smith classed it with the coins of Avanti and read the legend as "*ruṇimasa*" or "*ruṇamasa*". But that it is a coin of Varuṇamitra had been concluded by me some years ago after a careful examination of the original piece. Although the name was then unknown to the numismatists, it struck me that the coin belonged to a king, the first letter of whose name was missing in the coin legend. The rest of the legend was certainly "*ruṇamita*" and I, therefore, concluded that it was Varuṇamitra². The type showed that it belonged to the Kausāmbī series.

The fourth coin of Varuṇamitra, that I am describing below, belongs to my collection. Its reverse type is quite different from the reverse of the three known coins of this king, and moreover it is countermarked. I will now describe the coin below :—

Metal	...	...	...	...	copper.
Shape	...	...	...	...	irregularly circular
Size	...	...	...	...	.45"
Weight	...	...	...	...	24 grs.
Provenance	...	...	...	...	Bhita.

Obv. Above familiar Kosam tree in railing to r.; blurred symbols to l.; below, the legend in a straight line "Varuṇami (ta)".

Out of the letters of this legend the plate shows only faint traces of the first letter *va*; the next letter *ru* is fairly clear, its medial *u* sign being joined to the following *ṇa*, as on other earlier coins. The top of *ṇa* is just touching the railing of the tree above. Only the two horns of *ma* can be seen after *ṇa*; the remaining letters have not come on the flan of the coin.

Rev. Lion running to r.; above it a horizontal countermark of a combination of Nandīpada symbol and V-topped banner (as Dr. Altekar would call it). Above it, some traces of the original Ujjain symbol and another symbol.

Pl. IB, 2.

[A coin of a Kausāmbī king,...mitra, counterstruck precisely with the present symbol has been published by me; see *ante*, IV pl. XII, 24 and p. 144. *A. S. A.*]

1. *I. M. C.*, Pl. XX. 3

2. It is gratifying to note that Mr. Allan in his *Cat. of coins of Ancient India in B. M.* has also read it as such and has assigned it to Kausāmbī. [Mr. A. Ghosh has also suggested the attribution of this coin to Varuṇamitra; *ante*, V, p. 18. *A. S. A.*]

A LEAD COIN OF SĀTAKARṆI

BY PRINCIPAL V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

This coin is from the cabinet of Mr. Hurmus Kaus of Hyderabad (Deccan) whose coin-collections have rescued so many kings from oblivion. In April last Mr. Kaus sent me three good ink impressions of the coin, one of which is reproduced in the accompanying plate.

The coin is one of lead, round in shape, with a diameter of .9". Its weight is 282 grains and it is illustrated in **Pl. II. A, I.** It has on the obverse the figure of a humped bull in high relief facing right, with a triangle-headed standard in front, which however is rather blurred. Above the bull appears the legend commencing at ix, and running along the edge of the coin. On the reverse are seen a number of symbols, the most prominent of which is the tree in railing which appears in the centre. To the left of the tree is seen the *tri-ratna* symbol and to its right the triangle-headed standard. Besides these, there is a spherical object on either side of the top of the tree. Below appear a *svastika* to the left and another *tri-ratna* symbol to the right of the railing. The figure of the bull and the symbols are well formed though the coin is one of lead.

This is one of the oldest coins of the Sātavāhanas. The legend *raño sara-Satakaṇasa* (for *raṁño siri-Sātaṇisa*) is in Prakrit as on all coins of the Sātavāhanas. It means '(The coin is) of the king, the illustrious Sātakarṇi'. The characters are of about the second century B. C. It may be noted that the horizontal bar of *k* is in the middle of the vertical, the vertical of *ñ* has not yet become elongated and the lower limb of *t* has not become round. In these respects the letters are of the same type as the Nānāghāt inscription of Nāganikā¹ which has been referred to *circa* B. C. 150. Again, some of the symbols seen on the reverse appear only on the oldest coins of the Sātavāhanas. The triangular standard, for instance, is noticed only on very old Sātavāhana coins such as the copper coin² of Sātavāhana, the founder of the dynasty, and the potin coins³ of Sātakarṇi who was separated from him by two or three generations only. I would therefore identify this Sātakarṇi with the son of Śimuka Sātavāhana and the husband of Nāganikā, i.e., the third king mentioned in the

1. Bühler, *Indian Palaeography*, Table II, columns XXIII-XXIV.

2. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. VII, pp. 1-4.

3. Rapson, *Coins of the Andhras etc.* (B. M. C.), Pl. I, Nos. 5. and 6.

Puranic list of the so-called Āndhra rulers¹. The coins of this king discovered so far were square in form.² This is therefore the first round coin of this king to be discovered.³

The provenance of the coin has not been recorded, but it seems to have come from some central part of the Deccan. That bull-type coins were current in this part of the country is shown by the coins of Dimabhāga and Sebaka who, as I have shown elsewhere⁴, preceded the Sātavāhanas. Sātavāhana, the founder of the dynasty, introduced the elephant-type in his dominion, but his descendant Sātakarṇi seems to have reverted to the bull-type which, being of long standing, was perhaps more popular. Bull-type coins of the Sātavāhanas are, however, rather rare. One instance of it occurs in Rapson's *Catalogue*, P. 28, Pl. V. G. P. 5. This coin is also of lead, but it is almost square in shape and much smaller in size. Rapson describes the animal as a horse in the *Catalogue*, but in the Introduction p. lxxvii, he doubts this description. The facsimile clearly shows however that it was a bull. Rapson doubtfully read the legend as [gha] sadasa⁵, but could not identify the king. Other bull-type small lead coins rectangular in shape, but without any legend, appear as Nos. 217-232, Pl. VIII of Rapson's *Catalogue*⁶. One other bull-type lead coin of the same period not yet deciphered figures as No. 1 in Pl. XV illustrating Mr. G. Yazdani's article in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*. Vol. XXII, pp. 171 f.

Both the obverse and reverse types of the present coin connect it with variety C of the lead coins of Sadakaṇa Kaḷalāya Mahārathi⁷, which come from the Chitaldrug

1. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 39.

2. The round lead and potin coins (Nos. 1 and 2 in Rapson's *Catalogue*) with the legend *raño siri Sātasa* were probably struck by Sātavāhana the founder of the family and not by Sātakarṇi as supposed by Rapson. See *J. N. S. I.* Vol. VII, p. 3.

3. The discovery of the present coin disposes of the alternative suggestion of Dr. Altekar (*ante*, Vol. VII, p. 3, n. 1) that the coin with the legend *Ṛaṇṇo siri Sātavāhanasa* published by me may have been issued by the prince Sātavāhana, the son of King Sātakarṇi, whose relief appears in a cave at Nāpāghāt. This prince, according to Dr. Altekar, had Sātavāhana, as his personal name, while posterity knew him by his title *Sātakarṇi* preserved in the Purāṇas. This view does not appear to be correct. It is doubtful if the prince Sātavāhana of the Nāpāghāt inscription ever came to the throne, for the Purāṇas name Pūrnotsaṅga as the successor of Sātakarṇi and it is not known whether he had Sātavāhana and Sātakarṇi as his other names. It seems best to attribute the present coin to Sātakarṇi, the son of Śimuka, in view of its early characters and old symbols.

4. *J. N. S. I.* Vol. VI, app. and VII, pp 94-97.

5. *Catalogue*, Introduction, p lxxvii.

6. All these coins, according to Rapson, come however from Andhra-
desa.

7. Rapson, *Coins of the Andhras* etc., Pl. VIII, No. 234.

District of the Mysore State¹. The obverse of these coins also shows a humped bull, but the latter faces left, not right as on the present coin. The reverse has three symbols, the tree in railing in the middle, with *nandipada* to the left and the triangular standard to the right, all of which, similarly disposed, appear on the present coin also. These coins are attributed to a feudatory of the Sātavāhanas named Sadakaṇa Kaḷalāya Mahārāṭhi. The fragmentary Nānāghaṭ inscription mentions a Mahārāṭhi whose name also ended in *lāya* and who appears to be introduced there as the father of Nāganikā, the queen of Śrī-Sātakarṇi. Rapson identified this Mahārāṭhi with the prince who issued the coins. He took Traṇakayiro incised under a relieve in the Nānāghaṭ cave to be the personal name of this ruler and Sadakaṇa Kaḷalāya Mahārāṭhi to be his full title. This does not appear to be plausible. Sadakaṇa is the Prakrit form of Sātakarṇi². If the Mahārāṭhi Traṇakayiro belonged to the Sātakarṇi family, he could not have given his daughter Nāganikā in marriage to the king Sātakarṇi.

The only way in which we can reconcile all known data is to suppose that the name of Nāganikā's father was Kaḷalāya and that he bore the title of Mahārāṭhi. He was apparently a powerful feudatory of the Sātavāhanas and was matrimonially allied with the Imperial family. He must naturally have enjoyed considerable independence. He seems to have been allowed to issue his own coins—a privilege not allowed to ordinary feudatories, but he was required to mint them in the joint names of himself and the Emperor. Hence the coins bear the names of the Mahārāṭhi Kaḷalāya and also the Emperor Sātakarṇi³. This is also indicated by the type of the coins which, as shown above, bears affinity to the monetary issues of the Emperor Sātakarṇi both on the obverse and the reverse⁴.

1. See also *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII, pp 50-51. In his article on a coin of this type, in *J. R. A. S.* (1903), p. 297, Rapson says that some of the coins were collected by Pearce in Karwar. The Mahārāṭhis were probably the chiefs of the Rastikas mentioned in Aśoka's edicts. They are grouped there with the Ptenikas (people of the country near modern Palthan in the Nizam's State) which shows that they probably belonged to Western Deccan. Several inscriptions of Mahārāṭhis have been found in the caves in Western India. *J. R. A. S.* (1903), pp. 298 f. As stated below, one of their coins was found at Karād in the Sātārā District.

2. For the softening of *t* into *d* see the legend *Ramṇo Sīri Sādavāha-
[nasa]* of the coin of Sātavāhana, *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. VII pp. 1-4.

3. The legend on old Sātavāhana coins begins at vii. It should be read similarly on these coins also. The correct reading would therefore appear to be Kaḷalāya Mahārāṭhis Sadakaṇa.

4. Traṇakayiro whose relieve appears in the Nānāghaṭ cave was a contemporary feudatory who held the western districts of the Sātavāhana Empire. He was probably a brother of the dowager queen Nāganikā and hence his relieve appears in the cave. His father Kaḷalāya must have long been dead at the time the relieves were carved and the inscriptions were incised.

Another coin of a similar style in legend was discovered at Karhād in the Sātārā District of the Bombay Presidency and has been described by Dr. Altekar¹. He reads the legend as Mūla Sa[dakaṇi]sa. As no name like Mūla Sātakarṇi appears in the Purāṇic list of Sātavāhana kings and the type (lion on the obverse and the chaitya and tree in railing on the reverse) resembles another coin of Kaḷalāya Mahārāṭhi, Dr. Altekar has suggested that Mūla was perhaps the son of Kaḷalāya. This is possible, but we must explain the latter part of the legend (viz. Śadakaṇa) as denoting the contemporary Sātavāhana Emperor. On this coin the title *Mahārāṭhi* of the feudatory as well as *rājan* of the Emperor seem to have been omitted for want of space.²

1. *J. A. S. B.* (1935-36), Num. Suppl. No. XLVI, pp. 15 f.

2. If *Sadakaṇa* (Sātakarṇi) was the family name of the Mahārāṭhis as suggested by Hultzsch (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII, p. 51), it is strange that it is nowhere mentioned in any of the inscriptions of the Mahārāṭhis. It is noticed only on their coins.

[In further support of Prin. Mirashi's ingenious theory, it may be pointed out that in the case of the legend *Vasīthiputa Vilivāyākura*, occurring on some coins from Kolhapur, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar has assumed that Vasīthiputa was a different personage from Vilivāyākura, the former ruling at Paithan and the latter as his viceroy at Hippokura (*I.A.*, 1920, p. 34; *E.H.D.* (3), p. 35). If this theory is accepted, the Kolhapur coinage also will have to be supported as a joint coinage. One important circumstance can however be pointed against it. On most of the coins, which are indisputably known to be joint issues of an emperor and his feudatory or heir-apparent, the names of the two persons appear on different sides; they never appear on the same side and in the course of the same legend. Such for instance is the case with the joint coins issued by Lysias and Antialkidas, (*B. M.* (1), XXXI, 2), Agathokleia and Strato I, (*P. M. C.* Vol. I, V, 370), Azes and Azilises, *Ibid.*, XIII, 819) Vonones and Spalahores, (*Ibid.*, XIV, 374) Vonones and Spalagadames (*Ibid.*, XIV, 382) Spalarises and Azes, (*Ibid.*, XIV, 395), Gondophares and his general and feudatory Aspavarman, (*Ibid.*, XV, 86), Hermaios and Kujula Kadphises, (*Ibid.*, XVII, 1). These however are all cases of foreign rulers and we need not suppose that the Sātavāhanas would necessarily have followed their example. Prin. Mirashi's theory that the coins with the legend *Sadakaṇa Kaḷalāya Mahārāṭhi* may be issues issued under the joint authority of the emperor Sātakarṇi and his feudatory Kaḷalāya is thus a hypothesis which requires further and stronger evidence before it can become acceptable. *A. S. A.*]

A NEW SĀTAVĀHANA COIN

BY PRINCIPAL V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

The coin reproduced in **Pl. II A, 2** is from the cabinet of Mr. Hurmuz Kaus of Hyderabad (Deccan). It is a coin of lead, round in shape, with a diameter of .75". Its weight is 115 grains. It has on the obverse the figure of an elephant in high relief, having the trunk in the normal position, facing left, with a spherical object over its back. The reverse has the usual Ujjain symbol, each orb of which has a pellet inside a double circle.

In the absence of a legend it is difficult to identify the king who struck this coin. That he probably belonged to the Sātavāhana dynasty is however clear from the Ujjain symbol which occurs on the reverse of most of the potin and lead coins of the dynasty. The potin coins of several Sātavāhana kings discovered in the Deccan have also the device of the elephant, but the animal appears there with uplifted trunk¹. The recently discovered copper coin² Āpīlaka has, no doubt, an elephant with the trunk hanging down, but the animal faces right, not left as on the present coin. So none of these coins helps us in identifying the king who issued the present coin.

There are however three lead coins square in shape which have a closely similar figure of an elephant. Their facsimiles appear as Nos. 16-18 in Pl. XV illustrating Mr. G. Yazdani's article on the excavations at Koṇḍāpur in the Nizam's State³. Fortunately, two of these coins bear a legend which is fairly clear in the facsimile. Though the blanks of these coins were square, their die was circular as shown by the incuse. I read the legend as [sara ?] raño Gautamīputasa Sā[takaṇisa*]. These coins were therefore struck by the well-known Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Satakarni who freed Northern Maharashtra from Śaka domination. The present coin which in its device closely resembles the three coins from Koṇḍāpur may likewise have been struck by the same Sātavāhana king.

Several other Sātavāhana coins of various types are without legends. They were perhaps distinguished in ancient times by the symbols which appear usually over the back, but sometimes in front, of the animal on the obverse. For instance, we

1. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 88 f.

2. *J. A. S. B.* (1987-88), Num. Suppl. XLVII, p. 94.

3. *A. B. O. R. I.* Vol. XXII, pp. 171 f.

see a symbol resembling somewhat a flat-bottomed Brāhmī *m* on the coin of Āpilaka. The coins of Yajña Sātakarṇi are characterised by the symbol of the crescent moon⁴. Another symbol consisting of two curves cut by a vertical appears over the horse in coins No. 105 and 106 in Rapson's *Catalogue*, which still remain unidentified. The spherical object without any rays over the back of the elephant which appears on the present coin may represent the full moon. If the identification proposed in this article is correct, it may be a distinctive feature of the legendless coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. It has however to be admitted that such a spherical object has not been noticed on any coin of that king. The Koṇḍāpur coin No. 18 bears a slight protuberance over the back of the elephant, but it does not exactly resemble the symbol on this coin.

1. Rapson's *Catalogue of Coins of the Andhras etc.*, Pl. V, No. 148 and G. P. 6.

[Considering the striking resemblance in type of this coin with the published coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, I think that the proposed identification of Prin. Mirashi is very plausible. I am not however sure that the spherical object on the back of the elephant can be regarded as a distinctive feature of the coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. Prin. Mirashi has admitted that it is so far not known to occur on any inscribed coins of this ruler; I may add that it occurs on some coins, which are conjecturally attributed by Rapson to Haritiputra. *Catalogue*, p. 26; also *ante*, Vol. VII, p. 5. This attribution is no doubt uncertain. But it appears equally improbable that these coins were issued by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. Prin. Mirashi's observations in this connection however bring out the necessity of the kingwise study of the coin symbols of the Sātavāhana coins.

The type of the present coin, Elephant and Ujjain symbol is one of the types of the Andhradeśa coinage, Fabric B; see Rapson, *Catalogue*, pp. lxxviii-lxxix. In types 17 & 18 listed by Rapson at the above place, we have however elephant to left and not to right on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse. The provenance of the present coin is not known, but I believe it very probable that it belongs to Andhradeśa. The same probably is the case with the coin of Āpilaka which may have travelled to southern Kosala (where it was found), from Andhradeśa, which is contiguous to south Kosala.

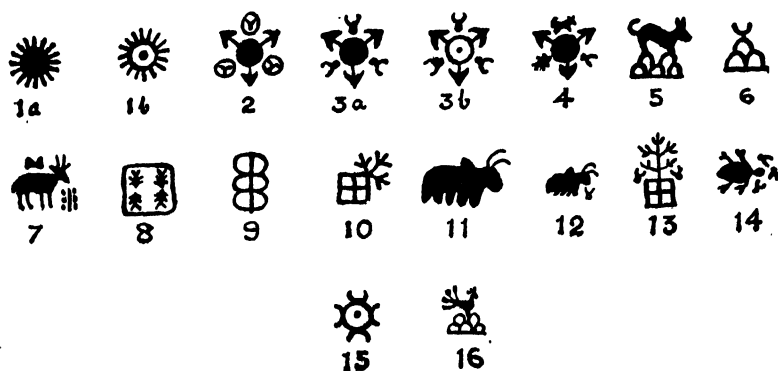
Type No. 17 of Andhradeśa was issued by Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi and continued by Śrī-Rudra (No. 18). The present coin would show that it was Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi, who was the first to issue this type in Andhradeśa; it was later continued by two of his successors.

PUNCH-MARKED COINS FROM BAIRAT

BY P. L. GUPTA, ASST. EDITOR, SAINIK, AGRA.

The eight silver punch-marked coins, which are the subject of this paper, were discovered at Bairat in Jaipur state, about 52 miles northeast of the capital. They have been illustrated on plate IV (b) in *Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Bairat* by Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni, but their symbols have not been properly identified.

I had an opportunity to examine these coins during my visit to Jaipur in 1944 with the kind office of Mr. Hanuman Prasad Vaisya, Curator of the State Museum and the then officiating Superintendent of Archaeology and Historical Research, Jaipur State. The illustration of the coins are reproduced here in **plate IIB**, from the block kindly lent by him. The coins, except Nos. 6 and 7, are fairly worn out. We now proceed to describe them. For facility of reference we give below a plate containing the sixteen symbols on these coins, arranged consecutively.



COIN 1. Oblong with two corners clipped off. Size .9"x. 5"x. .04". Weight 49.25 grains. **Pl. IIB, 1.**

Rai Bahadur D. R. Sahni describes the obverse of the coin as having 'five or six well-preserved symbols' and mentions that one of them is 'large crescent with projection in the middle and thick ends, dot in *r.* or *l.* half; probably not found on any other coins'. The coin is very much worn, but has all the five marks, though incomplete; four of them may be identified as marks 1a (complete on middle left side), 2 (partly punched on the upper middle side), 5 (superimposed by mark 1a and only lower part i.e. hill is clear below the mark 1a)¹, 8 (two

fishes out of four are clear on the lower right side). The fifth mark is indistinct between the two clips. The coin is of Class A of the large Taxila hoard¹. It may either be the coin of variety 1 (with bull as the missing mark)² or A24 (with frog as missing mark)³. On the reverse of the coin Rai Bahadur Sahni has noticed a dim symbol, but actually on the coin is a three-arched hill clearly punched (with or without crescent). A considerable part of the symbol can be seen in **Pl. II B, 1**.

COIN 2. Oblong with one corner clipped off. Size .8" x .35 x .06", weight 44.25 grains. **Pl. IIB, 2.** (2nd in the 1st row).

The coin is more worn out than the above coin and only traces of symbols are visible on it. According to Rai Bahadur Sahani, the coin has four symbols, two of which resemble those on coin No 1. But dim traces of marks 1a, 3a, and 11 only are identifiable. On the reverse R. B. Sahani has observed dim traces of one or two symbols, but at least two symbols (6 and 15) are clear on the original coin.

COIN 3. Oblong with one corner cut off. Size, .7" x .55" x .03"; weight 45 grains. **Pl. IIB, 3.** (1st in the 2nd row).

The coin is worn out and symbols are not clear, but all the five symbols may be identified as marks 1b (in the middle lower part, faded, 3a (on the upper right corner near clip), 6 (lower right corner, only crescent and upper arch is clear), 10 (on lower left corner) and 12 (upper left corner). The coin is same as 40 J₁ of Babu Durga Prasad's classification⁴; II.I. a of Patraha hoard⁵ and II.I. a of *B.M.C.*; on the reverse, as Rai Bahadur Sahani has observed, there is an indistinct trace of a symbol.

COIN 4. Square with one corner cut off. Size .55" x .5" x .03"; weight 48.5 grains. **Pl. IIB, 4.** (2nd in the 2nd row).

Rai Bahadur Sahani has observed on the obverse of the coin 'six well preserved symbols including three-arched sign with three big dots on the corner'. But on the examination of the coin, I found only four identifiable marks, 1a (Upper left corner near the edge), 3a (lower right corner), 6 (upper left corner) and 9 (upper right corner). The fifth mark is indistinct and unidentifiable. The coin is the same as 40A of Babu

1. [The hill may or may not have had the animal on it. (hief editor.)]

2. 29 A₅ of B. Durga Prasad's classification (*N. S.* Vol. XLV pl. XIV); III.IV. g of Patraha hoard (*M.A.S.I.* No. 62, p. 81); *B. M. C.* VI. III. g.

3. 29 C₁ of B. Durga Pd. classification (*N.S.* Vol. XLV. pl. XV); III. V. d. of Patraha hoard (*M.A.S.I.* No. 62. p. 84) *B.M.C.* VI. iv. d.

4. *N. S.* Vol. XIV pl. XX.

5. *M. A. S. I.* 62. p. 2.



Durga Prasad's classification¹; II.III. of Patraha hoard² and II.III. of *B.M.C.* On the reverse Rai Bahadur Sahni identifies a symbol as 'crescent and trident back to back', but they are clearly two symbols, which are so closely punched that they look like one symbol and have become indistinguishable.

COIN 5. Square. Size. 45" x 42" x .09". Weight 50.75 grains. **Pl. IIB, 5.** (3rd in the 2nd row).

Rai Bahadur Sahni mentions four symbols on the obverse of the coin, but as the coin is much worn, out, only parts of marks 1b and 3b (upper and lower right corner respectively) could be identified. On the reverse the Rai Bahadur sees 'crescent with pointed projection in the middle and bifurcated ends etc.' but on the coin it is clearly nothing but the peacock-on-the-hill symbol (mark 16).

COIN 6. Circular or oval. Diam. .6". Weight 51.7 grains. **Pl. IIB, 6.** (1st in the 3rd row).

The coin is in fresh mint condition with all the 5 well preserved symbols 1a, 4, 9, 7 and 13 on the obverse and the symbol 9 on the reverse. The coin is the same as 32A₉ of Babu Durga Prasad's classification³, II.V. of Patraha hoard⁴ and of the group II. IV of *B. M. C.*

COIN 7. Circular or oval. Diam. .6" thickness .05". Weight 52.25" grains. **Pl. IIB, 7.** (2nd in the 3rd row).

The coin is in a well preserved condition but not as good as coin 6. All the five marks on the obverse are clear and are 1b, 3b, 6, 9 and 14. On the the reverse is the mark 9 and the traces of another mark. The coin is the same as 40A₁₁ of Babu Durga Prasad's classification⁵ and II. III. c of Patraha hoard and II.III. b of *B. M. C.*

COIN 8. Circular. Diam. .6". thickness .05". Weight 48.75 grains. **Pl. III B 8** (3rd in the third row).

The coin is considerably worn out and traces of only 4 marks are visible on the coin, out of which marks 1b, 3a, and 6 are identifiable. On the reverse Rai Bahadur Sahni finds one dim and unfamiliar symbol, but it is the familiar symbol 'crescent-on-the-hill'.

It is clear that all the punch-marked coins of this hoard are of known varieties and as such they deserve no particular attention. But as Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal has pointed out in his presidential speech at the Annual meeting of the

1. *N. S.* XLV pl. XVIII

2. *M. A. S. I.* 62, p. 12.

3. *N. S.* XLV pl. xv.

4. *M. A. S. I.* 62 p. 24.

5. *N. S.* XIV pl. XVIII.

6. *M. A. S. I.* 62, p. 18,

Numismatic Society of India at Jaipur in 1942¹, they are important because they enable us to determine the relative chronology of the symbols and varieties of the punch-marked coins with the help of the 28 datable Greek and Indo-Greek coins, that were found along with these coins.

The Greek coins of this hoard included one coin of Heliokles (*circa* 140 B. C.), a son of Eucratides, and the last king of Bactria; one of Indo-Greek king Appollodotos; 16 of Menander; one of Antialkidas and 6 of Hermaios (20-40 A.D.)² The association of the punch-marked coins with these coins apparently indicates that they were hoarded along with them some time between 140 B. C. and 40 A. D. or a little later.

According to the obverse symbols the punch-marked coins may be classified in following three classes:—

(1) Coins 1 and 2 are of earlier or pre-Mauryan varieties and belong to class A of the bigger Taxila hoard, which has been dated as the currency in vogue about *circa* 317 B. C. on the basis of the two Greek coins found along with the hoard, one of Alexander the Great and the other of his successor Philip Aridaeus (*circa* 317 B.C.)³.

(2) 5 coins (coins Nos. 3, 4, 5, 7 and 8) are the Mauryan coins, as they have the crescent on the hill mark, the Imperial symbol of the Mauryas⁴. This is also supported by the fact that while the bigger Taxila hoard referred to above has no coin with this conspicuous mark, coins of another hoard of 175 punch-marked coins from the same site, found along with a gold coin of Diodotus (*circa* 248 B. C.), which were all new at the time of deposit, have this crescent on the hill symbol.⁵ This fairly fixes the date of the currency of the coins having that symbol.

(3) The single coin (coin No. 6) is quite different from the coins of above two groups. Babu Durga Prasad has assigned the coins of this variety to group (1) i. e. pre-Mauryan⁶ and Mr. Bhattacharya to group (2) i. e. Mauryan.⁷ But to me it is rather post-Mauryan than pre-Mauryan or Mauryan and its date of issue or currency may be assigned with some certitude with the help of the associated Greek coins, and a third date may be added to the chronology of the punch-marked coins.

1. J. N. S. I. Vol. V. p. 5.

2. [The coins of Hermaios continued to be issued even after his death (c. 50 B. C.) till the time of Kadphises I (c. 50 A. D.) The coin illustrated by R. B. Dayarm Sahani in his report is artistically fine and has the archaic forms of Σ and O and so may be attributed to Hermaios himself and so placed in c. 50 B. C. *Chief Editor*.]

3. M. A. S. I. 59, p. 1.

4. N. S. Vol. XLVII p. 61-67.

5. M. A. S. I., 59, p. 31.

6. N. S. XLV. Pl.

7. M. A. S. I., 62, p. 24

Babu Durga Prasad in his monograph contended that there is a hoard from Ahraura (district Mirzapur) purchased by Mr. Srinath Shah of Benares, which does not contain any coin with crescent-on-the-hill symbol¹, but has the coin of the present variety². A reference to the plates No. XVII—XX of Babu Durga Prasad (N. S. XIV) however shows that the hoard did contain the coins with the crescent-on-the-hill symbol; he himself has illustrated them. Babu Srinath Shah still possesses the coins of this hoard which have the-crescent-on-the hill symbol. Thus it is clear that the Ahraura hoard was not pre-Mauryan deposit.

So far only one hoard is known as having no coins with crescent-on-the-hill symbol, which can be assigned to pre-Mauryan period, and that is the bigger hoard from Taxila referred to above. On the other hand the hoard no. 3 from Rairh (Jaipur State) has no pre-Mauryan coins and has all the coins with crescent on the hill symbol³. *None of these two hoards have any coin of the variety under discussion*; it, therefore, follows that the variety is definitely not pre-Mauryan or Mauryan.

The coin itself has no crescent-on-the-hill mark on either side. Messrs. Durga Prasad⁴, Bhattacharya⁵ and Puri⁶ have described a number of coins of the variety, but none of them refers to the Mauryan symbol on either side of the coins. In its absence or in absence of any other evidence it is hardly fair to attribute it to the Mauryan period.

It is further noteworthy that most of the hoards of the punch marked coins contained a very small number of the coins of this type, as will be clear from the table given below:—

HOARD	NO. OF COINS	GROUPS		
		1	2	3
1. Patraha ⁷	1703	442	1327	216
2. Lalganj Tahsil (Azamgarh) ⁸	331	66	263	2
3. Rairh (hoard no. 1.) ⁹	326	141	82	43
4. do do	2 99	43	20	4
5. do do	4 525	348	57	28
6. do do	5 1983	1027	417	58

1. N. S. XLVII p. 73

2. *Ibid.*, XLV. Pl. 15.

3. K. N. Puri, *Excavations at Rairh*, pls. XXVII—XXIX

4. N. S. XLV. Pl. 70

5. M. A. S. I., 62, p. 24-32 (class II. V.)

6. *Excavations at Rairh*, pl. XXIX

7. M. A. S. I. 62 p. 93-94

8. Unpublished hoard in my collection.

9. *Excavations at Rairh*, pl XXIX

The paucity of a particular coin type in any hoard can be assigned to one of the following two reasons :—

1. The coin-type was the currency long before the hoarding and as the time passed on, its number diminished.
2. The coin-type was issued shortly before the hoarding and had not wide currency till then.

In the former case the coins will be light in weight and worn out in look due to their long currency and in the later case they will be fresh in look and heavy in weight in comparison with other coins of the hoard. *It is further noteworthy that the present coin is the heaviest in the hoard and has a fresh look.* The heavy weight and the freshness of the present coin is not merely an accident as may be alleged. The two coins of Lalganj Tahsil hoard, which is in my collection and is still unpublished, are also as fresh as the present coin and heavier than the other coins of the hoard. This clearly shows that the coins were not in currency long before they were hoarded.

Keeping all these facts in view, it will not be far fetched to conclude that the coins of this variety were issued after the fall of Mauryas and are the coins of one of the latest varieties, which were replaced by the silver Greek coins in the 2nd century B. C. As indicated by the association of the Greek and Indo-Greek coins in the present hoard, the earliest date of issue of this variety may be assigned with certitude to some time in the early part of the second century B. C. ; possibly it may have been issued even a century later.

A NOTE ON SYMBOLS ILLUSTRATED ON PAGE 24

The marks 1a, 2, 3a and 4 have been shown in the plate slightly different than those usually recognised i. e., the central portion of the symbols has been shown as a solid circle instead of a dot within a circle as is in the symbol 3b. This is no novelty of the present coins. In fact this is a sub-variety of the Sun and the Chakra symbols which are found on many coins along with the usual variety of these symbols ; but so far no notice has been taken of this fact. I have discussed it in detail in a separate paper which will be presented at some later date. In the meanwhile, I would like to draw the attention of the scholars to this fact.

FOUR NEW COINS FROM MATHURĀ

BY MR. M. NAGAR, M.A., PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, LUCKNOW

The ancient site of Katra Keśavadeva, situated $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles outside the holy city of Mathurā, is a veritable mine of archaeological finds. It has recently yielded a number of coins which on account of their immense numismatic value, have been acquired for the coin cabinet of the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Mathura. In the following paragraphs four of these coins (Pl. IIC, Figs 1-4) are described as they are rather rare.

1. A Coin of Mihirakula¹

Metal : Copper ; Size : 75", Wt : 51 grs.

Shape : round ; fabric, die-struck.

Obv. ; Within beaded border crude bust of king to right.

Marginal legend श्री मिहिरकुलः

Rev. Within dotted border, Bull standing on a horizontal line in front of a trident or standard. Above crescent. Below the line जयतु [वृषः] in characters of circa 6th century A. D. Pl. IIC, 1.

Coins of Mihirakula, the famous Hūṇa king who ruled during the first quarter of the 6th century A. D., though scarce are not unknown. The Indian Museum Calcutta, has got a number of his coins, all of one type, one of which has been reproduced by Dr. Smith.² Another coin of the same variety has been illustrated by Rapson in his *Indian Coins*.³ In all these coins, however, the standard before which the bull is standing in the coin under review is absent. It, therefore, presents a rare variety of the coins of Mihirakula and is hence important.⁴

2. A Counterstruck Coin of Mihirakula.

Metal : Copper ; Size : 65", Wt. : 41 grs.

Shape: Irregullar round, fabric : die-struck.

Obv. Within dotted border bust of king to right superimposed with a *chakra* or solar symbol and a few indistinct letters probably, मि-रकुल.

Rev. Within double beaded border a bull standing on a horizontal line in front of trident, above a crescent

1. I am indebted to my esteemed guru, Dr. Altekar, for the correct identification of this coin.

2. *J. M. C.* Vol. I. Pl. XXV. 5.

3. Section 106, Pl. IV. 21.

4. [An object somewhat resembling a standard can however be seen on some coins of this ruler, published by Prinsep, *Essays*, Vol I, Pl. xxxiv, No 1 and by Cunningham in *Coins of Later Indo-Scythians*, Pl. VIII, Nos. 1 and 2 *Chief Editor*]

Below जयतु वृ [षः] in characters of *circa* 6th century A. D. Pl. IIC, 2.

The coin is identical with No. 1 except that it is counterstruck by a king whose identification is not possible for want of sufficient evidence on the coin. Still the superimposed *chakra* and the beaded double border go a long way to prove that the coin is a counterstruck one.

CHIEF EDITOR'S NOTE

The coin published here by Mr. Nagar is a very important one. *Chakra* appears among the symbols occurring on the coins of Toramāṇa, who was the predecessor of Mihirakula; on several of his copper pieces, where the field on the reverse is divided into two parts, the upper part shows a *chakra*, and the lower part gives a part of the legend giving the king's name Toramāṇa. This wheel has spokes within and dots around its rim, and was probably intended to be a symbol of the Sun, who may have been a tutelary deity of Toramāṇa, as we may infer from the name Mihirakula which he gave to his son. These coins are illustrated in Rapson, *I. C.*, Pl. IV, 19; *I. M. C.*, XXV, 4; Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, Pl. VII, 16; Prinsep, *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, Pl. XXXIV, 6, 17, 18. The *chakra* appears as one of the symbols on the reverse on some Hūṇa coins of the Kushāna-Sassanian type, illustrated by Prinsep in his Pl. XXXIV, 7 and referred to above. An examination of the original coin made it clear to me that the wheel is counterstruck on the face of the king and not vice versa. Since the former is the case, some immediate successor of Mihirakula who wanted to revive the old symbol so popular in the reign of Toramāṇa may be responsible for this counterstriking. If the latter had been the case, it would have been an instance of Mihirakula seeking to eliminate from his coinage all symbols that smacked of a respect to any god like the Sun or Vishnu. For, he was a staunch Śaivite; an inscription from Mandsore describes how he never bent his head before any god other than Śiva; Cf.

स्थाणोरन्यत्र येन प्रणतिकृपणतां प्रापितं नोत्तमांगं

चूडापुष्पोपहारैर्मिहिरकुलवृषेणार्चितं पादयुग्मम् ।

Since, however, the wheel has been counter-struck, it is clear that the restriker is a ruler later than both Taramāṇa and Mihirakula. But this particular coin seems to have been originally issued by Toramāṇa, then restamped by Mihirakula and then counterstruck by a third ruler; for on the obverse, in the left half of the coin, one can see faint traces of the earlier legend *Sri Tora*. It is therefore very likely that the present coin is a piece of Toramāṇa reissued by Mihirakula

after restamping it with his own portrait and legend, and later counterstruck by a third ruler with the symbol of *chakra*.

3. A Coin of King Tijyavega (?)

Metal: copper; size: .6" wt.: 28 grs.

Shape: irregular round; fabric: cast

Obv. Entirely worn out.

Rev. Symbols worn out. Legend is rather doubtful but seems to be *Tijyavega* (sa) i. e. 'of *Tijyavega*' in characters of late 3rd century B. C. **Pl. IIC, 3.**

King Tijyavega is so far absolutely unknown to us either from coins or inscriptions or literature. It is therefore difficult to fix his age or determine his dominion. This difficulty is further aggravated by the absence of symbols on the coin. But as the coin has been discovered from the old site of Keśavadeva temple at Mathurā, it may be taken as indicating that Tijyavega was a king of Mathurā, who flourished in the last quarter of the 3rd century B. C., preceeding Gomitra (220-200 B. C.)

The reading Tijyavega, however, does not appear to be free from doubt and I shall be much obliged if some scholar suggests a better and more accurate reading.

4. A Coin of Agachami(tapada)

Metal: copper; size: .56" wt.: 58 grs.

Shape: round; fabric: die-struck.

Obv. Sejant lion

Rev. Tree within railing. Marginal Brāhmī legend beginning at III *Agāchami(tapada)*. **Pl. IIC, 4.**

It is not for the first time that the coins of (Agodaka) Agāchami (tapada) have been found. Mr. Allan has published some coins of this republic.¹ A coin of this republic was also published by Smith though the reading given by him is somewhat different from what it actually exists on the coin². Cunningham has also referred to a coin of this Janapada, though he has not reproduced the same³. In recent years a hoard of coins was found in excavations in 1938-39 from Agroha in District Hissar (Punjab) by the Archaeological Survey of India⁴. These coins are all square and bear on the obverse Tree within railing and on the reverse Bull or Lion. The present coin is important as the lion on its reverse is much clearer than that on other specimens, specially that on the British Museum⁵. It would also tend to show that there was brisk intercourse between Agrodaka and Mathurā.

1. *Cat. of Coins in British Museum, Ancient India*, pp. 282-283.

2. *J. M. C.* Vol. I. p. 206, No. 11. Pl. xxiii. 12.

3. *C. O. M. I.*, p. 2, Nos 4-5.

4. *J. N. S. I.* vol. iv, Pl. I. P. 49.

5. Allan: *op. cit.* Pl. xlv. 23.

A NEW COIN OF KSHATRAPA HAGĀMASHA

BY M. M. NAGAR, M. A., PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, LUCKNOW

During the first century B. C. Mathurā and its neighbouring districts were governed by a dynasty of kings who styled themselves as Kshatrapas. The first two rulers of this dynasty were probably Hagāna and Hagāmasha. Numismatic evidence shows that for some time they ruled simultaneously and struck coins conjointly. Subsequently the latter came into power and struck independently a large number of copper coins. These coins bear on obverse goddess Lakshmī standing facing on a peculiar symbol between a river and tree with Brāhmī legend on the margin, and on reverse a horse. But recently a new variety of coins of this king has come to light which is described below. This coin was purchased from a dealer for the coin cabinet of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, wherein it is now deposited; its No. is 10180. Its exact provenance is unknown.

Metal : copper ; size : .68", wt : 65 grs.

Shape : irregular round ; fabric : cast.

Obv. Tree within railing. To right river. Below a symbol: Marginal Brāhmī legend : *Khatapa* [sa] [Ha] *gasama* standing for *Hagamashasa*, i. e., (the coin) 'of Khastrapa Hagama (sha)'.

Rev. Horse walking left.

Pl. IIC, 5.

The coin under review is important, firstly because it differs from the usual coins of Hagāmasha by the absence of the figure of Lakshmī on reverse, which is replaced by tree within railing, and secondly because of the curious position of the letters of the legend. Evidently the reversing of letters *sa* and *ma* is due to die-sinker's oversight, while the absence of the *sha* which was to follow *ma* on the coin is due to want of space. It will be significant to note in this connection that this is not the first instance of die-cutter's negligence so far as the coins of this king are concerned, as the British Museum possess another coin of Hagāmasha in which the letters of the legend have been interchanged as *ga(hama)sa* for Hagāmasha.'

Allen : *B. M. C., Ancient India* P. 184, coin no. 91 Pl. xxvi. 5.

I am indebted to my friend Dr. V. S. Agrawala M. A., Ph. D., D. Litt., for kindly drawing my attention to this coin.

A NEW KOSALA HOARD OF PUNCH-MARKED COINS

MR. K. D. BAJPAI, M. A., CURZON MUSEUM OF
ARCHAEOLOGY, MATHURA

A hoard of 22 silver punch-marked coins was discovered about three years back in the foundations of the house of the Manager, Court of Wards, Hardoi City. Rai Sahib Babu Janeshwar Das, who was then occupying the house as Special Manager, took charge of the hoard and sent it for examination to Dr. V. S. Agrawala, Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow, who very kindly handed it over to me for decipherment.¹

All of these coins are standard *kārshāpaṇas*, each weighing about 32 rattis.

The coins mostly belong to classes VI and II of the *B.M.C.* As I am not illustrating them here, I shall give a detailed description of the symbols occurring on them, so that the numismatists may know the varieties of symbols common on punch-marked coins current in a part of Kosala.

Most of the coins have symbols on the obverse. The Sun, the Six-armed Symbol, the Bull, the Hare-on-Hill and the Elephant occur on eight out of the 22 coins. Some times the Branch occurs as an additional symbol on some of them. On 12 other coins the Crescent-on-the Hill is substituted for the Bull, otherwise the remaining symbols being mostly the same. In one case the Sun and the Six-armed Symbol appear along with Bull, the Elephant and the Crescent-on-the Hill. Caduceus is rather rare on the coins in this lot; it appears on the obverse only in three cases. Among other rarer symbols on the obverse may be mentioned triangle-headed banner with two taurines on either side of its staff and a central knob surrounded by four taurines or semi-circles.

In two cases the reverse is plain. Thirteen coins have only one symbol on the reverse; among them the Crescent-on-Hill occurs in five cases, Caduceus in two cases (in one of which it also appears on the obverse), the Sun, in one case, the circle with a dot and a circle within in two cases, and a rectangle with two diagonals in one case. Two coins have two symbols on the reverse, one has got three and two have got four. In one of these cases, three spoked wheels appear along with a

1. I am indebted to Dr. Agrawala for helping me to identify some of the symbols.

circle with a dot in the centre. In one case the elephant appears along with another symbol which is only partly visible.

[Among the varieties represented in this Kosala hoard it will be seen that we have the following in the *British Museum Catalogue*—

Class VI, Group III var. c : Sun, Six-armed Symbol, Hair-on-hill, Bull and Elephant ; six coins

Class VI, Group III var. a : As above, but Branch instead of Bull ; one coin.

Class VI, Group II var. c : Sun, Six-armed Symbol, Elephant, Hill and Trangle-headed banner with two taurines on either side ; one coin.

Class VI, Group III var. a : Sun, Six-armed Symbol, Elephant, Hare-on-Hill and Branch ; two coins.

Class II, Group III var. h : Sun, Six-armed Symbol, Crescent-on-Hill, Caduceus ; one coin.

Class II, Group IV var. a : As above, the 5th Symbol being Knob with four semi-circles around. In the *B. M. C.*, another symbol is attached to the last mentioned symbol ; two coins, but in one the 5th symbol is indistinct ; one coin.

One coin resembles Class VI, Group III, var. c, but has Tree within railing instead of the Bull ; another also resembles the same variety but has Crescent-on-the-Hill instead of the Tank with four fish ; a third one resembles var. c of this class and group but has Crescent-on-the-Hill instead of the Bull.

It will be thus seen that most of the coins of the present hoard belong to Classes II and VI of the *British Museum Catalogue*, which are closely connected together and which have been attributed by the late Babu Durga Prasad and Mr. Allan to the Mauryan period. The present hoard therefore seems to have been buried during the upheaval that was caused at the break up of the Mauryan Empire. *Chief Editor*].

FURTHER LIGHT ON THE TERRITORY OF THE KUṆINDAS.

BY MR. S. C. KĀLĀ, M.A., CURATOR, ALLAHABAD MUSEUM.

Last summer when I was in Garhwal, I went to Srinagar, the old capital of the Garhwal kingdom, to examine the collections of Lala Manohar Lal, a premier Rais of the place, now dead. He very kindly allowed me to examine his *pothikkhānā* as he called it. Besides a large number of Kangra miniatures and illustrated Mss. of the Moghul period I happened to see a good hoard of coins in his collection. Along with the recent coinage of Hyderabad, Nepal and Oudh I came across some coins of the Kuṇindās. I examined them very carefully and the results of my study are discussed below. The coins are of the usual type,¹ but they show some variations. On the obverse we have the usual deer facing a female, with the usual symbols above the deer. But the deer faces to left instead of to right, which is its usual position. The reverse shows the usual symbols, tree within railing, six arched hill etc. The obverse has the usual legend in Brāhmī and the reverse in Kharoshtri.²

I enquired from Lala Manohar Lal regarding the provenance of these coins. He informed that a hoard of 1000 coins was discovered in the year 1880 in village Sumari, just above the town of Srinagar—the old capital of the Rajas of Garhwal. The hoard was brought to Lala Manohar Lal's father Lala Bal Govind who was a prominent money changer of the time. The coins were subsequently melted down but Lala Manohar Lal, who was then very young, kept some coins out of sheer curiosity. These coins remained in his possession till the time of his death (1944). No scholar ever knew of the collections of Lala Manohar Lal. When the Late Rai Bahadur Harikrishan Raturi, Dewan of Tehri state, undertook the writing of a systematic History of Garhwal in the year 1928, he visited the house of Lala Manohar Lal in order to enquire about certain matters. At that time he saw these coins. He took a photograph of one of the coins and made a vague and

1. Allan—*Coins of Ancient India*, p. 159.

2. It is to be regretted that Lala Manohar Lal is dead. It is therefore difficult to procure a fresh photograph of the coin. A rough sketch of the coin is printed in the History of Garhwal by the late H. K. Raturi and even though the coin is roughly printed, certain features of it have come out very clear. On the basis of this photograph alone it can be judged that the coin is of a new variety.

passing reference of the hoard in his book¹. Lala Manohar Lal further informed me that similar coins were brought to him from Bahttiseri and Dewal-Garh, places quite near to the town of Srinagar in Garhwal State.

The three find places of the Kuninda coins are all within a radius of 10 miles and are also places of antiquarian interest. The importance of these finds lie in the fact that they throw fresh light on the territory of the Kunindas. Cunningham was of opinion that the Kunindas occupied the hill districts on both the sides of Sutlej². Their coins have been further found at Tappa Mewa in the Hamirpur District of the Punjab, Sunet near Ludhiyana, Karnal, Jwalamukhi and Behat near Saharanpur. The provenance of the coins shows that the Kunindas roughly occupied the narrow strip of land lying between Jamuna and the Sutlej at the foot of the Siwalik hills³.

The discovery of the Kuninda Coins in the very heart of Garhwal proves that the territory of the Kunindas must have included the hilly districts of Kumaun. About seventeen years ago Mr. J. C. Powell Price had also discussed the probability of the Kunindas ruling in the Hill Districts⁴. A similar statement was made by Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal who succeeded in procuring certain coins of the Kunindas from Srinagar⁵.

1. Harkrishan Raturi—*Garhwal Ka Itihas*, P. 241. (Garhwal Press, Dehradun).

2. Cunningham—*Coins of Ancient India*, p. 70.

3. Allan—*Coins of Ancient India*, p. ciii.

4. *J. U. P. H. S.*—vol. IV, Part II, 1980, pp. 9–14.

5. *Ibid* p. 10.

CRESCENT ON THE GUPTA COINS.

BY MR. P. L. GUPTA, ASST. EDITOR, SAINIK, AGRA.

On the following Gupta coins a crescent is seen to the left of the king's head above the standard :—

1. Samudragupta, Standard type (*B. M. C.* pl. I, 1-4); Archer type (*B. M. C.*, pl. IV, 5-6); Battle-axe type (*B. M. C.* pl. IV, 11-12).
2. Chandragupta II, Archer type (*B. M. C.* Pl. VII, 12-14); Horseman type, class I and II (*B. M. C.* pl. X, 3-5; 10-12).

Mr. Allan, holding the view that the early Gupta coins are the close copy of the later coins of Kṛshāna type and there is hardly any change in the details of the coins, traced the origin of this crescent to the letter O in the original Greek legend, which on such coins has degenerated into a crescent¹.

This could have been true about the coins of Samudragupta, but as is noted above, the coins of Chandragupta II also, which display considerable originality of type, have this symbol. The crescent is also seen on the coins of Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type, above between the heads of the king and the queen (*B. M. C.* pl. I). And recently Mr. J. K. Agrawal has published a coin of Archer type of Samudragupta, which has the crescent over the head of the king². There is another coin of standard type of this king in the Lucknow Museum, which has the crescent over the king's head.³ Keeping this fact in view, which was not before Mr. Allan, Mr. Agrawal asserted that the crescent did not descend from Greek O, as crescent is an ancient symbol originally appearing on the indigenous Punch-marked coins. Its reoccurrence on the Gupta coins is therefore purely a matter of sequence⁴. But the chief editor of this journal, Dr. A. S. Alteker, did not agree with him and considered his arguments weak and supported Mr. Allan's view in his editorial note.⁵

The position of the crescent on all these coins is such that it may become plausible to suggest that it is the corrupt form of the Greek O, whether it is placed over the standard or the head of the king. But if the following facts are taken into consideration, it will be clear that the crescent on the

1. *B. M. C.* introduction p. lxx.

2. *Ante*, vol. III, pp. 84-85.

3. *L. M. C.* coin 1.

4. *Op. cit.* p. 84.

5. *Ibid.* p. 85.

Gupta coins is an original feature with its own important significance.

On the following coins, it is seen over the name of the king, written perpendicularly under the right arm, a place where no legend ever occurred on any Greek coins.

1. Kumāragupta I, Archer type (*B. M. C.*, XII. 1,2,3,7); Tiger type (*B. M. C.*, XV, 1-4); Swordsman type (*B. M. C.*, XII, 15).

2. Skandagupta, Archer type (*B. M. C.*, XII, 15).

3. Puragupta (*B. M. C.*, XXI, 22).

4. Narasimhagupta (*B. M. C.*, XII, 7,1,12).

5. Kumāragupta II (*B. M. C.*; XII, 13; XIII, 15).

6. Vishṇugupta (*B. M. C.*, XXIII, 9-12).

7. Vainyagupta (*B. M. C.*, XXIII, 6-8; described there as Chandragupta III).

8. Ghatotkachagupta (*B. M. C.* XXIV, 3).

It is evident that from Chandragupta I down to Vainyagupta, there is not a single Gupta king, on whose coins, the crescent symbol is not placed at one place or the other. This is enough to show that it had some important significance, and was not in any way the copy of any Greek legend.

At present it is not possible to suggest the exact significance, but I may point out that the position of the crescent is worth noticing. It is seen above the head of the king, above the standard and above the initial name of the king. All the three represent sovereignty. Has it any thing to do with it? The standard before the adoption of Garuda, is seen with crescent. (*B. M. C.*, pl. I, 1-12).

CHIEF EDITOR'S NOTE.

While commenting on the views of Mr. J. K. Agrawala, *ante*, Vol. III, p. 85, I had observed as follows:—

'The crescent may be an Indian symbol, and yet its appearance *here* (i.e. above the head of the king or the standard or near either of the two objects) *may* be due to the original presence of the Greek legend there. On the obverse of Gupta silver coins we have several crescents and circles; (Allan, Pls. XVI and XVII). Can any one doubt that they are the traces of the original Greek legend? On the gold coins only one crescent is to be seen near the head of the king, because the rest of the space was occupied by the circular Brāhmī legend.'

It is to be noticed that neither Mr. Allan nor I assert that the crescent is definitely and certainly a remnant of the Greek legend; both of us think that it is most probably to be traced

to it. It is quite possible that the presence of the crescent above the name of the king may be due to some cause like a belief in its auspiciousness, whereas its occurrence near the king's head may be due to the unconscious influence of the Greek legend.

Mr. Gupta has done well in drawing the attention of the scholars to the presence of the crescent under the arm of the king on the coins of all Gupta rulers from Kumāragupta I to Vainyagupta. He tentatively suggests that it may have been regarded as a *symbol* of royalty. This is a plausible suggestion, but we must observe that in that case, we would have expected the crescent not only on some coins of all the Gupta rulers, but on all the types of all the Gupta rulers. Such is not the case. Thus while it appears on the Archer, Tiger and Swordsman types of Kumāragupta, it does not occur on his Aśvamedha, Lion-slayer, Peacock and Pratāpa types. Nor does it occur on the King and Lakshmi type of Skandagupta.

The significance of the crescent at the different places on the Gupta coins is still a mystery and I shall be glad to publish further views on the point from numismatists.

THE SILVER MĀSHAKA COINS AND THEIR SYMBOLS.

BY DR. V. S. AGRAWALA, CENTRAL ASIAN MUSEUM,
NEW DELHI.

The minute *māshaka* coins of silver are of rare occurrence. Mr. Allan describes four specimens resembling in weight and size, three of which were obtained from Thāṭhārī in C. P. in 1925 and one was presented by Mr. Nelson Wright in 1926. (Allan, *Cat. of Coins*, pp. 286-287; Pl. XLVI, Nos. 18, 19)

Recently Mr. Walsh in his Memoir on the Taxila Hoard describing the punch-marked coins from Bhīr Mound makes mention of 79 minute coins varying in size from .15" to .2" and in weight from 2.3 to 2.86 grs. Mr. Walsh is of opinion that these coins are silver *māshas* of 2 *rattis*. We have the well-known quotation from Manu saying that a silver *māsha* was equal in weight to two *rattis* :

द्वे कृष्णले समधृते विज्ञेयो रौप्यमाषकः । VIII. 135.

Manu also adds that 16 silver *māshaka* coins made one *dharuṇa* or silver *purāṇa* (VIII. 136). Thus a silver *māshaka* weighed 2 *rattis* or about 3 to 3.5 grains. This theoretical weight can be verified in very few specimens published so far. The highest weight in Bhīr Mound was 2.86 grains, and the lowest 2.3 grs. Amongst the present lot the highest weight is 2.96 grains approximating very closely the theoretical standard. On the basis of their weight these minute coins can be definitely identified with the ancient *raupya-māshakas* which belonged to the lowest denomination of the silver punch-marked series.

Pāṇini refers to a *māsha* coin in *sūtra* V. 1.34 after *paṇa pāda* (पणपादमाषशताद्यत्). There is no certain indication here whether the *māsha* intended was of silver or copper. Probably the grammatical rule held good from the point of view of word formation both in the case of silver and copper specimens irrespective of the metal. Another name of *māsha* was *māshaka*. According to the Sthūlādī group (Pāṇini, V. 4.3) *māshaka* is derived from *māsha* in the sense of 'resembling that' (*prakāravachana*). Kauṭilya uses the word *māsha*, and the adjectival form *māshikā*, i. e., consisting of one *māsha*, but he does not know *māshaka*. The distinction in meaning between *māsha* and *māshaka* is not clear. Manu besides referring to a silver *Māshaka* (*Raupya Māshaka*) also mentions a gold coin as *hairanya māshaka* (VIII. 393). The Gaṅgamāla Jātaka refers to the water-carrier *aḍḍha-māśaka* who was so named from his

excessive attachment to an *ardha-māsaka* coin which he kept hidden in the wall of the town. This *ardha māsaka* must be taken to be a copper coin which was half of a copper *māshaka*. We do not find mention of the half-*māsha* (*ardha māshaka*) coin of silver in Pāṇini and Kauṭilya. Patañjali always refers to the minute silver coin by the name *māsha*, e. g.,

अस्मात् कार्षापणादिह भवद्भ्यां माषं माषं देहि ।

‘Out of this Kārshāpaṇa please distribute one *māsha* to each of these two persons.’

Symbols

These minute coins always bear a single mark on the obverse and are blank on the reverse. The Taxila coins bear six varieties of the six-armed symbol which is a regular feature of the silver punch-marked coins. Besides, four other symbols are illustrated on Pl. I, figs B-K by Mr. Walsh, in his Memoir on *Punch-marked Coins from Taxila*.

These symbols are hardly repeated on the 23 coins examined by me, which are as follows :—

- I. 2 coins from Thāthārī, Dist. Bilaspur, received as Treasure Trove from the Director of Industries, C. P. (Lucknow Museum 7007-8) one bearing a six-armed symbol combining Taurines and Arrows and the other Caduceus.
- II. Five coins included in the collection of the late B. Durga Prasad of Benares and acquired for the Lucknow Museum as part of his collection of silver punch-marked coins. Three of them came from Rawalpindi. One has a clear symbol consisting of two Taurines, a *Parimandala* and a crescent. The symbol on the second showing Taurines and Ovals is similar to Fig. C of Walsh. The symbol on the third is indistinct. The fourth coin is from Kosambi (Wt. 2.3 grs) bearing the same symbol as Fig. C as given in Mr. Walsh's memoir. The fifth coin (Wt. 2.5 grs.) is interesting. B. Durga Prasad says about this coin ; ‘The coin was found adhering to a cast copper coin of Aśoka or Chandragupta. Two similar coins are in the Patna Museum. A similar coins was found adhering to a cast copper coin of Aśoka obtained from Kosambi, now in the Allahabad Museum. Mr. Martin has got double of such coins.’ The obverse symbol consists of three Taurines and three Arrowheads. This type of the six-armed symbol is usually found on later punch-marked coins, which include in the regular groups of 5 symbols the Crescent on Chaitya and the

Peacock on Chaitya, which are taken to be of the Mauryan age.

Recently Mr. J. K. Agrawala of the Lucknow University obtained from Rawalpindi 16 minute coins of silver having an average weight of 2·34 grs. Each coin bears one symbol on the obverse side and has blank reverse. Three of them are ·15", the rest ·2" in diameter.

A STANDARD TYPE COIN OF SAMUDRAGUPTA.

PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA, ASST. EDITOR, DAILY SAINIK,
AGRA.

Bharat Kala Bhawan (Museum of Art and Archæology) of Benares has recently purchased a gold Gupta coin from Lucknow, thanks to the munificence of the well-known industrialist Lala Ram Ratan Gupta of Cawnpore. It is a new variety of class *a* (of *B. M. Catalogue*) of Samudragupta, Standard Type. It may be described as follows :—

OBVERSE : King standing left, nimbate, wearing close fitting cap, coat and trousers, earrings, necklace, holding in left hand standard bound with fillet, dropping incense on altar with his right hand. On left, behind altar is Garuḍa standard without fillet. Beneath king's left arm, vertically *Samudra*. Legend *Samaraśatavitatavijayojitāri*.

REVERSE : Lakshmī seated facing on throne, two legs of which are visible, nimbate, wearing loose robe, necklace and armlet, holding *pāśa* in outstretched right hand and cornucopæ in left arm; her feet rest on lotus. Symbols in upper right and left corners. On right *Parākrama*. PL. III, 3

The chief interest of this coin lies in the legend on the obverse. Usually the legend on the coins of this variety is seen to be *Samaraśatavitatavijayō jitaripurajito divam jayati*. At first sight it appears that the legend on the present coin is a part of the above legend, but it is not so. While the usual legend contains 23 letters and begins from right at II o'clock point (*B. M. C.* pl. I, 5) and ends near about XI o'clock point (*B. M. C.* pl. I, 1-2), the legend on the present coin contains 14 letters, and it too begins from right at II o'clock point and ends little above X o'clock point and leaves no space for the remaining part of the above legend. So, to me it looks that the legend on the present coin is complete in itself and the coin constitutes a new sub-variety.

I am unable to agree with Dr. Altekar's view given in his note below that the mint-engraver failed to anticipate the space required for all the letters in a long legend. One may commit an error of judgment about the space for two or three letters but not for as many as nine. There is nothing in the coin to suggest that it was engraved at the hands of an inexperienced and immature engraver. As such, the omission can only be accounted as deliberate and it would not be correct to assume the omission of the latter part of the legend on the present coin simply as the negligence of the engraver.

There is another coin of this type (i.e. standard type) of this king with this short legend in the British Museum (*B. M. C.* pl. I. 11), which is similar in fabric and execution to the present coin. The only difference between them is that the legend of the British Museum coin begins from left at VII o'clock point and ends near about V o'clock point. If Dr. Altekar's suggestion be accepted, it may be pointed out that the engraver could have engraved on this coin at least one more letter at the end, as there was a clear space for the same. But he did not do so; it shows that the legend was to be engraved on these coins in their present form and omission was not the engraver's mistake due carelessness.

Therefore, the coins having this short legend constitute a different variety of the Standard Type and the present coin is the sub-variety 1 with the legend beginning from right and the *B. M. C.* coin is the sub-variety 2 with the legend beginning from the left. The former sub-variety is being published for the first time and the latter remained till now undistinguished from the other varieties.

Even if we assume that the legend on the present coin is not different, still it is an interesting piece. I do not know any parallel instance in the Gupta numismatics where the engravers have omitted such a big portion of the legend. As such these coins may be considered as interesting freaks.

Another notable feature of the present coin is that the die is within the flan of the coin leaving sufficient space on both the sides, which is rarely noticed on the Gupta coins; and the legend is inscribed in two straight lines, one to the left of the Garuda standard and the other to the right of the standard, while the legends are usually inscribed in circle on the coins.

CHIEF EDITOR'S NOTE.

The Standard type of Samudragupta's coin, published here, is interesting because it is a new variety of the coin published in *B. M. C.* Pl. I, 11; the writer's theory that it gives a new legend complete in itself is altogether untenable. The most obvious and conclusive argument against this view is that the legend gives no meaning whatsoever, if we regard it as complete by itself. We know that Gupta legends are metrical in most cases; the legend on this coin, *samaraśatavitatavijayojitārī* gives the first 14 letters of the usual legend on this type, viz., *samaraśatavitatavijayo jītarīpurajito divaṃ jayati*; there can therefore be no doubt that it is the same as the usual legend, but only partly engraved owing to the artist having failed to accommodate the entire legend on the die, as he started engraving in bold letters.

Mr. Gupta's view that the artist may commit an error of judgment as regards the space required for two or three letters, but not for as many as nine letters, when the original entire legend was of 23 letters, has not much force in it. An examination of the published Gupta coins shows that the Gupta die-cutters have misjudged the space required not only in the case of two or three letters out of a long legend, but also in the case of a considerable portion of the legend. On the coins illustrated in *B.M.C.* IV. 14 and VIII, 6 we no doubt find only a few letters unaccommodated. In the former case the die omits only the last letter of the legend *kṛitāntaparaśurjayatyajītarājajetājītaḥ*; in the latter case the die-cutter has failed to accommodate the three concluding letters of the legend *kṣhitimavajitya sucharitairdivaṃ jayati Vikramādityaḥ*.

Cases of a considerable part of the legend not being accommodated on the die by the die-cutter are also not few. In the case of the Battle-axe type of Samudragupta, illustrated in *B. M. C.*, IV. 8, as many as the last six letters of the legend *kṛitāntaparaśurjayatyajītarājajetājītaḥ* are left unengraved on the die. Here in a legend of 17 letters the die-cutter has misjudged the space for as many as six. In the case of the Archer type of Kumāragupta, illustrated in *B.M.C.* XII. 3, the last five letters of the legend *vijitāvanīra-vanīpatīḥ Kumāragupto divaṃ jayati* are left unengraved. Two coins of the Horseman type of the same ruler, illustrated in *B. M. C.* XIII. 6 and 8, omit six last letters of the legend *kṣhitīpatirajito vijayī Kumāragupto divaṃ jayati*. These instances will show that the Gupta die-cutters' error of judgement with regard the space required for the legend often excluded a considerable part of

the concluding portion. The same is the case with reference to the coin illustrated here.

The present coin is a new variety of the type illustrated in *B. M. C.* I. 11. In both cases the legend is not circular but written in straight lines. In the *B. M. C.* piece the legend begins on the *left*, here it begins on the *right*. The present piece is also superior to the *B. M.* one both in artistic merit and fine preservation.

AN INTERESTING TYPE OF SKANDAGUPTA'S COINS.

BY PROF. JAGAN NATH, M.A., ORIENTAL COLLEGE, LAHORE.

Amongst the gold coins of the old standard weight of 132 grains of Skandagupta there is a well known type on the obverse of which is the portrait of the King standing in a reclining posture and facing a female figure of youthful appearance holding a lotus in her hand. On the reverse is the figure of the goddess Lakshmī seated on a lotus. Dr. V.A. Smith identified the female figure on the obverse as that of Skandagupta's queen and named this variety as 'King and Queen' type.¹ Mr. Allan did not agree with Dr. Smith's view. In his opinion the female figure on the obverse is not Skandagupta's queen, but is the goddess Lakshmī.² The main considerations on which Mr. Allan based his views are the following.

Firstly she holds a lotus in her hand. Therefore "we need have no hesitation in identifying the lady as the goddess Lakshmī, as her attributes show". Secondly Mr. Allan saw no reason why the queen of Skandagupta should figure on the coins. He further contended that the present type was struck to honour the goddess Lakshmi to whose intervention was due in a large measure, the restoration of the fallen fortunes of the Gupta Dynasty. Mr. Allan compares the present female figure with that of Lakshmī on the Chatra type of Candragupta II's coins.³

Let us examine these arguments. No doubt the lotus flower is an attribute of Lakshmī, but it is by no means exclusively associated with her. Both literary and archaeological evidence show that it was a favourite even with mortal maidens, in ancient India. The *līlākamala* (sport lotus) is frequently mentioned in Sanskrit literature.

The following are a few examples.

एवं वादिनि देवर्षौ पार्श्वे पितुरधोमुखी । लीलाकमलपत्राणि गणयामास पार्वती ॥

Kumārasambhava, VI. 84.

हस्ते लीलाकमलमलके बालकुन्दानुविद्धं नीता लोभप्रसवजसा पाण्डुतामानने श्रीः ।
चूडापाशे नवकुरवकं चारु कर्णे शिरोषं सीमन्ते च त्वदुपगमजं यत्र नीपं बधूनाम् ॥

Meghadūta, II. 2.

1. *Indian Museum Catalogue*, p. 117.

2. *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, p. XCIX.

3. *Ibid*, Pl. VIII, 7.

कदा नौ संगमो भावीत्याकीर्णे वक्तुमक्षमम् । अवेत्य कान्तमबला लीलापद्यं न्यमीलयत् ।

Kāvyaḍarśa, II, 261.

In some of the Ajanta paintings we find ladies holding a lotus with a long stalk. Therefore the mere presence of the lotus cannot prove that the female figure on the obverse of the coin is Lakshmī. On the other hand the absence of the 'halo' round the face, which is almost invariably found in the case of divine forms, indicates that she is a mortal. This argument has particular force when we remember that on this very type, the goddess Lakshmī on the reverse has got the halo. The figure of Lakshmī on coin No. 7 in Plate VIII with which Mr. Allan compares the present figure, has a 'halo' round the face and so the comparison is inapt and cannot support Mr. Allan's contention. Further, the coin has on the reverse the figure of Lakshmī. We cannot expect this monotonous repetition from the Gupta artist. If the female figure on the obverse had been of the goddess Lakshmī, the artist would have changed the design on the reverse. On a close examination of the King's portrait we find that he has been depicted in the pose of rapt attention. He is looking towards the female figure like an enchanted lover. The lady must therefore be his favourite queen. Her raised forefinger suggests that she is arguing a point or perhaps remonstrating with the king, who out of intense love is listening to the arguments and stands, as if charmed (*mugdha*) like a snake. The bewitching influence of the Queen's presence more than her arguments is responsible for the amatory expression on the king's face. The king's attitude is not devotional, not even reverential, as it should have been towards a goddess 'to whose intervention Skandagupta attributed the restoration of the family fortune'. I do not agree with Dr. Altekar's view given below that the Goddess is offering something to the king; in that case his hand would have been in the *anjali* pose.

Of course Sanskrit poets often speak of Lakshmī as a royal consort, but a representation of the idea was probably never tolerated. We have a significant remark from Kālidāsa :—

आयामण्डलक्ष्येण तमदृश्या किल स्वयम् । पद्मा पद्मातपत्रेण भेजे साम्राज्यदीक्षितम् ॥

We find here that Lakshmī while supposed to be attending upon the King is kept invisible. Her presence is to be inferred from the halo.

Hence I conclude that for the various reasons given above the female figure on the obverse is not of Lakshmī but that of Skandagupta's queen and Smith was right in designating the type as 'King and Queen Type'. The motif was quite familiar to the Gupta mint masters, from the Chandragupta Kumāradevī type. Skandagupta too, must have desired to perpetuate the

memory of a beloved queen whose relations had probably rendered valuable services in the wars against the Hūṇas and Pushyamitras. Unfortunately we have no evidence on the point, as Skandagupta did not leave a son in whose records we could get a reference to the powerful family of his mother.

CHIEF EDITOR'S NOTE

The arguments advanced above by Prof. Jagannath are no doubt interesting but not convincing. It is undoubtedly true that if the lady on the obverse was Lakshmī, we should have expected her to be nimbate. It may be however pointed out that in some cases the Gupta mint-masters have not shown the deities with a halo round their heads; compare, for instance, the goddess Gangā on the reverse of the Tiger-slaying type of Samudragupta; Allan, *Catalogue*, Pl. II, 14-15. Lakshmī also is occasionally portrayed without her halo; compare, Allan *Ibid*, Pl. VII, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19; XII, 11, 1., 16, etc. The absence of the halo does not therefore conclusively show that the lady is not Lakshmī but the queen. *Līlākama'u* was favourite with ladies of fashion, but they did not conceal it behind their person, as is done by the lady on the coin. She holds the lotus in the manner usually associated with Lakshmī by the Gupta mint-masters. It is doubtful whether the attitude of the king suggests any amorousness and whether Hindu taste would have permitted its exhibition in the case of kings and queens, portrayed on the coins intended for public circulation.

I think that the expression on the king's face is one of curiosity rather than that of the rapt attention of a lover in amatory mood. The bow and the arrow in his hands may suggest that he is on the battlefield. It is therefore quite likely that the idea is to represent Jayalakshmī offering on the battle field to the king something indicative of success and sovereignty at which he is looking with curiosity and interest. I wonder whether the attitude of the lady is of a person who is arguing a point with her forefinger raised up; it would be also inconsistent with the amatory attitude of the king suggested by Prof. Jagan Nath. One of her fingers is raised up, but the thumb and the other fingers seem to be holding something in the hand, which is being shown to the king, to which he is looking with curiosity. The *anjali* pose will follow when the king has perceived the object and proceeds to accept it.

SOME RARE INDO-BACTRIAN COINS.

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES.

The coins which are described and discussed in this paper belong to the collection of Mr. K. R. Coachman, 16 Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay. They were purchased by him in Bombay about three years ago from a Pathan, who used to deal in herbs, medicines and coins. The Pathan had some Mughal coins as well, which were first purchased by another person in Bombay. Later on the Indo-Bactrian pieces were bought by Mr. Coachman. It appeared that the Pathan in question had collected these coins in the North-West Frontier Province and some of them appear to have been purchased from Mr. Siri Chand, one of the coin-dealers in Rawalpindi.

Mr. Coachman sent these coins to me for examination and publication if worth publishing. On a careful examination of the coins I found that most of them were both rare and genuine; I am, therefore, publishing them here.

The collection of Mr. Coachman consists of 13 silver pieces. Out of these one is a rather inferior and very late Asiatic imitation of Athenian tetradrachms, similar to those published in the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I Pl. 1 No. 8. It has on the obverse the head of Athena to right, wearing helmet adorned with olive leaves; the reverse shows owl to right with crescent and olive spray behind and the legend ΑΘΕ in front. **Pl. IV, 1.** Out of the remaining 12 coins, two are of Menander and Antialidas each, three of Philoxenus, and one each of Demetrius, Diomedes, Artcnidorus, Amyntas and Hermaius and Calliophe with conjugate bust. Most of these coins are rare and some unique, and I, therefore, proceed to discuss them.

Demetrius

Metal, silver; size, 1.25" in diam; weight, 251 grs.

Obverse: bust of the king facing right with elephant's scalp on the head.

Reverse: Heracles, standing facing, crowning himself with right hand and holding club in the left from which lion's skin is hanging down. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the right and ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on the left. Monogram.

Pl. IV, 1.

The face of the king on this coin looks younger than that on the tetradrachm and drachm published in *B. M. C.*, II, 9 and 10. Younger face of the king strikingly similar to the

present one can, however, be seen on the obol published in *B. M. C.*, II, 11. The monogram on the present coin occurs on *B. M. C.* Demetrius No. 6, which has not been illustrated. It also occurs on *P. M. C.* Pl. I, 18; but there it is obliterated almost out of recognition. Wear and tear have made the present coin fairly smooth. Its weight is, therefore, 251 grains. The tetradrachm of the *P. M. C.* weighs 255 grains and those in the *B. M. C.* vary from 259 to 263 grains in weight

The coin is a fine example of Greek art in India and gives us a younger face of the king in the tetradrachm size.

Menander Coins with Owl on the Reverse.

Menander issued a very large number of interesting types, among which several lower animals like the lion, ox, and owl are prominent. The coins with owl reverse are rather rare. The *British Museum Catalogue* illustrates one owl reverse coin, but it is a copper piece, square in size. Cunningham possessed a hemi-drachm¹ of Menander with owl on the reverse, which has been illustrated in *B. M. C.* XXXI, 8. *P. M. C.* VI, 380 illustrates another owl hemi-drachm of this ruler. Silver didrachms with owl reverse have not yet been published. Major-General H. L. Haughton, however, possesses one such hemi-drachm, which he exhibited at a meeting of the Royal Numismatic Society held at London on the 18th of May, 1944. At this meeting he also exhibited two gold staters of Menander with the head of Athene on one side and owl on the other.

The collection of Mr. Coachman has two coins of Menander with owl on the reverse; one of these is a didrachm and the other a hemi-drachm. I recently purchased for the Hindu University cabinet one owl didrachm of Menander from Mr. Govindram, a coin dealer of Rawalpindi. I publish all these coins together now.

Didrachms

Obverse; Helmeted bust of the king to right; legend, beginning at IX, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, below, ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

Reverse; owl facing perched on a branch; Kharoshthi legend and running continuously, (from XII) *Maharajasa tratarasa Minadrasa*. Monogram.

Mr. Coachman's didrachm, Pl. IV, 3.
Hindu University didrachm, Pl. IV, 14.

1. The term is intended to denote the silver coins of the later Indo-Bactrian rulers weighing about 85-88 grains though the original weight of this denomination was 88 grains. Similarly coins of this period weighing about 150 grains have been described as didrachms of a higher weight standard.

The Hindu University didrachm is .95" in diameter ; its photograph in the plate is somewhat smaller than the actual size. Mr. Coachman's didrachm is slightly smaller, its diameter being .9" only. The weight of the former is 147 grains ; the weight of the latter is 146 grains.

The weights of the two didrachms of Menander published in *B. M. C.*, XI, 7 and 8 is 149 and 149.5 grains respectively. The weights of the ten didrachms in the Punjab Museum varies from 135 to 145 grains ; see *P. M. C.* pp. 54-5. The features of the king on both the didrachms bear a close resemblance to those in *B. M. C.* Pl. XI, 7. The loop in the brim of the helmet is to be seen on both the present coins as also in *B. M. C.* Pl. XI, 8, where, however, it is rather blurred. The inequality in the space between the letters P, O and Σ is characteristic of both the didrachms, a peculiarity which they share with the coin of this ruler illustrated in *B. M. C.* Pl. XI, 8. The monogram is the same on both the didrachms ; it also occurs on the silver owl hemi-drachm of the *P. M. C.*, Pl. VI, 480, as also on the silver hemi-drachm of Mr. Coachman described further on. Mr. Coachman's didrachm being slightly smaller in size, the upper parts of the Kharoshthi letter *Mi* and *sa* have been truncated ; the Hindu University coin being slightly larger, all its Kharoshthi as well as Greek letters have come out completely.

Hemi-drachm with Owl Reverse.

Metal, silver ; size, .6" in diameter ; weight 34 grains.

Obverse, bust of the king to right with helmet having a loop in its edge ; continuous Greek legend beginning at XII, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ

Reverse : Owl facing, perched on a branch ; Kharoshthi legend commencing at XII and running continuously, *Maharajasa tratarasa Minadrasa*. Upper parts of the letters *sa Mina* cut off owing to the flan being small. Monogram the same as on the didrachms above described and on the *P. M. C.* owl hemi-drachm, Pl. VI, 480.

Pl. IV, 4

Protruding points, that can be seen in the circular edge of this coin, is a peculiarity that it shares with many other hemi-drachms of this ruler ; compare *P. M. C.*, VI, 402, 432, 456, etc.

Didrachms of Antialkidas with Zeus and Elephant First Didrachm.

Metal, silver ; size 1" ; weight 145.5 grains.

Obverse : diademed bust of the king to right;
 legend (VIII) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΘΟΡΟΥ
 below ANTIALKIDΟΥ

Reverse : elephant walking to left, trunk at salute and Nike carrying garland on its head ; bell round its neck ; Zeus aureate facing and walking by its side. Monogram. Kharoshthī legend (III) *Maharajasa jayadharasa* above, and *Antialikidasa* below.

Pl. IV, 6

The Second Didrachm

Metal, silver ; size, 1" ; weight, 145.5 grains.

Obverse : diademed bust of the king to left thrusting javelin ; legend as on the above didrachm.

Reverse ; as on Pl. IV. 6 ; but upper parts of the letters *mahara* are truncated, the flan being placed on the die rather carelessly.

Pl. IV, 5

Both these didrachms are very rare. In *P. M. C.* Mr. Whitehead has noted at p. 36 that two didrachms of the first of the above types are in Europe, one in B.M. and the other in the White King Sale collection. He refers to a didrachm of the second type above as unpublished without indicating its location. Later on he published one didrachm of the first of the above types in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1923, Pl. XV, 5. Siri Chand, a coin dealer of Rawalpindi, had also one piece of this type about two years ago, which was offered for sale to me.

There is nothing suspicious about either of the didrachms being published here. Their weight is 145.5 grains ; the weight of the didrachm published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* is 146.5. The features of the king show the same half worried expression which we can see on his coins illustrated in *B. M. C.*, Pl. 9-14. The monogram on the present didrachms occurs on the coins of Antialkidas, *B. M. C.* Nos. 6, 15 and 23 and Pl. VII. 14. The same monogram occurs on the didrachm illustrated by Mr. Whitehead in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1923, Pl. XV, No. 5. There is a certain disparity in the heights of the letters O, P, O and Y but it occurs on the coin of this ruler illustrated in *B. M. C.*, VII, 12.

The diademed didrachm here illustrated is in a much better state of preservation than the one illustrated by Mr. Whitehead in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1923, Pl. XV, 5. The latter piece is rather worn and so parts of its Greek and Kharoshthī legends are rather faint. On the piece here illustrated they are quite distinct.

The Javelin thrusting type of Antialkidas with Zeus and elephant on the reverse here illustrated is in a sense unique. According to Mr. Whitehead, the British Museum possesses one such didrachm (*Num. Chr.*, 1923, p. 326); but it is in a very poor condition and so was not published. The present didrachm is thus probably the first of its type to see the light of the day.

On both the didrachms, rays can be clearly seen radiating from the head of Zeus. Mr. Whitehead publishes a didrachm of Diomedes, where the radiation from the head of the deity is equally distinct (*Numis. Chr.*, 1923 Pl. XVII, 10).

It is interesting to study the treatment of the ends of the diadem of the king in the Javelin-thrusting type. On some coins both the ends of the diadem are tucked up above the hand which wields the javelin; this is the case with some coins of Menander of this type; see *B.M.C.*, Pl. XI, 11, 12. On the coins of Archebius of this type, the treatment is different; sometimes we find both the ends of the diadem falling down the shoulder below the javelin as on *B.M.C.*, Pl. IX, 4; sometimes, as on the present coin, one end flies above the javelin and the other hangs on the shoulder below the javelin as in *B.M.C.* Pl. IX, 5. This arrangement of the diadem ends is also to be seen on the didrachm of Philoxenos, described below and illustrated on **Pl. IV, 8**. On the coins of Menander, however, we find both the ends of the diadem tucked up above the hand, which wields the javelin; see *B.M.C.*, Pl. XI, 11-12.

The type Zeus walking by the side of an elephant having Nike on its head is quite a novel one. It offers an ocular proof of how the Greeks had identified the deity, which was the genius presiding over the Pi-lo-sho-lo mountain at Kapiśī with their Zeus, residing high in heaven. The name of the hill meant one, solid as elephant, and there are some rare coins from Kapiśī, where Zeus is shown seated on the throne with the background of a mountain and elephant.

The present coins show that Zeus came to be closely associated with the elephant deity, which was made to carry his Nike on its head.

Philoxenus. Diademed Bust Didrachm

Didrachms of Philoxenus are not common. Mr. Coachman's collection contains one of the diademed bust type. It is a fine piece with good portrait and is, therefore, illustrated here.

Metal, silver; size, .95; weight, 145.5 grains.

Obverse ; diademed bust of the king to right ;
 legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ
 below, ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ

Reverse ; king helmeted and diademed on a prancing horse to right. Monogram. Legend, *Maharajasa jayadharasa* ; below, *Philasinasa*.

Pl. IV, 7.

Features of the king on this coin closely resemble those on *B. M. C.*, Pl. XIII, 6. Lower part of about half the Kharoshthī letters have been cut off owing to the flan being not properly adjusted on the die.

Javelin-thrusting Didrachm.

Metal, silver ; size, 1" ; weight, 146·5 grains. slightly broken at the edge at IX.

Obverse ; helmeted bust of the king facing left and thrusting javelin ; one end of the diadem tucked up above the javelin and the other hanging down on the shoulder ; a loop in the edge of the helmet. Legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ; below ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ

Reverse ; diademed and helmeted king on a horse prancing to right ; legend in Kharoshthī, *Maharajasa jayadharasa* ; below, *Philasinasa*. Only one Greek monogram.

Pl. IV, 8

A second Coin of the same Type

Metal, silver ; size, .95" ; weight, 144 grains.

Obverse ; as on Pl. IV, 8 above. The name of the king is here inscribed right across and above his bust, a peculiarity to be seen also on the didrachm of this ruler illustrated by Mr. Whitehead in *Num. Chr.* 1923, Pl. XVI, 12

Reverse ; as on Pl. IV, 8 above, but two Greek monograms, each different from the one occurring on the above coin.

Pl. IV, 9

It may be pointed out that there is some difference in the features of the king as they appear on the diademed type and on the javelin-thrusting type. One can, however, notice a similar differentiation in features on the coins of this king illustrated in *B. M. C.* ; cf. for instance, *B. M. C.*, Pl. XIII, 5 ; 8. The features on the present didrachms are, however, exactly similar to those on the didrachm illustrated by Mr. Whitehead in *Num. Chr.* 1923, Pl. XVI, 12. Both the monograms on the latter recur on the second of our didrachm, Pl. IV, 9.

The Monogram on **Pl. IV, 8** above does not occur on any silver coins of Philoxenus ; but it can be seen on some of his published copper pieces ; see *P. M. C.*, VII, 590 ; *B. M. C.*, Pl. XIII, 9-10. The letter *na* of Philasinasa is almost a line on the present pieces as on the other coins of this ruler. The flan was slightly moved when the coin on **Pl. IV, 9** was struck ; in consequence the Kharoshthī letters *na* and *sa* show slight double marks.

Artemidorus.

Metal, silver ; size, 1.05" ; weight 147 grains.

Obverse : Helmeted bust of the king to right ;
 legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ
 below, ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΑΟΥ

Reverse : Artemis facing right, shooting arrow ; monogram ;
Maharajasa apadīhatasa ; below *Artemidorasa*.

Pl. IV, 10.

I am not quite sure about the genuineness of this piece, and am publishing it to elicit the opinion of scholars. Didrachms of this ruler so far published weigh considerably less than the present piece ; the P.M. piece weighs 128 grains, which is also the weight of the coin in the British Museum. We need not, however, suppose that all the didrachms of this ruler were of this weight ; for the weight of the didrachm published by Mr. Whitehead in *Num Chr.* 1923, Pl. XVII, 2 is 139 grains. The weight of this coin is 147, and it is lower than the standard weight of 152 grains, that was prevailing at this time. The features of the face of this ruler on his published coins are not similar ; compare for instance the faces on *P. M. C.*, VII, 551 and 552. The prominently protruding tip of the nose, which is characteristic of the present piece, is a peculiarity which it shares with the two coins of this ruler, the drawings of which are given in *B. M. C.*, XXXII, 3 and 4. The right hand of Artemis is not shown properly grasping at the bowstring ; but the same is the case with *B. M. C.*, Pl. XXXII, 4. The monogram of this piece occurs on others published before. All things considered, I am inclined to think that this is a genuine piece and shows that Artemidorus did issue didrachms of the normal weight standard.

Diomedes

Metal, silver ; size, .95" ; weight 150 grains.

Obverse : helmeted bust of the king to right, helmet having a loop on its edge and the ears and horns of the bull upon it ;
 legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΥ
 below, ΔΙΟΜΗΔΟΥ

Reverse: Legend, *Maharajasa tratarasa Diyamidasa*.
Dioscouri charging on horseback; monogram.

Pl. IV, 11.

The helmeted bust type of this king is so far known only in the hemi-drachm type; this is the first didrachm to be published with the helmeted bust. The king's features on this coin are similar to those on the hemi-drachm of this type published in *P.M.C.* IV, 215. The monogram on this piece occurs on the helmeted bust type, thrusting javelin, published by Mr. Whitehead in *Num. Chr.* 1923, XVI, 10., as also on *P. M.C.*, IV, 213. As is usually the case, the didrachm has the same reverse type which we see on the corresponding drachm in *P.M.C.*, IV, 215. The head of the second Dioscouri on the present coin is jammed between the heads of the two horses, a peculiarity which it shares with a drachm of Eucratides published in *B.M.C.*, V, 9.

Amyntas.

Metal, silver; size, 1", weight, 147 grains.

Obverse; helmeted bust of the king to right, thrusting javelin; bull's ears and horns on the helmet; legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΤΟΡΟΥ, below; ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ.

Reverse, Zeus seated on throne with rays radiating from head and holding Athena in the outstretched hand; monogram; legend, *Maharajasa jayadharasa*, below *Amitasa*.

Pl. IV. 12.

A didrachm of this type was first published by Mr. Whitehead in *Num. Chr.* 1923, Pl. XVI, 10. The monogram on this coin is different from that on the piece published by Mr. Whitehead; but it occurs on the coin of this ruler published in *B. M. C.*, XIV, 9.

As on the didrachm published by Mr. Whitehead, Zeus on the reverse is carrying in his outstretched hand not Nike as is usually the case, but Athena carrying Zeus' aegis in her left hand. In the specimen published by Mr. Whitehead, the hand wielding the spear is between the ends of the diadem; here both the ends are shown as falling down as is the case with the javelin-thrusting type of Archebius illustrated in *B. M. C.*, Pl. IX, 4. King's shoulder is covered with Medusa helmet, as is the case on the coin published by Mr. Whitehead.

Almost all the known faces of this ruler emphasise the prominence of his nose, in some cases in the cartoonist's manner; here, however, such is not the case. The edge of the javeline should have been lower than what is shown. These two circumstances raise some doubt about this coin. I am, however, publishing the coin to elicit opinion.

Hermaios and Kalliope, Conjugate Type.

Metal, silver ; size, .9"; weight 145 grains.

Obverse, Conjugate busts of Hermaios and Kalioppe to right ; legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ, below, ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΗΗΣ.

Reverse ; king on prancing horse to right, in full war panoply ; spear on one side of the horse and bow in bow case on the other ; legend, *maharajasa tratarasa Heramayasa ; Kaliyapaya* Monogrm.

Pl. IV, 13

Two didrachms of this type were first discovered in the Kabul valley find, which are illustrated by Mr. Whitehead *Num. Chr.*, 1923, Pl. XVII, 7 and 8. The faces of the king and the queen on this coin resemble those on the larger of the two didrachms published by Mr. Whitehead ; viz, Pl. XVII, 7 ; the monogram of the present piece is identical with that on the same coin. But the size of the coin is equal to that of the smaller one published by Mr. Whitehead, XVII, 7 ; A glance at the features of the queen and the king as seen on the two coins published by Mr. Whitehead shows that the art of portraiture had declined considerably by this time.

Philoxenus' Hemi-drachm of the Javelin-thrusting Type.

Mr. Whitehead has observed in *P. M. C.* at p. 73 that the coins of Philoxenus of the javelin-thrusting type are known in the didrachm size only. I have, however, acquired recently a rectangular hemi-drachm of Philoxenus for the Hindu University cabinet from Mr. Govind Ram of Rawalpindi. I am illustrating it here along with the coins of Mr. Coachman for the sake of convenience and comparison.

Metal, silver ; size, .5" x .6"; weight 33 grams.

Obverse ; diademed bust of the king to left thrusting javelin ; legend, to left ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ at the top ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ; to the right, ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ.

Reverse ; king on horseback, prancing to right, legend ; to right, *Maharajasa*, at the top *apaḍihata(sa)* to the left, *Philast-nasa* ; monogram. This monogram, which is a combination of P and K occurs on another silver square hemi-drachm of this ruler ; see *B. M. C.*, Pl. XIII, 8.

Pl. IV, 15.

A KANISHKA COIN OF AROOASPO TYPE.

DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES.

It is well-known how the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka show a large galaxy of deities belonging to Greek, Iranian, Hindu and Buddhist religions. Among these deities, the Iranian deities are rather rare, and among the latter Arooaspo is one of the rarest. The British Museum possesses two coins of this type of which one is illustrated in its *Catalogue*, pl. xxvi. 7. Cunningham has published one coin of this type issued by Kanishka and another issued by Huvishka.¹ A coin of Kanishka of this type was recently acquired by me for the Benares Hindu University and I am publishing it here on account of its rarity.

Metal, gold ; size, diameter, .75" ; weight, 121 grains.

Obv : King standing and offering incense at the altar ; spear in left hand. Legend (VII) (PAONANOPAO) KA NHPKI KOPANO.

Rev. : Bearded deity Arooaspo standing to right, clad in a sleeved overcoat ; ends of the diadem tied behind in a circular knot and hanging down ; it holds a wreath in right hand ; caparisoned and bridled horse standing beside the deity. Pl. III, 1.

The features of Arooaspo are more rugged on the coin of Huvishka, illustrated by Cunningham in Pl. XXI, 2. The legend on that coin is divided into two parts by the deity's head. It is in a continuous line on the present coin of Kanishka, as also on the piece illustrated in *B. M. C.* Pl. XXVI, 7.

There is a difference of opinion about the nature of this deity. One view is that the first letter of the legend is not A but λ and therefore the legend is intended to stand for Luhrāsp or Loharāsp. The other view is that the first letter is A and not λ, and so the legend is to be read as Arooaspo, standing for Aurvat-ashpa 'The swift-horsed one', which was an Avestan epithet of the Sun or Mihira. Arvatashpa of Avesta probably corresponds with Apam-napāt of the Vedic pantheon.

A COIN OF KANISHKA WITH THE FIGURE OF THE BUDDHA.

By V. S. AGRAWALA, M. A., PH. D.,
CENTRAL ASIAN MUSEUM, NEW DELHI.

This coin was picked up somewhere from an old mound in the Basti district by Mr. Harshavardhan Naithani, M. A., who at my request kindly presented it to the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, where it is now deposited (Reg. No. 10156).

The coin is of copper and is similar to the usual thick and large copper pieces of the Kushāṇas.

OBVERSE—Figure of Kanishka standing at altar. The king is wearing a long coat, trousers and padded boots,—his usual northern dress. His left hand is bent at the elbow and raised towards the head. It was holding a spear which is now obliterated. The right hand is pouring oblation on a fire-altar.

Legend—blurred, but to judge from other specimens it probably read as SHAO KANESHKI.

Only the 'o' of 'Shao' is now somewhat clear on the original coin. It has not come out in the cast or plate.

REVERSE—Buddha seated cross-legged on a *chauki* with broad feet. The right hand is held near the chest in *abhaya mudrā* and the left hand with the clenched fist resting on the thigh; head nimbate; ears elongated; border of dots. Traces of drapery on both shoulders.

Pl. III, 2.

This type with the figure of the Buddha is extremely rare. Gardner in his *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum: Greek and Scythic Kings*, records the existence of one specimen in the Berlin Museum (p. 175) which he has also illustrated in outline (pl. XXXII, 14).

Unfortunately the reverse legend on our specimen is almost worn out and does not enable us to confirm the various suggestions about its reading discussed at length in such detail by Von Sallet¹.

1. *Die Nachfolger, Alexanders Des Grossen in Bactrien und Indien* (The successors of Alexander the Great in Bactria and India), pp. 191-5. Cf. also Whitehead, *Punjab Museum Catalogue*, Vol. I, p. 214, Pl. XX, (No. viii).

Prof. Wilson had noted from the Masson collection three coins of this type but with the figure of the Buddha standing (*Ariana Antiqua*, p. 370, pl. XIII, 1, 2, 3) Cunningham also published several coins of this class (*J.A.S.B.*, 1845, 439) and was inclined to read the words आदिबुद्धभ्रमण in the reverse legend, which however requires further confirmation (cf. Princep, *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 135-136).

I am not aware of the existence of any specimen of the present type in the cabinets of the museum in India. In case there be any either in gold or copper, scholars may kindly communicate it to the Numismatic Journal so that the precise reading and the significance of the legend on the reverse side of the coin may be settled.

[In his *Coins of Later Indo-Scythians*, Cunningham illustrates two coins of Kanishka with the seated Buddha on the reverse (pp. 81-2 and pl. XVIII, 12, 14); our present coin resembles No. 12 in Cunningham's book, and differs only in having the legend obliterated. The representation of the Buddha on No. 14 in Cunningham's work is very crude. Another coin of this type was found in the excavations at Taxila during 1915-16 at the site of the Dharmarājika Stupa and is illustrated in *A.R., A.S.I.* 1915-16 Pl. XXV 20. The Taxila coin shows traces of legends both on the obverse and reverse, but they are very much blurred. *Chief Editor.*]

SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE EAST KHANDESH HOARD.

BY PROF. D. D. KOSAMBI, BOMBAY.

This hoard of silver punch-marked coins was described in part by Mr. S. N. Chakravarty¹, who divided the specimens into three classes according to thickness and described 218 out of the total of 690. The hoard then came to me for inspection, by courtesy of the council of the BBRAS. I weighed and examined all the coins, and found that only about 73 were too battered for proper classification. A few had been misclassified in the original study, but this is inevitable in view of the difficulty of reading the marks. My most serious differences with the author cited arise, however, in his conclusions as well as general method, so that this note is devoted principally to the general problem, and to the advantages of studying coins in hoards.

Mr. Chakravarty describes the hoard as of 685 pieces and 5 fragments. Of the latter, three are really halves cut from "round" punch-marked coins, which is particularly interesting in that this type of dichotomy seems to have been practised even at Mohenjo-Daro²; it amounts, as nearly as can be ascertained, to a method of making small change by cutting a coin into two roughly equal pieces. The remaining two fragments, however, fit nicely together to form a complete "square" coin which was not cut but has been broken by design or accident into the two pieces at hand. All the coins are of the 5-mark-obverse type, as correctly noted by Chakravarty, but his three classes are not mutually exclusive. Therefore, his conclusion that the three groups represented different denominations³ is the most curious of the considerable number of conjectures that over-load so brief a note. Among the most glaring of his oversights, we may note the omission of the rhinoceros mark, which occurs on several of his "classified" coins with the six-armed-symbol [which I shall hereafter call the *śaḍarachakra*] labelled by him *1.b.*, so that Chakravarty's Group A, Class V is definitely misleading. In this connection, we may note that the mark is correctly given by Walsh⁴ in his own group M, but with the wrong *śaḍarachakra*.

1. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, N.S., XX (1944), pp. 88-87.

2. D. D. Kosambi, *Current Science*, X, 1941, 386-400,

3. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, N.S., XX., p. 84.

4. *M.A.S.I.*, No. 59.

Chakravarty's symbols Nos. 10 and 12 seem to need additions, while his No. 30 should have a taurine symbol in front giving it the appearance of a bovine creature with head lowered and turned. Nearly 50 coins with his mark 47 were among the "unclassified" portion, which shows incidentally that coins of the same fabric could belong to more than one of his three major classes.

Among the "unclassified" coins of the East Khandesh hoard were four that are particularly difficult to read but seem worth publishing. These are shown in **Pl. VB, 1-4**, where the unpractised reader is warned that the punched area sunk below the rest of the surface appears darkest. Occasionally, the eye sees this as raised, so that one is led to read the conjugate area as meaningless meanders.

None of these have any reverse marks worth noting, beyond very light single pricks which might be fortuitous, except No 3 which has a small irregular rectangle on the reverse. **Pl. VB, 1** is undoubtedly the most interesting coin of the hoard, and its last two marks (lower right and top left) of special interest, being a female figure with child supported on her left arm; and an archer (all facing right). The sun-symbol gives no special information, being universal. The *shaḍarachakra* cannot be specially identified, as its points have been obliterated. The third mark may be a crossed square, or the bottom half of a "tree-with-railing". If the latter, this could belong to some Mauryan emperor in spite of the absence of the crescent-on-hill [arches] mark, which characterizes all Mauryan silver coins in the direct line. But the strikingly graceful outline of the female figure on the fourth mark (lower right) is unique; the coin being among the heaviest in the hoard [though worn] is presumably among the latest. Conclusions set forth in greater detail elsewhere¹ make it highly likely that the hoard itself was of coins punched as late as to the end of the Mauryan period, and still in use till its deposit a century or two later.

The second coin **Pl. VB, 2** may have the first three marks in common with its predecessor, but the remaining cannot be identified at all, as far as my own knowledge of such material extends. The third coin, **Pl. VB, 3** has the unmistakable outline of the humped bull, and what looks like the fore-end of a galloping horse (lower left). This last mark, but in a far clearer impression, was to be seen in 1941 on a silver punch-marked coin of the Srīnāth Sāh collection at Benares. The fourth

1. See D.D.Kosambi, *Current Science*, X, 395-400, 372-374; XI, 287-30; N.I.A., III, 156-59, IV, 1-62.

coin **Pl. VB, 4** causes difficulties only because two of the marks overlap fully ; it approximates to No. 80 of Durgā Prasad's list, [K, plate 16], but with a crescent-on-arches.

The most serious objection to the type of analysis presented by numismatists like Mr. Chakravarty is not that new types escape classification in spite of the attention concentrated upon these marks, but that not a single one of the coins was weighed accurately. The marks themselves, from their regularity, are heraldic ; there appears to be no serious chance of ascribing alphabetic equivalents to them, though the sigillary copper band described recently¹ seemed to many to offer such hopes. But it will not be contested that silver coins are intended to present, for purposes of general circulation, a certain amount of the precious metal weighed according to the standard set at the time. Each person who handles the coin rubs off a certain amount of the metal, which, though infinitesimal for each transaction, will reduce the weight of the coin notably, if it has been long enough in circulation. The precise effect of the circulation, as can be shown², amounts to a regular decrease of weight with the years of use, coupled with an increase of variation in the weights of individual specimens. This holds for modern as well as for ancient currency, as has been verified by weighing thousands of specimens of known period. Thus, if the coins can be classified by their marks or legends, at least the chronological order of the classes is determined by the inverse order of the average weight per group. But it is essential for this method to be applicable that all the coins be of comparable manufacture and belong to the same hoard or or period, i. e. have the same group history as regards circulation except, of course, for the differences occasioned by varying dates of minting. The method, for example, does not apply to Allan's British Museum coin list³ in which specimens are presented which bear the same mark but have been found at widely separated spots, sometimes on the surface. In India, particularly, the statistical numismatist has to be rather careful. A silver coin of Menander was purchased in the open bazaar of Poona by Mr. S. A. Joglekar five years ago, and would probably have been passed off for current coin fifty years earlier.

One other factor limits the use of the statistical method in the study of hoards : the natural variation of weight among the specimens. To eliminate the effects of this, it is essential to deal with large numbers of coins for calculating the average weight of each group. Only then does the sampling error cease to cast doubt upon the result.

1. P. L. Gupta, *J. N. S. I.* VI, pp. 5, 8

2. D. D. Kosambi, *Current Science*, XI, 227-230 ; X, 372-374

3. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India in British Museum*

GADHIA COINS WITH HORSEMAN REVERSE

BY MR. D. B. DISKALKAR, CURATOR, MUSEUM, INDORE,

In the Huzur Jawahirkhana Indore, there is a collection of 1150 so-called Gadhia Coins. They seem to have been acquired by the State by a Treasure Trove find, but unfortunately the details as to when and where the hoard was discovered are not known. Most of these coins are thick dumpy pieces, and are of the generally known type.

But there are some coins in this collection which are rare. They show on the obverse the human face almost distinctly with a high clean-shaved head, pointed long nose, thin lips and deep-socketed eyes. The lines and symbols on both sides of the head are also distinctly seen; on the reverse are clearly seen as usual the star mark with the dots and lines, and two brackets, and the sun expressed by seven dots around one dot, and the moon expressed by a small circle which is some time incomplete on either side of what looks like a *śikhara* of a temple. This type of the Gadhia coins is already illustrated by V. Smith in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. I, pl. XXV-11 & 12. In the last number of the J.N.S.I. (Vol. VII, 1945), Mr. P. J. Chinmulgund, I.C.S., has brought to light the Uruli (Poona District) hoard of Gadhia coins which contains a number of Gadhia coins of this type with a recognisable head wearing a helmet. These coins called transitional pieces by V. Smith, must have been minted at a period earlier than that when the usual type of the Gadhia coins with the perfectly defaced forms became common and later than the Indo-Sassanian type with the very marked head of the Sassanian King as illustrated by V. Smith (*Ibid*-Pl. XXV, No. 8) was current.

About 70 coins of this collection are quite unique. The obverse is exactly as we usually find it on the dumpy Gadhia pieces which are extremely degraded forms of the Indo-Sassanian type and contains a number of lines and symbols around the unrecognisable head of the king (Pl. VA, 1, 2). But on the reverse instead of the usual star mark surrounded by a number of dots and lines and the two brackets and the symbols of the sun and the moon and the *śikhara*, there is the figure of a horse soldier fighting with his sword raised over his head against one or more foot-soldiers. One of the foot-soldiers is fighting desperately from the front (Pl. VB, 1-5) while the other is seen fallen down defeated or killed (Pl. VB, 4, 5, 9). A third foot-soldier whose lower portion

from the thighs only is preserved in some coins (PI. VB, 5, 7, 10) seems to be attacking from behind, or it may be that the back man is an attendant of the horse-soldier.¹

The weapons the foot-soldiers held in their hands are not clearly seen but from a sword which is seen fallen on the ground (PI. VB, 9, 10) it seems that one of them at least held the sword. In some coins a bow (PI. VB, 3, 6) and a long spear (PI. VB, 3, 7, 8) are seen behind the figure of the horse soldier which might have been held by the third foot-soldier, or by the attendant.

A big circle which is seen above the heads of the horse-soldier and the foot-soldier fighting in the front most probably stands for the moon as it is in the place where the symbol of the moon is found in the Gadhia coins hitherto known. But in the present type the corresponding figure of the sun is not seen in any of the coins even in the coin in which the portion which is likely to contain it is well preserved. Can it be that it is intended to show the symbol of the moon alone to denote the time of the rising moon when the fight took place ? PI. VB, 2, 5, 6, 8.

* A dotted circle, partly visible on some coins (PI. VB, 6, 9) was intended to form the border of the entire scene.

Several varieties of this type seem to have been issued as the scene of the fight is not exactly the same in all the coins found in our collection. As pointed above, the horse-soldier is fighting generally with two foot-soldiers, but in a few cases the second soldier killed down is not shown, the space being occupied only by a sword ; PI. VB, 9, 10. Similarly the third foot-soldier at the back is to be but rarely seen. In some coins, even when the horse is galloping with full speed the rider is sitting in his saddle in an erect position ; see PI. VB, 3, 5, 8 ; while on some coins he is seen almost falling on the neck of the galloping horse ; PI. VB, 7. Similarly, different positions of the man attacking from the front are seen ; in some coins he is seen standing face to face with the horse soldier and engaged in the desperate fight PI. VB, 1, 8, 4, while in others, he is seen almost sinking down by the blow of the horse-soldier ; PI. VB, 2, 9, 10. The second foot-soldier is lying quite prostrate in some

[1. Dr. J. M. Unwala writes to me to suggest that the origin of this reverse type may be sought, if not in earlier coins, in the Sassanian bas-reliefs of Shapur and Naqshe Rostam which show two equestrian figures with two figures lying between under their horse's heels, the former being Ohrmazd and Ardashir and the latter subdued Ahrman and Artabanus V. In another sculpture at these places we see Shapur I on horseback with Valerian falling on knee before his horse's legs. The latter sculpture would resemble our coin type most and may have inspired it, as suggested by Dr. Unwala. But the motif is so common that it could have been independently conceived as well. A. S. A.]

coins, Pl. VB, 5, 6, 7, 9 while in others his fore portion is raised up a little. Pl. VB, 2, 9, 10.

What incident in Indian History is represented by the scene of the horseman's fight on the Gadhia coins cannot be said with certainty. It is well known that the so-called Gadhia coins are an extremely degraded form of the ancient Sassanian type. It is also known that the coins of the Hūṇa rulers Toramāṇa and Mihirakula contain on the obverse a rude copy of a Sassanian bust. It is further known that the Gurjara-Pratihāras, who ruled for a long time over all the provinces where the Gadhia coins are found, are often mentioned in books and inscriptions in association with the Hūṇas with whom they were possibly allied in blood. Let us see if these facts help us in identifying the scene of the fight which we have found on some of the Gadhia coins.

The Hūṇas are known to have made at least two unsuccessful efforts to invade the Gupta empire in the reign of Kumāragupta I, and Skandagupta in about 450 and 470 A. D. respectively. The names of the leaders in the campaigns are not known, but two Hūṇa rulers named Toramāṇa and Mihirakula are known from inscriptions and coins. A careful examination of all these shows that there were two Toramāṇas and Mihirakulas who ruled at different places and in different times.¹ The first Toramāṇa Shah whose inscription found at Kura in the Punjab records the construction of a Buddhist convent, seems to have ruled in the 5th century. His silver coins contain on the obverse a rude copy of a Sassanian bust and on the reverse a solar wheel and a Brāhmī legend. Mihirakula, whose coins found in the Punjab show a similar Sassanian bust with a Brāhmī legend on the obverse, and a bull and a Brāhmī legend on the reverse, seems also to have lived in the 5th. century A.D., though his relation with Toramāṇa is not known. The two rulers Toramāṇa and his son Mihirakula known from the Eran and Gwalior inscriptions in Central India, must on the other hand have lived in the first half of the 6th. century A.D. I have already shown² that the Eran inscription, dated Gupta *samvat*, 181 (510-A.D.) of the time of Bhānugupta, refers to a great battle fought between the Hūṇas under Toramāṇa and the Guptas under Bhānugupta, in which the latter was defeated in spite of the great valour of Bhānugupta and their general Goparāja was killed. The Guptas were driven back to the east and Dhanyavishṇu, the *Viśhyapati* of the Guptas over the province of Eran, at once transferred his allegiance to Toramāṇa. The other Eran

1. Bühler also held that they were different, *E. I.*, I. 289.

2. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. II (N.S.) 1924. p. 178.

inscription recording the first year of Toramāṇa's rule must therefore be of 511 A.D. The late Mr. R. D. Banerji also arrived at the same conclusion, but he was not quite certain about it.¹

Toramāṇa of the Kura inscription and of the coins found in the Punjab cannot be placed so late. Toramāṇa's son Mihirkula whose inscription dated in his 15th regnal year is found at Gwalior must have ended his rule in Central India sometime before 533 A. D., as one of the Mandasore inscriptions of that year makes a mention of his defeat at the hands of Yaśodharman.

From all these facts, it seems that the Hūṇas had settled in Kashmir and the Punjab long before the fourth century A. D. and had become Hinduised. Their rulers Toramāṇa and Mihirakula ruled in the 4th. or the 5th. century A. D. Subsequently, seeing the weakness of the Gupta rule, they attempted to invade the Gupta empire at least twice, but had failed to get a firm footing. Some years after their new leader, also named Toramāṇa made a fresh attempt to penetrate into the south and succeeded in seizing the western part of the Gupta empire and founding an independent kingdom in 510 A.D. which his son Mihirakula continued to govern till he was defeated and driven out by a local ruler named Yaśodharman in about 532 A.D. But this does not mean that the Hūṇas left the country one and all. They had well settled in the province as is seen from a respectful mention of some Hūṇa names in inscriptions from this time onwards. It is likely that the so-called Gadhia coins of the transitional type might have been issued by Toramāṇa and Mihirakula during their twenty-two years of undisturbed rule in Central India. The coins found a very wide circulation specially because the silver coins of Skandagupta had already become very scarce and his successors whose hold over western India had become very weak, do not seem to have issued any silver coins at all.

It is well known that the Hūṇas and the Gurjara-Pratihāras are often mentioned together in books and inscriptions. It is therefore very likely that the Gurjaras were allied in blood to the Hūṇas and they had both settled in the Punjab before the fourth century of the Christian era. The Gurjara colony was so large that one of the districts in the Punjab came subsequently to be named after them. They later on settled in Central India and in the adjoining provinces of Rajputana and Gujarat

1. Banerji : *History of Pre-historic, Ancient and Hindu India*, p. 189.

[Mr. R. D. Banerji has not subscribed to the theory of their being two Toramāṇas and Mihirakulas in the book; he merely states that 510-1 A.D. is the first regnal year of Toramāṇa. I do not think that there is sufficient evidence to show that there were two Toramāṇas and Mihirakulas. *Chief Editor.*]

and in course of time they attained so much importance as to found some principalities one of which subsequently attained imperial power in the 8th. and 9th century A.D. We know that a powerful ruler of this time named Vatsarāja defeated several smaller princelings and founded a strong Gurjara-Pratihara empire, which was further strengthened by his son Nāgabhaṭa. One of his descendants named Bhoja became much more powerful and issued a large number of coins which are degradations of the Sassanian type and which further suggest a closer connection between the Hūṇas and the Gurjar-Pratihāras. It may therefore be suggested that the Gadhia coins of the dumpy form which undoubtedly show a type considerably later than the transitional type were put in circulation by the Gurjara-Pratihāras.

Now let us see who might have issued the few Gadhia-coins, on the reverse of which is the figure of a horsesoldier fighting with his enemies. The obverse of these coins is of the usual type; only the reverse shows a change. It is however so remarkable that it appears to be a restriking of the old type by a conqueror, who had inflicted a defeat upon the house of the rulers who were issuing the normal type. The new reverse reminds us of the Sātavāhana king Gotamīputra Sātakarṇi, was restruck the coins of his antagonist Kshatrapa Nahapāna with his own name. A victor who effected defeat of the Gurjara-Pratihara rulers was the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dhruvarāja and his powerful son Govinda III. It may be inferred that Govind III, might have begun to re-cast the Gadhia coins to commemorate his victory over the Gurjana-Pratihāras, thinking it better and more economical to recast the old type, than to issue an altogether new one. But as Govind III could not keep his hold long on the conquered country, the number of the re-cast Gadhia coins is very small and they are found in a solitary hoard.¹

CHIEF EDITOR'S NOTE.

That the Horseman reverse type of the Gadhia coins represents a currency started by the Rāshtrakūṭas after their victories over the Gurjara-Pratihāras, is of course a theory and it will require further evidence of a more substantial nature before it can become generally acceptable. In support of Mr. Diskalkar's view that it was the great Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Govinda III, who issued these coins, may be pointed out a further circumstance, which would lend some additional

1. The Uruli (Poona) hoard of Gadhiya coins mentioned above lends support to this view and shows that Gadhiya coins introduced by Govind III were current in the Deccan during the rule of the Rāshtrakūṭas.

weight to the theory. Govinda III was renowned as a famous horseman; his Kadba plates, issued in 814 A. D. describe him as the Lord of Royal Glory, captured in a victory secured solely by means of his own horse; c. *nijaturāṅgamaikavijayānīta-rājālakṣmī-sanāthaḥ* (*E. I.*, IV, p 340). We need not then be surprised if Govinda had selected the particular horseman device on the reverse, which we see on the present type of the Gadhia coins. It is however but natural that Govinda should have introduced this type in his own dominions also to announce his victories to his home subjects of the Deccan and Karnatak. If such coins are found in the home provinces of the Rāshtrakūṭa empire, the theory of Mr. Diskalkar will gain additional support. As it is, we have to remember that this type does not amount to a restriking or counterstriking, as is the case with the coins of Nahapāna found in the Nasik hoard. And it is not unlikely that some local opponents of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras may have issued this type to commemorate a local victory. We know that there were more than one Pratīhāra families ruling in Rajputana and northern India.

A MEDIEVAL GOLD COIN

BY G. H. KHARE, CURATOR, B. I. S. MANDALA, POONA

The gold coin which I wish to bring to the notice of numismatists in this note belongs to my friend Mr. K. R. Mayadeva, B. A., LL. B., pleader of Mangalvedha (Sholapur), who has very kindly lent it to me for study and publication. This coin and five others were bought by him from a local *Jharekiri*-persons belonging to this class, subsist by sifting ashes, sand, dust etc. and selling the valuable things thus acquired. The other coins, each of which weighs about 120 mgms (less than 2 grains), though smaller in size, have a close similarity to coins no. 52, 53 and 74 reproduced on plate II of *Coins of Southern India* by W. Elliot, except that the lions on the former coins invariably face to the left and the letters inscribed differ from those on the latter coins. The shape of the gold coin to some extent resembles either the inverted block letter U or a horse-shoe. It must have been given that form by flattening a curved piece of wire. Its weight is 528 mgms (more than 8 grains) and size .8 X .9 cms. Only one side of the coin is imprinted, the other being left blank. The curve has a figure of some animal, most probably a bull or a lion, facing to the left. Both its hind legs, the slightly lifted long tail and the left haunch are clearly discernable. But the forepart of the animal has been cut off by the punch and the animal cannot be well identified. It appears that somebody with probably four hands is sitting just on the neck of the animal with three of his hands stretched out and holding some indistinct objects. One end has the Kanada letter śṛ and the other has the Kanada letter tḍ. There is some thing after tḍ which is only partly visible; hence I am not able to make it out. Pl. III, 5.

It is well nigh impossible to say anything definitely about the date and the king who issued this type of coins. There was a feudatory Kadamba king by name Tōyimaḍeva who was ruling Banavase twelve thousand (Vanvāsi in Karwar district) and Panumgal five hundred (Hangal in Dharwar district) in Śaka 988 or 1066 A. D. and the only two characters which are visible on the coin are not altogether irreconcilable with the age to which Tōyimaḍeva belonged. This is only what we can say about this coin in the absence of more specimens. But I hope to get more coins of this type in the near future which may perhaps shed further light on the point.

A UNIQUE SILVER COIN OF AKBAR

By G. H. KHARE, B.I.S., MANDALA, POONA.

The coin which forms the subject of this note belongs to Sardar Vinayak Dhundiraj alias Babasahib Biwalkar of Poona, who very kindly lent it to me for study and publication if necessary. It can be described thus :

Metal: silver. Weight: 5.672 gms. (87.5 grains). Size : 1.87 cms. in diameter.

Obverse

السلطان

[الا]عظم

أبو الفتح

النیا و [الدين]

[ن] امر

Reverse

In square with peaked sides

ن

السلطان

شاء

أكبر باد

Pl. III, 4

The legends on both the sides are only partially visible; but I have reconstructed them with the help of coins Nos. 189 and 190 from the *Catalogue of Coins of the Gujarat Sultans in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay*, which are ascribed to the Gujarat sultan Maḥmūd Shāh I, and to which this coin bears a striking resemblance.

From the name of the emperor Akbar appearing on the reverse, it is quite evident that the coin in all probability must have been struck immediately after Akbar's conquest of Gujarat in 980 A. H./1572 A.D. But this is only a surmise. The question will remain undecided till we get dated specimens of this type.

While studying this coin two questions occur to my mind, which I am unable to solve in a satisfactory way as yet. Why should Akbar, who styled himself as Bādshāh, have also used the title As-sultān? Does the word *sultān* imply superiority to Bādshāh? It certainly does not. Otherwise other Mughal emperors, who were equally keen to record their suzerainty everywhere, would have certainly taken that title to themselves. Then why should that title appear on this type of coin? Is it only an unconscious imitation?

Had Akbar selected for the imprint of his name only this particular coin-type of Maḥmūd Shāh I of Gujarat, who reigned more than sixty years before Akbar's conquest of

Gujarat ? Or had he as a natural course imprinted his name in some form or other on all the coins current at the time of the conquest as a temporary measure, and Maḥmūd Shāh's coins being most extensively current, a specimen has been found ? The British have actually followed the former method in Maḥārāshṭra in connection with some coin-types at least immediately after 1817 A. D.¹ Akbar must have done the same with respect to some Gujarat sultan coins, as is apparent from this specimen. But like the British he also seems to have taken care of minting independent gold and silver issues in his name at Ahmadabad in 980 A.H./1572 A.D., the year of the temporary conquest of Gujarat by him.² Has any body any coin of this type bearing some date and some other legend of the Gujarat or other sultans ? It will certainly help a good deal in solving this question in a satisfactory way.

It is to be noted here that Mughal coins of the Gujarat fabric have already been published ; but they do not bear any Gujarat sultan legend.³ On the other hand this coin has both the Gujarat sultan fabric and legend.

How should we denominate this coin ? Is it a half rupee or a Sūrat Maḥmūdī dealt with at length in the *N. S.* for 1905, p. 266 ? In weight it can be reconciled to both ; for while this coin weighs 87·5 grains, the half rupee and the Sūrat Maḥmūdī weighed 90 grains each approximately. I would, therefore, like to wait till some more specimens come to light,

1. The examination of 4 silver coins of two different types from the Sholapur district and town showed that besides an incomplete Persian legend most probably of Shāh 'Ālam II and Hījra as well as regnal years, they contained the Arabic numbers 1819 and 1825 respectively, which fact indicates that they were struck in the British regime.

2. *I. M. C.* Vol. III, No. 76 ; *P. M. C.* Vol. II, Nos. 119, 166, 167,

3. *N. S.* for 1904, p. 285; for 1905 p. 266.

A BULL AND HORSEMAN TYPE OF COIN OF THE ABBASID CALIPH AL MUQTADIR BILLAH JA'AFAR.

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

Coinage of a country influencing that of its neighbour is both a rare and interesting phenomenon in the history of Numismatics. The recent discovery¹ of another coin of the Abbasid Caliph Al Muqtadir Billah Ja'afar (295 to 320 A. H. c. 927-952 A. D.) in a suburb of Baghdad, showing the Bull and Horseman type, is therefore an important event.

I am very grateful to Mr. Naji al Asil, the Director-General of Archaeology in Iraq, for supplying me details about this discovery and for sending me a photograph of the coin with kind permission to reproduce it in our *Journal*.² I am sure that the readers of this Journal will highly appreciate the kind courtesy that the Director-General has shown to the Society in this matter. We trust that there will be greater and greater intellectual and cultural cooperation between Indian and Iraq scholarship in future, leading to better mutual understanding and also to the solution of many Indian problems of pre-history, which can be solved only if we are fortunate in getting more light from the ancient land of Iraq.

The discovery of the coin was made in 1945 quite accidentally. Some school boys of Kadhimain Qadha in the suburb of Baghdad were digging the ground while playing. About a metre below the surface they found a small earthenware jar which contained 700 silver dirhams, a few one-third dinar pieces and also some gold dinars. These coins were mostly the issues of Caliph al Muqtadir Billah, only a few being the coins of earlier and later Abbasid Caliphs. One coin was of Al Qa'im bil-haq Yahya bin Al Hussain a king of Sa'da in the Yemea, of the Rassite dynasty.

Most of the coins of Caliph Al Muqtadir were of the usual type, but one of them was of the Bull and Horseman type. This is of course not the first occasion on which a coin of this Caliph in this type has been discovered. A similar coin has been mentioned in *Melanges Syriens Offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud par ses amis et ses élèves* Tom I, 1939, p. 418, Pl. I,

1. I am indebted to my colleague Dr. V.S. Agrawala for drawing my attention to this discovery, which was first reported in the *London Times* of 6-16-1946 and later in *Islamic Culture*, April 1946.

2. The copy right of the photo is reserved by the Archaeological Department, Government of Iraq.

16. Mr. Najī al Aşil informs me that this coin is now in the Syrian Museum.

We should not however suppose that these are the only two coins of this Caliph issued in the Bull and Horseman type. Cunningham has mentioned a coin of exactly this type in silver in his *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 57. He does not, however, state where it was found, nor does his work illustrate it. Nearly a hundred years ago E. Thomas had described and illustrated another coin of this type in *J.R.A.S.*, 1848, p. 187, Pl. no. 19; my attention was drawn to this reference by my colleague Dr. V. S. Agrawala. It is thus clear that the coins of this Caliph in this type are not quite rare.

Thanks to the courtesy of the Director General of Archæology of Iraq, I am able to illustrate this type in the *Journal*. Pl. III, 6 shows the Horseman side of the coin enlarged; Pl. III, 7 shows the obverse and reverse of the new coin in its natural size; and Pl. III, 8 gives a Bull and Horseman type coin of the Şāhi king Spalapatideva, which gives the prototype of the rare Baghdad pieces. From the details kindly supplied to me by Mr. Najī al Aşil, I describe the new coin as under:—

Metal, silver; weight, 3. 30 grammes or 51 grains; diameter, 19 mms. or '7"; condition, very well preserved.

Obverse: A figure of the Caliph Al Muqtadir Billah on horseback, holding his horse's reins with the right hand, contrary to what is known of the Arab horseman, who usually holds the reins with the left hand in order to leave the right hand free to draw the sword when necessary. The horseman wields a sword in the left hand in stead of the spear, which occurs on the prototype. The coin is sufficiently well preserved to enable us to get a distinctive impression of the bearing and appearance of the Caliph from its photograph reproduced in the plate. Around the head of the rider in a decorative Kufic writing, *Lillāh Ja'afar*.

Reverse: a figure of the Indian humped bull, recumbant, with trappings. Above in the field is a decorative Kufic monogram; legend, *Al Muqtadir Billah*; Pl. III, 7.

A comparison of this type with the Bull and Horseman type of the Şāhi kings is instructive. If we compare this coin with that of king Spalapatideva of this series, illustrated in Pl. III, 8, we find that the size and weight of both is the same. The weight of the Şāhi coin is also 50 grains and its diameter about '7". In both the Bull is facing left and the king's name

is engraved above the animal. The Horseman side shows some variations, but they are of a minor nature. The Horseman faces right on the Šāhi coins; he faces left on the coins of the Caliph.

We can trace the ancestry of the Bull and Horseman type of the Šāhi rulers to the earlier coins of the Scythian and Greek kings, who had used the Horseman type and the Bull type on several of their issues, though not in conjunction. The type is quite a foreign one in the coinage of the Caliphs and naturally. Theological considerations have usually dissuaded pious Muslim rulers from giving their protraiture on their coins. Hindu rulers had no such scruples and were accustomed to give their portraits on their monetary issues.

The chronology of the Šāhi rulers is unfortunately not definitely fixed, but it is generally agreed that the dynasty was founded in the 3rd quarter of the 9th century in the Kabul valley. Sāmantadeva, who was the first ruler of the dynasty to introduce this type, seems to have ruled from c. 870 to 890 A. D. He was thus about fifty years earlier than Caliph Muqtadir of Baghdad, and we may therefore legitimately suggest that the rare Bull and Horseman type dirhams of the Baghdad Caliph are due to the influence of the coinage of the Šāhis of the Kabul valley, who were his neighbours on the eastern frontier. It appears that some coins of this type may have reached Baghdad either through trade or conquest; Kabul had fallen before the Arabs in 871 A.D. And some of the mint-masters of the Caliphs seem to have taken a fancy to this type and appear to have been permitted to issue a few coins in it in spite of theological objections. It was not Al Muqtadir alone who issued coins in this rather heterodox type; for Cunningham states that he had a copper coin of Al Mutaki Billah, having exactly this very type (*C. M. I.*, p. 57). The Vienna Museum has a coin of Caliph Al Mutawakkil showing his bust and face. In India also the reverse of this type, the Bull, was extensively copied by almost all the successors of Mahamud of Ghazni and the obverse type, the Horseman, by Mahmud bin Sam and some of his successors.

We should not however suppose that the influence was only onesided. It appears that some of the coins of Sāmantadeva and Spalapatideva have dates in Arabic numerals in front of the horse¹. These dates are 811, and 812 and 814; and if we refer them to the Śaka era, they fall within the reigns of the rulers concerned. Cunningham denies the occurrence of dates in Arabic numerals², but they seem to be clear, at least, on some specimens.

1. *I. M. C.*, Vol. I. p. 246.

2. *C. M. I.*, p. 68.

If the existence of dates in Arabic numerals is a point in dispute, the existence of a legend on the Horseman side of the coins of Spalapatideva, which has been described as in unknown characters is admitted on all hands. This unread legend in unknown characters occurs only on the coins of Spalapatideva and it can be clearly seen in the specimen illustrated in our Pl. III, 8. May it not be that this unread legend in unknown characters may be an effort to copy the Kufic legend occurring on the contemporary coins of the Califs of Baghdad by a mint-master who was not fully conversant with the script? Part of Afghanistan had been conquered by the Arabs in 871 and Spalapatideva, on whose coins this legend occurs, seems to have ruled from c. 890-900 A.D. I trust that our friends, the scholars in Iraq, will pursue this inquiry further and let us know whether they can identify the unread legend in unknown characters as Kufic and can give us its reading. If they succeed in doing so, they will be shedding welcome light on the history of the period.

Before concluding this short note, I would like to refer to an alternative explanation of this type suggested by M. A. de Longperier. He thought that the coins of this type may have been issued by some quondam Hindu chief newly converted to Islam, and in some way connected with the state of Kabul.¹ In this case, however, we would have expected the issuer to indicate his identity by putting his own name, or at least his suggestive monogram on the coin. The coins of this type should have been also found in the Punjab and Afghanistan, which have given us thousands of the coins of the Sāhi house of the Kabul valley.

The mystery of the type can be solved only by further study and discoveries. We would like to draw the attention of the Iraq scholars coming for the Inter-Asian Conference taking place this month (March 1947) to this interesting problem.

1. *J.R.A.S.*, 1848, p. 187.

THE SEAL-STAMP OF BRAHMADEVA

BY RAO BAHADUR C. R. K. CHARLU, MADRAS,

In the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* (Vol. III, Pt. II, December 1941, pp. 101ff.). Prof. Mirashi deals with certain seal-impressions or stamps from the Central Provinces. Among these is one, No. 5, of his plate which he assigns to one Brahmauta (Brahmagupta) (*ibid.*, p. 102); while on p. 101 he reads the legend as 'Bhavadeva'. It is difficult to understand what has led the professor into these two variant readings of the same legend. So far as I know he does not seem to have rectified the inconsistency so far. It has to be observed that both the readings of Prof. Mirashi are inaccurate and misleading. A careful examination of the facsimile would give the reading :—

1. *Brahmade-*

2. *va*

This name on the seal-stamp is quite natural on the analogy of the name Rudradeva found in the other two seal-stamps published with the above (Nos. 3 and 4). The characters of the legend may be assigned to the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. and the letters *deva* would appear to resemble very closely the letters *deva* in line 10 of the Mathura Door-jamb Inscription No. VII (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, plate opp. p. 195).

PROF. MIRASHI'S REPLY

I am thankful to Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu for pointing out the mistakes in the numbering of the Seals 3 and 4 in my descriptions of them on p. 101 of Vol. III of this *Journal*. In the paragraphs describing the seals Nos. 3 and 4 on that page, the figures 4 and 5 stand for figures 3 and 4 respectively. These mistakes arose because the editor rearranged the seals for the convenience of photographing. I had originally arranged the seals chronologically, placing Seal No. 5 as No. 1. So seals Nos. 3 and 4 bore originally the Nos. 4 and 5. These original numbers in the paragraphs describing the seals 3 and 4 remained uncorrected and hence the mistakes.

But I maintain that there is no mistake in my readings. I give below my readings of the seals in the Plate on p. 99 of Vol. III to prevent further confusion.—

No. 1—*Apramāda.*

No. 2—*Jitam Bhagavatā.*

No. 3—*Rudradeva.*

No. 4—*Bhavadeva.*

No. 5—*Brahmautta.*

It will thus be seen that I do not read the legend of Seal No. 5 as *Bhavadeva* in one place and as *Brahmautta* in another.

The reading *Brahmadeva* of Seal No. 5 proposed by the Rao Bahadur is impossible, as will be seen from the eye copy of the seal legend reproduced on p. 81 for ready reference. The third *akshara* which appears almost like the figure of an angle signifies *u*. It clearly resembles the form of that letter in Bühler's *Indische Palæographie*, Plate III, 4, XI and XIII (Nasik Cave inscriptions of Pulamāvi and others). It cannot be read as *de*. The Rao Bahadur has again ignored the *akshara* after *u*, which appears in the same line on the edge of the seal. It is clearly *tta*. So the reading *Brahmautta* is quite certain.

There are two symbols below the legend, one in the left and the other in the right corner. R. B. Krishnamacharlu reads the symbol in the right corner as *va*, but in the period to which the seal belongs, *va* had not the shape of an equilateral triangle as here, but had already begun to develop a vertical. See the forms of the letter in Bühler's Plate III, 34, XI-XVIII. R. B. Krishnamacharlu has drawn attention to the form of *va* in 1. 10 of the Mathurā door jamb inscription, (No. VII *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, Pl. opposite p. 195), but not only in that line, but in other lines as well of that record *va* has clearly a triangular top which is not noticed in the symbol appearing in the lower right corner of my Seal No. 5. If the symbol denotes a letter (which is very doubtful), it can only signify *e*, not *va*. Besides, it would be very strange indeed, if only a single *akshara* of the legend *Brahmadeva* was left over and written in the second line. I have not come across such cases elsewhere.

RAO BAHADUR C. R. K. CHARLU'S REMARKS ON THE ABOVE.

What Prof. Mirashi takes as *u* is only the *e*-sign of *de*. I have not ignored the *akshara* after Prof. Mirasi's *u*; it is *da*.

Prof. Mirashi's conception of the existence of two symbols below the legend is a misleading one. The first is the *repha* sign *Bra* in *Brahmadeva*. The second symbol is only the letter *va* of *deva*, according to my reading.

It is not at all strange to engrave a letter or letters at the end of a succeeding line for reasons of space or convenience. In the present instance the *r* of *Bra* and *m* of *hma* have compelled the engraver to shift his *va* to the end of the line.

For examples, cf. *Ep. Ind.* XXIV, pl. opp. p. 181, 1-31 and *Ep. Ind.* XXIII, pl. opp. p. 228, 1, 28 (last two letters).

PROF. MIRASHI'S REJOINDER

Even a cursory glance at the Seal-stamp No. 5 on p. 99, *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. III will show that it has *four aksharas* in the first line, not *three*. I give an eye-copy of the legend below which will show this clearly.



The third *akshara* is not the *e*-sign of the next letter, nor is that letter *d*. The third *akshara* which I have read as *u* may be *da* and the legend may be *Brahmadatta*; but *d* has generally a curved top. In any case the third letter cannot be the *e*-mātrā.

I wanted to know an instance of a single *akshara* of a name being left out of the first line for want of space and written at the end of the second line *on the face of a coin or a seal*. The instances cited by R. B. Krishnamacharlu are from copper-plate grants about which there is no dispute.

A PROPOSED CORPUS OF GUPTA COIN

A CIRCULAR LETTER FROM MR. P. L. GUPTA.

Dear Sir,

As you may be aware, there are almost innumerable types and varieties in the famous series of coins struck and issued by the Imperial Guptas. A fairly good catalogue of these coins was published by Mr. J. Allan of the British Museum in 1914. But since then many more types have come to light which are deposited in various Museums and Collections. It is now an urgent scientific need that an upto-date Corpus of Gupta Coins be compiled in order to bring together all the known and available historical and artistic evidence furnished by Gupta Numismatics.

I have now taken it upon myself as a matter of love for knowledge to prepare a Corpus of Gupta Coins. In this work I have the privilege of being guided by Dr. V. S. Agrawala. I have already completed my work on a card index system and utilised the material so far published by Smith, Allan and Brown in their Catalogues and by many other contributors in the pages of the Numismatic Supplements, Numismatic Chronicle, J. N. S. I., etc.

But such a Corpus will remain incomplete unless newly added material in your Museum or in your private Collection is incorporated in the volume. To this end I seek your kind co-operation and request you to kindly enlighten me about the following :—

(a) Has any catalogue or list of your Gupta coins been published ?

(b) If there is no printed list, is there a typed list ?

(c) Have any papers describing special specimens of your collection been published ? If so, kindly give reference or, if possible, please favour me with an off-print, which would be greatly appreciated.

(d) What particular specimens of your collection, in your opinion, should be included in the proposed Corpus ?

This selection should be made from three points of view, viz., (a) novelties in Gupta coinage, (b) coins bearing remarkable portraits of the Gupta emperors (c) coins which have a distinctly aesthetic interest and are worthy of publication.

On hearing from you, I shall solicit your leave to examine your collection at your place and convenience. With the published data about the types and varieties already card indexed by my side, I hope I shall be able to examine your collection in a manner that may prove advantageous to both of us.

I hope that you appreciate the utility of a Corpus of Gupta Coins on the above lines and I may count upon your kind co-operation in the completion of this work.

Thanking you,
Aj, Office, Benares.
1-3-1947.

Yours truly,
P. L. Gupta.

OBITUARY.

The Late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., (1889—1946)

(By DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY)

The late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, who died quite unexpectedly in August 1946, was undoubtedly one of the most eminent Indian archæologists of the 20th century. Early in his life he gave promise of his future greatness; for he could tide over the family crisis caused by the death of his father by the numerous scholarships he won for standing first in several University examinations. He had already acquired a thorough grounding in Sanskrit, when he decided to devote his life to Archæology. By sheer dint of merit, he gradually rose in the archæological department from the lowest rung of its ladder to the highest,—from the position of an Archaeological Scholar to that of the Director-General of Archæology. A keen memory and a wonderful power of grasp enabled Rao Bahadur Dikshit to master even most intricate subjects in a remarkably short time. There was no branch of archæology in which he was not a thorough expert, for he was as equally at home in reading and editing coins and inscriptions as in excavating and conserving ancient sites and monuments. His excavation at Ramnagar will be long remembered as one of the most scientifically planned excavation ever attempted. It is a great pity that he should not have been spared to write its account. There were hardly any archaeologists among his contemporaries who had so intimate and extensive a knowledge of Indian archaeological monuments. And he always delighted in sharing it with others. His Report on the Excavations at Paharpur is a masterly production and one could see the flashes of his genius in the Reports of the Archæological Survey edited by him, as also in his numerous presidential addresses. He had toiled hard in the Mohenjo-Daro excavations, and his Meyer Lectures delivered on the Indus Valley Civilisation disclose how intimately he was acquainted with the subject. He was the moving and guiding spirit of the Museums Association, of which he was the President. He had been honoured by being elected as a Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and President of the Indian History Congress, which had also entrusted him with the work of editing volume I of its History.

Rao Bahaur Dikshit gave a great stimulus to archæology by guiding the activities of the archæological departments

in Indian States and by infusing young scholars with his own enthusiasum for the subject. He was a lively conversationist and his listners derived both knowledge and delight from his sprightly talks.

Much of the numismatic work of the late Rao Bahadur Dikshit is shrowded in the pages of the ponderous archæological reports. He has also contributed to the pages of this *Journal* and its predecessor, the *Numismatic Supplements*, whose list is given at the end of this note. He was once the editor of the *Numismatic Supplements* and twice the President of the Numismatic Society. Perhaps the last literary work done by the late Rao Bahadur was the examination, at my instance, of the Indo-Bactrian coins of Mr. Ghosal, a paper on which will appear in the next number of the *Journal*. The scholarly world naturally expected a good crop of literary and research work from the mature pen of the late Rao Bahadur during the relative rest of retirement, but the cruel hand of death has dashed all these hopes.

The Rao Bahadur leaves behind him his widow, a cultured lady of rare benevolence and sweet nature and four sons and one daughter, all able and intelligent. The Numismatic Society offers them all its heartfelt condolences and prays eternal peace for the soul of the deceased.

List of the Rao Bahadur Dikshit's papers on Numismatics:—

N. B.—Numbers after the names of the papers refer to the numbering in the *Numismatic Supplements*. They are followed by the year of publication.

- 1—Nişārs of Shahjahan, (207) 1920.
- 2—A new Jaunpur Mohur of Akbar, (208) 1920.
- 3—A Coin of the 'Abbasids found at Paharpur, Bengal, (321) 1934.
- 4—A Gold Coin of Virasimha, (333) 1935-36.
- 5—A Note on the bilingual Coins of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, (334) 1955-36.
- 6—A New Āndhra Coin (344) (Silver Jubilee Number), 1937-38.
- 7—Important Coins and Seal found at Rairh, *J. N. S. I.*, 1941.
- 8—New Coins of Sita, *J. N. S. I.*, 1944.
- 9—Presidential Address, *J. N. S. I.* 1946.

THE LIST OF OLD INDIAN COINS FOR SALE.

KRISHNA & CO., NUMISMATISTS,

CHOWK, LUCKNOW, INDIA.

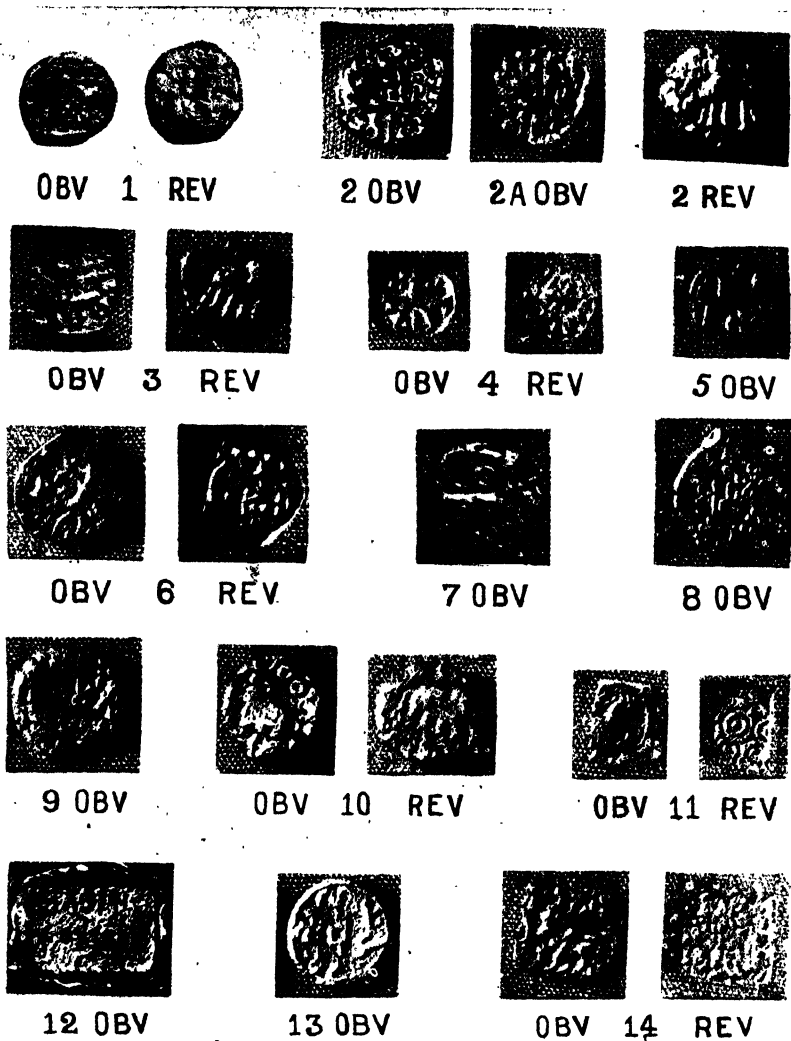
1. 20 different silver punch-marked coins Rs. 50/-
2. 5 different copper Kushāna coins in good condition „ 5/-
3. 5 silver rupees of five kings of Oudh (Fine set) „ 15/-
4. Silver coin of Raja Jaichand „ 3/-
5. Silver coin of Raja Bhoj Deva „ 2/-
6. Five ancient copper coins, one each, from Kosam Rajgir, Mathura, Ujjain & Taxila .. 12/-
7. Kosam Lanky Bull Type copper coin ... „ 10/-
8. Queen Victoria Alwar or Bikaner rupees, each .. 3/-
9. Silver rupees of Indian States, Bundi, Datia, Gwalior, Jodhpur, Srinagar (Bundelkhand), Udaipur, Nizam, etc. each „ 2/8
10. K. G. VI Mint Error Coins, such as 2 as. obverse and reverse brokages, 2 as. both sides plain, 2 as. shifted, 4 as. shifted, 4 as. both sides plain, etc. etc. A good assortment in stock....Each „ 3/-
11. List of Gold Gupta and Moghal coins and also Silver Moghal coins will be supplied free on application.

WANTED

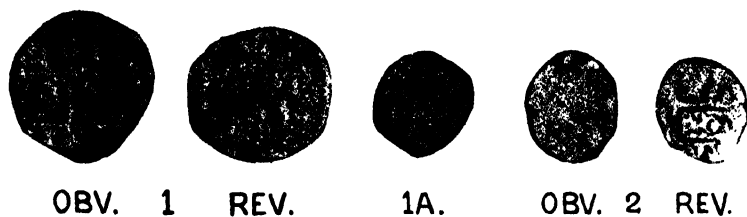
1. Second-hand Catalogues on Indian coins.
2. Gold Gupta and Gold Moghal coins of Numismatic value.
3. Silver and copper punch-marked coins.
4. Any specialised coin collection in any particular period of Indian coins.

K.C. JARIA,
KRISHNA & Co.,
Chowk, Lucknow, India.

A



B



A



OBV.

1



REV.



OBV.

2



REV.

B



C



1



2



3



4



5



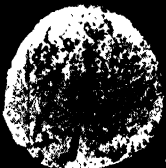
SĀTAVĀHANA, PUNCH-MARKED AND MATHURĀ COINS.



OBV.



REV.



OBV.



REV.



OBV.



REV.



OBV.



REV.



5



6



Obv.



Rev.



Obv.

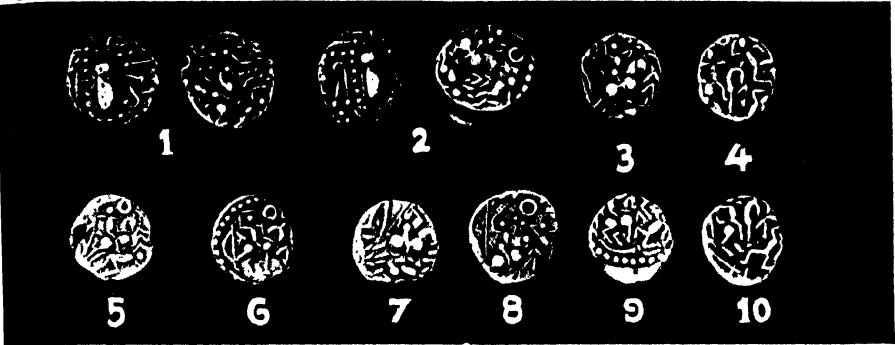


Rev.



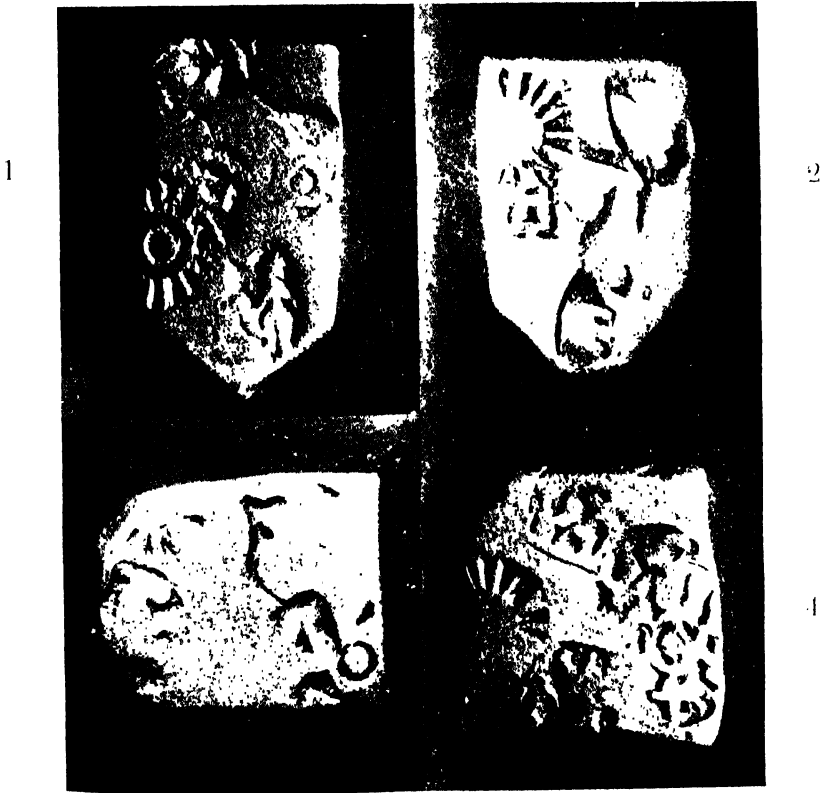
SOME INTERESTING INDO-BACTRIAN COINS.

A



A NEW TYPE OF GADHIA COINS.

B



PUNCH-MARKED COINS FROM BAHAL.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS¹

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Circumstances partly unfortunate and partly accidental have suddenly forced me into the presidential chair at the 11th hour. The distinguished scholar and archæologist whom you elected to the presidential chair last year, Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, died suddenly last August. I was naturally expecting that our Vice-President, Rao Bahadur Prayag Dayal, would step into the unfortunate breach and act as the President. But a week ago I learnt that he was unable to attend the meeting and that I, as the Chief Editor, would have to take his place. I was wondering for a while whether I should accept such a heavy responsibility at so short a notice, but I discovered that there was hardly any alternative.

THE LATE RAO BAHADUR K. N. DIKSHIT

The Society is overwhelmed with intense grief at the sudden, tragic and premature death of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit. When we elected him President last year, we all hoped that the Society will be benefited by his wise and skilful guidance for a number of years; I was hoping that as he was relieved of the onerous duties of the Director General of Archæology, he would kindly relieve me of the Chief Editorship of the Journal of the Society, which I had accepted at his pressing request seven years ago. But fate had willed it otherwise. He had not even begun to draw his pension when death suddenly snatched him away. His varied experience and mature scholarship were expected to flower into a number of valuable publications and activities during the comparative leisure of retirement, but all these hopes are dashed to pieces. The late R. B. Dikshit rose by sheer force of merit; had he not obtained a number of scholarships for standing first in his Matriculation Examination, he would not have been able to become a graduate. He was a thorough Sanskritist, but had a real liking for archæology. His excavation work at Mohenjo-Daro, Pahadpur and Ramanagar has led to remarkable discoveries and established his reputation as a great archæologist. The Numismatic Society was always dear to his heart. He was its member for sixteen years and was twice elected to its presidentship. He was also working

1. Delivered at the 87th Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India held at Patna on 29-12-1946.

as editor of the 'Numismatic Supplement for some time and has contributed many papers of high numismatic importance.

PROGRESS OF THE SOCIETY

Let us now take a bird's eye view of the progress and condition of the Society. Our membership is gradually on the increase. Numismatics is no doubt a very technical subject, which is properly taught only in two or three universities of India. Our membership cannot be therefore very large; it is in fact much larger than the membership of the History Congress, which undoubtedly makes a wider appeal. Nevertheless it must be observed that we all must make efforts to increase our membership. This is very necessary not only to stabilise our finances, but also to increase the number of field workers who would be collecting coins. The progress of numismatic studies depends to a great extent on the success of coin collectors.

It was in 1939 that we decided to have our own independent Journal. In the beginning it was published once in the year but soon it became a six-monthly publication. There can be no doubt that the Society took a wise step in deciding to have its own independent Journal. It has given a greater impetus to research work in the field of Numismatics. The Numismatic Supplements that we published during the decade 1929 to 1938 covered 565 pages. We were having 55 pages a year on the average. The seven volumes of the Journal from 1939 to 1945 cover 1040 pages giving on the average 150 pages a year, in spite of the paper difficulty. During this period the Journal has brought to light about 20 new kings of ancient India, whose existence was not even dreamt of by the scholars working in the field. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the number of contributors who send scholarly papers is also on the increase. There was a time when the editors were required to find material for the greater part of the pages of the Journal; now good papers are beginning to come from a large number of persons. It is however a matter of regret that scholars working in the field of Medieval and Modern history should be showing not sufficient interest in the numismatics of the period. We get very few papers bearing on Medieval coinages. Papers bearing on Ancient Indian numismatics published in the Journal are about four times more numerous than those published on Medieval Indian numismatics. Papers on South Indian Numismatics are also rarely received for publication. I would appeal to scholars in Medieval and South Indian history to take greater interest in this rather neglected branch of the subject. As soon as the present printing and press difficulties disappear, it should be our

endeavour to issue the Journal as a quarterly publication. This step is necessary to ensure a speedier publication of the research material. Under the present arrangement many important papers remain unpublished for seven or eight months, which is very depressing and unfortunate.

The quarterly publication of the Journal containing numerous research papers is no doubt good in its own way, but we should not be content with this achievement. The time has come when the Society should plan and carry out a more ambitious and enduring scheme of Research Publications. We have no doubt a number of excellent catalogues of the coins in the different Museums, but they are going out of print and also becoming incomplete owing to fresh additions and discoveries. Besides they are not very convenient for study by students and research workers, who would be glad to be relieved of the necessity of consulting several catalogues and journals for the numismatic material of a single dynasty or period. It is therefore urgently necessary to publish corpus volumes on the coinages of all the dynasties and states of ancient and medieval India. A still more pressing necessity is to have Standard Works of Reference for the Ancient, and Medieval numismatics, the absence of which is very adversely affecting the popularisation of numismatic studies. If our Society undertakes and carries out the above schemes of publication, it will undoubtedly have monumental and enduring work to its credit and attain an eminent position as a Research Society, not only holding annual conferences, but also doing substantial and solid work. No other body in the country is in a position to do this work.

Side by side with this solid and scholarly work, we must also organise the publication of a number of small and popular manuals, preferably in different Indian languages, which should aim at spreading the knowledge of the broad outlines of the science of numismatics to the general public. It is from among its rank that we can recruit our future coin collectors and numismatic scholars.

APPEAL TO GOVERNMENTS FOR HELP

You may well enquire whether it will be ever possible for the Society with its slender financial resources to undertake this ambitious and costly programme of publication. I personally see no insuperable difficulties in the matter. It is true that the time was not far distant when we found ourselves in the unenviable position of having to finance a publication bill amounting to about double the income of our regular membership. We however succeeded in tiding over the diffi-

culty by securing small recurring grants from some of the Provincial Governments and Indian States like the Governments of Bombay, U. P., Punjab, Orissa and Hyderabad. There is no reason why we should not get greater and greater assistance from all governments if we produce more and more useful and substantial work.

Numismatics is an important branch of Archæology, but curiously enough it has been receiving a rather step-motherly treatment both from the majority of Provincial Governments and the Central Government. Provincial Governments expect that the Society should give due publicity to the new additions to their museum collections in the pages of its Journal bearing all the heavy cost of photographing, block-making and printing. The Government of India do not seem to have yet realised that Numismatics is a part of Archæology. They are rightly taking all proper steps to publish old and historical inscriptions through two official Journals of their own, *Epigraphia Indica* and *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*. For this purpose they have maintained an efficient epigraphical department costing them about Rs. 36,000 in the salaries of editors and assistant editors and about an equal sum for the printing of the two Journals. While the Government of India thus spends more than Rs. 70,000 for publishing new epigraphic material, it is strange, nay almost unbelievable, that it should not have organised a similar Journal for publishing new numismatic material, so valuable for the recovery and reconstruction of history. I must however confess that our Society is to a great extent responsible for this relative neglect of the Government of India. It was of itself organising the proper publication of all new numismatic material first in its *Numismatic Supplements* and later in its Journal, leaving no scope for the Government to do any thing further in the matter. The programme, however, that I have outlined above is clearly beyond the slender means of the Society and can be carried out only with the help and co-operation of the Central, States, and Provincial Governments. I have no doubt that governments will respond favourably to our reasonable representations in this matter.

PUBLICATIONS IN THE YEAR

During the year 1946, the joint number for 1945 was brought out in July 1946. It covers 126 pages and contains 28 papers on different subjects. It is to be regretted that the June Number of 1946 is not yet out. We are however still living in abnormal times. All good presses are tremendously overworked and it is almost impossible to get printing done satisfactorily and in time. Paper difficulty is still acute. Had it not come in the way, we may have succeeded in bringing

out the June Number by this time. I may however be permitted to observe that our Journal appears much more regularly and in a much less attenuated size than is the case with most of the learned Journals in India or abroad.

PROBLEM OF INDO-BACTRIAN COINS

Let me now turn to matters of academic and research importance. During the last two years problems connected with Indo-Bactrian coinage have been engaging my attention and I think I may profitably discuss them in this learned gathering. There is no doubt that the coins of this series are extensively forged because of the fancy prices they fetch from European and American purchasers. But it is equally true that genuine coins too are sometimes discovered and some of them are historically important. To make the matters more complicated, these genuine coins are often mixed up with forged pieces and this association naturally raises further suspicions about them. The task of the Chief Editor, when Indo-Bactrian coins are sent to him for publication, thus becomes very difficult. If he rejects genuine coins on the suspicion that they may be spurious, he becomes guilty of suppressing the publication of important historical material. If, on the other hand, he commits an error of judgment and publishes as genuine coins which are forged, he becomes guilty of misleading the research workers in a field of history, which is still shrouded in deep mystery.

I was faced with this dilemma two years ago when I eventually decided to publish some didrachms of Hermaios in Vol. VI of our Journal. One of these didrachms contained a monogram, till then known to be occurring on the coins only of Vonones, Spalahores and Spalagadames. If this didrachm of Hermaios was genuine, it clearly tended to show that part of the kingdom of Hermaios was annexed by Vonones soon after his death. He would be his successor and not Kadpheses I, as was apparently suggested by the so-called joint coinage. Now if this coin was genuine but had been refused publication on the suspicion of forgery, an important piece of historical evidence would have been suppressed. If on the other hand, it was a forgery and still published as genuine, scholars would have been misled. After carefully weighing all evidence, I felt, that the coin was genuine and I published it. Within a month of its publication, Major-General Sir Gordon Jolly of Simla and Dr. Unwala of Naosari wrote to me to say that they had in their coin cabinets didrachms of Hermaios with precisely the same Indo-Scythian monogram. It became clear that the didrachm published was not a solitary specimen fabricated by a historian anxious to disprove the

contemporaneity of Hermaios and Kadphises, but that there were many other coins of the same class not noticed before. The refusal to publish this coin on the ground of its uniqueness tending to suggest forgery would have been a mistake.

During the last two years a large number of Indo-Greek coins were submitted to me for examination and publication and I decided to study the whole problem very carefully. I ransacked old Journals giving the views of General Cunningham, who was undoubtedly the greatest coin collector. I spent about a week in Taxila and Lahore comparing carefully the coins that were rejected as forgeries with those that were accepted as genuine in the Museums at these places. I came to the conclusion that while an unskilful forgery from a mould or a die could be easily detected, there will always be a fair number of cases where opinions will differ according to personal judgment. For instance, the Punjab Museum tetradrachm of Eucratides No. 66, appeared to me as suspicious, because the features of the king are quite unlike those appearing on his genuine coins. The hemidrachms of Apollodotus showed such a striking variety of features that it appeared difficult for me to hold that they were all genuine. But such an authority as Whitehead has classed them all as genuine. Probably he held that the dominions of Apollodotus were extensive and that the crude hemidrachms were issued from out of the way mints, which were not manned by skilful mint-masters.

It is fairly easy to detect forgeries from moulds. The cast coins have usually a kind of dull and frosty appearance; they hardly show small reliefs of the original. There is an excess of sharpness at the edge and if the letters on the original are crowded, they are often linked up in the forged piece. Sometimes there are minute holes on the surface or obtrusions due to air bubbles.

In the case of forgeries from dies, Cunningham has admitted that it would be impossible to detect a forgery from a genuine coin, if the die-cutter is very skilful. Usually however such is not the case. He sometimes forgets to copy small details like the upright stroke of a monogram, sometimes he leaves out the first or the last letter of the legend, even when there is space for them; sometimes his workmanship does not come up to the original standard. The edges are usually not worn out and sometimes they show unusual and sharp cuts. If however these mistakes are avoided, it will be difficult to detect a forgery. The only certain proof of the genuineness of Indo-Greek coins would be their discovery in archæological excavations in the appropriate strata.

I think that it is in the interest of history that we should proceed to publish new Indo-Greek coins after as careful a scrutiny as possible. Recently two lots of these coins came to me for examination. One of it contained 24 coins, of which 17 were spurious and 7 genuine in my opinion. I sent this lot to the Late Rao Bahadur Dikshit, and asked him to make an independent examination. He concurred with my findings except in one case. One coin rejected by me as spurious was thought by him to be genuine. The late Rao Bahadur wrote to me to say how an absolute agreement was difficult and how he and Sir Gordon Jolly used to spend hours in trying to arrive at an agreement about the genuineness or otherwise of suspicious Indo-Greek coins. The other lot of Indo-Greek coins contained 13 pieces, some of which were very rare. All these coins except one appeared to me to be genuine for various reasons that are explained in the relevant paper that is being published in the *Journal* Vol. VIII pp. 51-59.¹ I have come to the conclusion that we should follow a more helpful policy in connection with the Indo-Greek coins by accepting them for publication; their facsimiles will enable them to be studied by the numismatists here and abroad, and they also will be in a position to express their opinion in the subsequent numbers of the *Journal*.

NEW DISCOVERIES:

A NEW VARIETY OF PUNCH-MARKED COINS

Let me now turn to the new discoveries of the year. A new type of punch-marked coins has recently come to light. Where these coins were found is not known, but they were offered to me for sale by a coin dealer from Lucknow. I have got here the photographs of five of them which were purchased for the Hindu University, and members will see from them that these coins are larger and thinner than the so-called Kośala variety of the Punch-Marked coins published by the late Babu Durga Prasad. These coins have no symbols on the reverse. The symbols on the obverse are usually five. Among them the Six-armed Symbol, the Branch and the Sun are the usual ones, but in addition they show the Arrow strung to the Bow and another peculiar symbol consisting of a Knob with dots all round. Both these symbols are new to the punch-marked series and the present coins undoubtedly constitute a new variety. I hope to publish a paper upon these coins in the *Journal* in due course

1. This number of the *Journal* has since been published.

HERMAIOS—KADPHISES COINS

Let me now make a few observations about the so-called joint coinage of Hermaios and Kadphises I. During my visit to Taxila in the Christmas of 1945, Mr. A. Ghosh, Superintendent of Archæology, showed me a number of coins picked up at that place in the fields after the rains. Among them there were five of the well-known Hermaios-Kodphises type, but showing unmistakably how the type was being mechanically copied by barbarous rulers after the death of Hermaios. The photographs of the coins will show that in the majority of cases the features bear no resemblance whatsoever to those of Hermaios. This group of five coins, whose photographs are here with me today, illustrates much more clearly than the coins so far published in the different catalogue and show, that it would be wrong to suppose that Hermaios and Kadphises I were contemporaries. We have to assume that the Hermaios type continued to be mechanically copied in a progressively degraded form by a number of rulers after the disappearance of Hermaios and that Kadphises I was probably the last of them. We have to give up the view that those two rulers were contemporaries because of the so-called joint coinage. These coins will be published and illustrated in a paper in this *Journal* in due course.

THE KASARWAD HOARD

The discovery of a lot of 130 Ujjain coins at one place during the excavations at Kasarwad in Malwa throws important light on the coinage of the province during the early centuries of the Christian era. Its importance has been discussed by me and Mr. Diskalkar in our paper published later in this number at pp. 99-106.

COINS OF THE SEBAKA DYNASTY

Mr. H. Kaus of Hyderabad (Deccan) has made a very valuable coin collection of Deccan coins and Principal Mirashi has already shown with its help how we have now definite evidence of the actual existence of a king named Sātavāhana, after whom the dynasty was named. The same coin collection has recently enabled Prin. Mirashi to throw important light on the mystery of the Āndhra-Bhṛitya dynasty. Elsewhere in this number is a paper from the valuable pen of Prin. Mirashi on the coins of king Prakāśa-Sīva Sebaka and some other members of his dynasty, showing that there actually did flourish a Sebaka or Bhṛitya dynasty after the downfall of the Āndhras; it appears to have been described as Āndhra-Bhṛityas by the Purāṇas, probably because it was originally a

feudatory of the Āndhras. This discovery of Prin. Mirashi is a very important one.

A NEW SĀTAVĀHANA COIN

The Tarhala hoard of the Sātavāhana coins had enabled Prin. Mirashi to bring many new Sātavāhana kings to light, not mentioned in the long list of the Purāṇas. Mr. Kaus' collection has now enabled him to discover one more Sātavāhana king Kauśikī-putra Sātakarṇi so far altogether unknown to us. His paper on his coin appears elsewhere in this number.

INSCRIBED GADHIA COINS

Mr. Roshanlal Samar, an advocate of Udaipur, recently sent me some interesting coins for examination. Apart from some new varieties of the well-known coinage of the Sibi Janapada, they have some coins of the Indo-Sassanian type, which have short cryptic legends in front of the face of the king. A preliminary inspection has shown to me that some of these legends are Śrīhaka or Śrīhara Śrīvāra, Śrīga and Kugovaśri. Indo-Sassanian coins with legends are rare and so the importance of the discovery of these coins cannot be minimised. When they are carefully studied, they will enable us to throw considerable light on the history of southern Rajputana during the 7th and 8th centuries.

A HOARD OF YĀDAVA COINS

A small but interesting hoard of five gold coins was discovered in a field in the village Parsadih in the Raigarh state in Central Provinces. Mr. J. Mahant, Bar-at-law, was good enough to send these coins to me for examination and publication. On examining the five coins, I found that one of them was a Mohur of Nasiru-d-din Muhmud I, *de jure* emperor of Delhi during 1246-1266, and four were the *Padmaṭaṅkas* of the Yādava dynasty. Out of four, three were the issues of the famous and powerful Yādava king Singhaṇa (1210 to 1247 A. D.), and the name of the issuer of the fourth is not preserved well enough for decipherment. The historical importance of this discovery is being discussed by me in a paper published later in this number.

MOGHAL COINS FROM KOLHAPUR.

During his recent travels in south India Dr. Pannalal had an occasion to visit Kolhapur and examine Moghul coins recently discovered in the excavations at Brahmapuri near the city. He reports the discovery of a hitherto-unknown mint named Tārāmāṭi, from which Muhmad Shah (1719-1748) had issued

some coins. His paper on this interesting topic appears elsewhere in this number.

ZODIAC SILVER EIGHT ANNA PIECE.

Mr. Gyani, our Secretary, has made a very interesting discovery of a silver eight anna piece of Jahangir's Zodiac. It bears the sign gemini and is dated 1027 A.H. No silver eight anna piece of this type was so far known.

DRAVYAPARIKSHĀ A NEW WORK ON NUMISMATICS.

Works on Numismatics either in Sanskrit or Prakrit are so far unknown and so the discovery of a Prakrit work on the subject by Feru is undoubtedly an important event; I am indebted to Mr. R.G. Gyani for drawing my attention to it. Feru was a Jain of Śrīmāla family, who had risen to high office under Allauddin Khalji. He appears to have been in charge of his mint. From a note on the work written by Muni Kantisagar, it appears that the work was composed in 1329 A.D. and that it takes a survey of the coins then current or known. The weight, values, names and metallic contents of the coins known as Devagiri, Khurasani, Vikramārka, Ajayapuri, Bhimapuri, Mālavi, Jālandhari, Chandarikā and Nalapuri. The coins of Kanhapur, Sodhalapur, Bhimapura and Visalapura are also described. The work naturally devotes considerable space to the description of the coins of Allauddin and Kutubuddin, the former of whom is described by the other as *Kalikālachakravarti*. *Dravyaparīkshā* is undoubtedly a work of great numismatic importance, and when properly edited and published, will throw considerable light on late Hindu and early Muslim coinage.

A NEW HOARD OF GUPTA GOLD COINS

The most sensational discovery of the year is however that of a large hoard of gold Gupta coins made in the state of Bharatpur quite recently. The exact number of the coins in this hoard is not yet definitely known, but I understand on good authority that it is in the vicinity of two thousand. If so, this would be the largest single hoard of Gupta coins to be so far discovered and recovered in the country. Prof. Sharma of Bharatpur was good enough to show me 24 coins of this hoard. These contained some of the well known types of Chandragupta I, Kāchagupta, Samudragupta, Chandragupta II, and Kumārgupta I. Whether the collection that is brought to Patna by Prof. Sharma is a representative one, I do not know; but there is no doubt that if this huge hoard is carefully and scientifically studied, it will throw important light on many of the obscure points of the Gupta history. Even in the 24 coins

brought here, there is one type probably of Kumāragupta I, hitherto unknown to us. On the obverse of this coin, we have the Chhatra type, but on the reverse the king as horseman is shown as hunting a rhinoceros, standing just in front of his horse. Lion-slayer and Tiger-slayer types of the Gupta emperors were known so far, but the Rhinoceros-slayer type is absolutely unique. In the coins examined by me there was one of the so-called Pratāpa type of Kumāragupta I. So far only one coin of this type was known to exist and that is in the British Museum. Its legend on the obverse is very indistinct and illegible. The coin seen by me shows clearer traces of the legend, and what is more gratifying, I understand that there are 12 coins of this type in this hoard. I feel sanguine that we shall be now in a position to understand the mystery of the other side of this type, where we find two young and assertive ladies arguing before a figure which looks like that of the Buddha.

H. H. Maharaja of Bharatpur and his state are to be congratulated on the discovery of this important hoard, which seems to have put them in the proud possession of the largest hoard of Gupta coins ever discovered in the country. I would request the Maharaja to get the hoard carefully examined and classified by a competent authority, so that it may be properly and fully utilised for the reconstruction of our past history. No coins of the hoard should be distributed or disposed of before this is done. I also trust that Bharatpur government will see to it that no rare and unique coins of the hoard leave the shores of our country. India has already suffered heavily by most of its rare coins being exported out of the country during the last and this century. I trust that the different governments and museums will seize this opportunity to make their own collections full and representative, when later on the Bharatpur government may decide to dispose of the duplicate types.

This survey of the new numismatic discoveries made during the course of the year will thus show that there is still ample scope for research in the field of numismatics both for the field worker and the researcher. There are still many gaps in our knowledge of the history of our motherland which can be filled only by numismatic discoveries and researches. It is very necessary that the numismatics should become a popular hobby, at least among the village teachers, *mukhtias* and accountants. I shudder to think of the large number of coins that go to the melting pot every year after the rainy season owing to the sheer ignorance of our village folk. It is high time that the various governments should realise that they are as much responsible for the prevention of the melting of coins as for the prevention of dacoities and murders. They

ought to send circulars to all their village officers to despatch to the collector all old coins that may peep out of mounds and fields after the rainy season, specially in the vicinity of sites known to be ancient. The Collectors ought to send these coins to the coin committees of different provinces; which should consist of real workers in numismatics and not merely of big officers. When these coins are studied year after year, we shall continue to make important discoveries. It is very urgent that the number of workers in medieval and south Indian coinage should increase considerably; their dearth is undoubtedly affecting the progress of numismatic studies in these spheres. It is essential that the finances of our society should become sounder and stronger, so that it may be enabled to issue its *Journal* as a quarterly and undertake the publication of Standard Works of Reference on numismatics and Corpus Volumes on the coins of different dynasties, the absence of which is seriously affecting the progress of numismatic studies and researches.

KASARWAD HOARD OF 'UJJAIN' COINS

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES

AND

MR. D. B. DISKALKAR, M. A., CURATOR, INDORE MUSEUM.

INDORE.

'Ujjain' coins have been known to numismatists for nearly a century, but their precise find spots have not been properly noted. Hoards of these coins have hardly ever been recorded and analysed. The discovery of a lot of 130 copper coins, which were picked at one place at Kasarwad during the excavations of 1939-40, is therefore an interesting event. Kasarwad is a village situated in the Nemar district of Indore State, about 70 miles almost due south of Ujjayinī. It is six miles south of Maheshwar, ancient Māhashmatī, the capital of southern Avanti. Antiquities discovered at Kasarwad, like the relics of Stupa, show that it was a Buddhist site in the first century B C. A piece of pottery was found inscribed with the legend *nigata vihāra = nirgantha vihāra (?)*¹ The coins found in the excavation were later sent to Indore Museum. They were cleansed and assorted there and are now being published in this *Journal*.

Out of 130 coins, 64 are too much blurred to be deciphered and described. They however seem to have belonged to most of the types that can be distinguished clearly on the remaining coins.

Kasarwad is about 70 miles almost due south of Ujjayinī, and it is therefore no wonder that the hoard should have predominantly consisted of the so-called 'Ujjain' types. It is however natural that it should contain a few coins which appear to have been imported in the locality from outside. The most notable coin belonging to this category is a Magha coin (Pl. VI, 18), which must have travelled to Kasarwad, probably along with a pilgrim coming from Kauśāmbī to Ujjayinī. Unfortunately the coin is too blurred to permit the identification of the issuer, but the last letter *ma*, which formed part of the ending epithet *magha* is quite distinct. The first letter looks like a blurred *va* and it is quite possible that the issuer may have been Vijayamagha, whose coins have been published by one of us, *ante*, Vol. IV, p. 11, Pl. I, Nos.

1. No. 4955 of the Indore Museum Register.

12-13. Even if the personal name of the issuer may be in doubt, there can be no doubt that he belonged to the so-called Magha dynasty of Kauśāmbī, which ruled from c. 120 to 300 A. D.¹ For the type of the present coin is the same as that of the Magha coins; we have the bull on the reverse, and on the obverse there are rather indistinct traces of the ladder-like object below, above which we have the legend in a straight line, over which there is the well-known Tree within railing.

The discovery of this coin in the present hoard shows that Ujjayinī continued to have its old uninscribed coinage for several centuries. It no doubt started in the Mauryan period, if not earlier, and went on being issued in the different parts of the kingdom of Ujjayinī down at least to c. 250 A. D., which seems to be the probable date of Vijayamagha.² It is clear that the mint-masters of Ujjayinī were not much influenced by the foreign currency of the Indo-Greeks, Indo-Parthians, or the Indo-Scythians. The Sātavāhanas of the Deccan introduced inscribed currency in c. 200 B. C. Ujjayinī however continued its old tradition down to the 3rd century A. D., if not to a later date.

At the time when this hoard was buried, there is no doubt that Ujjayinī was under the rule of the Western Kshatrapas. The copper currency of the latter is known, but it is much less extensive than their silver currency and comes almost to a stop after c. 240 A. D. The Kasarwad hoard now enables us to understand this mystery of the relative paucity of the coinage of the Western Kshatrapas. It appears that these rulers did not long continue their experiment in copper currency, because in Malwa the old uninscribed copper types were extremely popular. Probably they did not think it worthwhile to take the trouble of issuing copper currency in small denominations. They seem to have authorised cities, corporations, shroffs or local authorities to continue the old and time-hallowed types.

Most of the coins in the Kasarwad hoard are square or rectangular in shape; very few of the indigenous coins are round. As will be presently shown, they belong to the Ujjayinī class rather than the Eran one. This circumstance will therefore show that the theory that the coins of Ujjayinī were round in shape as contrasted with those of Eran, which were rectangular or square, is not supported by the present hoard, whose provenance is definitely known. As Kasarwad is only about 70

1. Majumdar and Altekar: *A new History of Indian People* Vol. VI, pp. 41-46.

2. *Ibid* : p. 46.

miles south of Ujjayinī, and 200 miles south-west of Eran, we naturally expect the coins to belong to the Ujjayinī types.

The hoard contains about 20 coins of a large size with several symbols on the obverse and usually the 'Ujjain' symbol on the reverse. They can be well compared with the known types from Eran and Ujjayinī. Like the uninscribed coins from Eran (Allan, *Catalogue*, XVIII, 11-23) these coins have on the obverse, a Horse, 'Ujjain' symbol and Tree within railing. But the triangle-headed banner, the elephant, the six-armed symbol, and a symbol closely resembling the sun are absent. The vast majority of the Eran coins published in *B.M.C.* are plain on the reverse; most of the coins of this hoard have the 'Ujjain' symbol there. On the majority of the Eran coins, the symbols have been punched successively and so overlap one another very often. Overlapping of symbols is however rare on the coins of the present hoard. On some of them all the symbols appear in deep incuse and seem to have been arranged on a die (Pl. VI. 4-6), which was impressed on the flan when the metal was in a semi-molten condition.

The larger rectangular coins which we are discussing here have more points of contact and similarity to the Ujjayinī coins of the same class. Many of the symbols of the present type are to be seen on Class I, variety a, of the Ujjayinī coins of the *B.M.C.* Tree within railing, 'Ujjain' symbol, River with fish, Spoked wheel with eight umbrellas around, and Line of Taurine and *Svastikas* are common with the coins of this hoard and Class I, Var. a, referred to above. But these coins do not have Tank with fish and Cross with two additional lines to right which occur on the *B.M.C.* coins. Unlike the *B. M. C.* coins, which are round, these coins are rectangular in shape. On the other hand the Horse in the centre, which is the most characteristic feature of the present class, is absent on the Ujjayinī coins of the above class. They in fact supply quite a new class of Ujjayinī coins. We now proceed to describe them.

CLASS I, VAR. A

Metal, copper; size, rectangular, 6" x 5"; weight, 108 grains.

Obverse; in the centre, (1) Horse walking to right; in front (2) Spoked wheel with eight umbrellas around; above (3) the 'Ujjain' symbol; beyond it traces of (4) the line of *Svastikas* and taurines; behind the horse, (5) Tree in railing, under it (6) River with fishes.

Reverse; 'Ujjain' Symbol.

Pl. VI. 1

CLASS I, VAR. B

Metal, copper; size, roughly rectangular, $\cdot 5'' \times \cdot 65''$; weight, 65 grains.

Obverse; Symbols Nos. 1, 2, 5,, 6, above; Double circle with a handle, an incomplete symbol, Flag and Triskelis.

Reverse; 'Ujjain' symbol with one of its knobs replaced by the spoked wheel with eight umbrellas around; River with fishes below. Horse, Wheel and Sun are thus to be seen both on the obv. and rev. of this coin. **Pl. VI 2.**

CLASS I, VAR. C.

Metal, copper; size, roughly rectangular, $\cdot 7'' \times \cdot 6''$; weight, 85 grains.

Obverse; in the centre, Lion walking to right; all other symbols are the same as those on Class I, var. a, except that the spoked wheel, No. 2 above, is absent. The line of two taurines and one *Svastika* is very clear.

Reverse; 'Ujjain' symbol with *Svastikas* and taurines in the intervals between the knobs. **Pl. VI, 3.**

Var. D.

Metal: copper; size, roughly rectangular, $\cdot 75'' \times \cdot 6''$; weight, 120 grains.

Same as above, but the symbols are all in deep incuse, impressed by one die.

Pl. VI. 4

CLASS I, VAR. E.

Metal, copper; size, roughly square, $\cdot 7''$; weight, 112 grains.

Obverse; Bull (?) walking right to the centre; other symbols as in var. d, but indistinct. They are all in a deep incuse.

Pl. VI. 5

Metal, copper, size rectangular, $\cdot 5'' \times \cdot 8''$; weight, 112 grains.

Same as above

Pl. VI, 6

CLASS I, VAR. F.

Metal, copper; size roughly rectangular, $\cdot 9'' \times \cdot 75''$; weight, 132 grains.

Obverse; in the centre, Bull walking to right, above Kārtikeya standing, with *śakti* in his hand; to his left, Tank with fish; behind the bull, Tree within railing; in its front traces of Spoked wheel surrounded by eight umbrellas. **Pl. VI. 7**

Reverse; 'Ujjain' symbol, with double circles.

The symbols on this coin have been much blurred.

CLASS I VAR. G.

Metal, copper ; size, roughly rectangular, .7" .65" ; weight, 112 grains.

This coin is damaged and all its symbols cannot be made out.

Tree within railing is rather small ; 'Ujjain' symbol is clear, but other symbols are damaged. **Pl. VI. 8**

Reverse : As in **Pl. VI, 3.**

The hoard contains three coins of *B. M. C.* Class I, var. i, (P. XXXVI, 10) having on the obverse Standing deity, Tree within railing a symbol consisting of two Mauryan *yas*, one above the other. (**Pl. VI, 10**) Its weight is 46.3 grains. One of these coins has on the reverse Bull in addition to the 'Ujjain' symbol, which is rather rare (**Pl. VI, 11**) Its weight is 31 grains.

It contains only one round coin, exactly corresponding to *B. M. C.*, Class I, var. a. (Pl. XXXVI, 20). It has on the obverse Tree within railing, Taurine and *Svastika*, 'Ujjain' symbol, Tank with fish, Spoked wheel with eight umbrellas around, and a Mauryan *ku* with two additional horizontal lines on the right.

In the case of one coin there is only Branch of a tree and some other obscure symbol on the obverse (**Pl. VI, 9.**) and 'Ujjain' symbol on reverse. It weighs 70 grains.

The hoard contains two coins of the Class I, which appear to be cast from moulds. They are however too worn to be reproduced on the plate.

CLASS 2 : RECTANGULAR BUT SMALLER SIZE.

The coins of this class bear a general resemblance to *B. M. C.*, Class I, varied. Both are rectangular in size and have an animal on the obverse. The *B. M. C.* XXXVII, 17 has Sun above the Horse and Tree within railing on the left ; our coins however show some variations.

In one case there is the Spoked wheel with eight umbrellas above the horse to left and in its front there is the 'Ujjain' symbol (**Pl. VI. 12**). Its weight is 24 grains. In another case the Horse is to right and there seems to be a human figure in its front and the Mauryan *yya* symbol above it ; (**Pl. VI. 13**). Its weight is 30 grains. In the third case there seems to be Bull to left with no other symbols. (**Pl. VI. 14**). Its weight is 17 grains only. I am unable to make the animal on the fourth coin of this class (**Pl. VI. 15**). Its weight is 19 grains only. On the reverse of all these coins, there is the 'Ujjain' symbol of the simplest variety.

CLASS III: CAST COINS.

All the Ujjayinī and Eran coins so far published are die-struck. The present hoard contains 16 coins which are cast from moulds. Unfortunately most of them are too much worn out for their symbols to be identified. But most of them have the 'Ujjain' symbol on the reverse. The largest of them (Pl. VI, 16) weighs 53 grains. It seems to have had an animal in the centre as on Pl. VI, 1-2. On a coin of intermediate weight standard, weighing 31 grains, the 'Ujjain' symbol can be seen clearly on the obverse. On a third piece, which is only 8 grains in weight, we have a trident and possibly a human figure (Pl. VI, 17); they may be referring to the diety Mahākālā of Ujjayinī and his *āyudha* trident. One more coin of this type was found later at Kasarwad.

CLASS IV: SMALL DENOMINATIONS COINS.

The metrology of ancient Indian copper coinage has not yet been properly studied. Most of the catalogues generally publish coins of larger denominations only. It is only in the case of the Mālava coinage that we have coins of small denominations fully described to us.

The Yaudheya or Kushāna copper coins, weighing about 180 or 200 grains in weight, corresponded to the old heavy two pice coin. The purchasing power of each piece was equal to that of the four anna piece in 1930 and that of one rupee in 1947.

How then did the people carry on their daily transactions which required smaller currency corresponding to two anna, anna or pice pieces or lesser denominations? One answer to this question is supplied by the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hien, who describes how cowries were in extensive use in the bazars of the Gupta cities.

The present hoard however shows that in many localities the government, the cities or the corporations also issued copper currency of various denominations, including some of the smallest ones. If we analyse the weights of coins so far referred to in this paper, it will be seen that they belonged to various denominations. Thus No. 6 is 132 grains in weight, No. 4 120 grains, Nos. 5 and 7 112 grains, and No. 1, 108 grains. The weight of No. 3 is 85 grains and that of No. 9 is 70; No. 2 weighs 65 grains. The weights of Nos. 16, 18, 19, 20 and 21 vary from 50 to 55 grains. No. 15 weighs 15 grains, No. 13, 30 grains and No. 10, 46 grains. What weight system was followed is difficult to judge from this datum; many of the coins are very much worn and their original weights cannot be conjectured with certainty.

The hoard however is interesting as it contains some coins of very small weights. They are illustrated on Pl. VI, 22-30.

Their weights are as under :—

No. 22 weighs	10·5 grains.
No. 23 weighs	9·6 grains.
No. 24 weighs	7·7 grains.
No. 25 weighs	7·6 grains.
No. 26 weighs	6·5 grains.
No. 27 weighs	4·6 grains.
No. 28 weighs	4 grains.
No. 29 weighs	3 grains.
No. 30 weighs	3 grains.

Coins of such small denominations are known only in connection with a very few places in ancient India. They were issued by the Mālava republic at about the beginning of the Christian era, when its jurisdiction does not seem to have extended beyond the Udaipur state and Ajmer. The state of Avanti followed the same tradition and issued coins of small denominations. Some of the coins of the Mālava republic are however even lighter than Nos. 29 and 30 which weigh only 3 grains. For some Mālava coins weigh as light as 2·6 and 1·7 grains only.¹

The process of manufacturing copper coins of such light denominations must have been an exacting one; it must have hardly paid the labour involved in the manufacture. Where therefore cowries were available, the state does not appear to have undertaken the trouble of manufacturing such small pieces.

The coins **Pl. VI, 22-30** however show that the state or the corporation concerned was not content merely by issuing small uninscribed or unstamped copper pieces in the case of the coins of these very small denominations. We find them stamped with the usual symbols comparatively reduced in size. In some cases the symbols are blurred owing to wear and tear, but in most cases they can be recognised. 'Ujjain' symbol can be recognised on the reverse of most of these pieces. On the obverse of **Pl. VI, 22, 24** we can see the Horse, which had figured on many of the larger coins of this hoard; see **Pl. I, 2. Pl. VI, 23**, has a Dotted circle, **Pl. VI, 25** the Six-armed symbol, **Pl. VI, 26** part of a Branch, **Pl. VI, 28** the Solar orb, and **Pl. VI, 30** the Crescented hill.

The hoard, though of copper coins, contains some which were imports into the locality. One such coin, which hailed from Kauśāmbī, and belonged to the Magha series, has been already described (**Pl. VI, 18**). It weighs 55 grains. Among others worthy of note are five cast copper pieces, having

1. *I. M. O.*, I, p. 168.

Hollow cross, Tree within railing, Taurine and the Crescented hill on one side and Elephant before a triangle-headed banner above a ladder-like object on the other. They exactly correspond to the var. j of the uninscribed cast coins described in the *B. M. C.*, Pl. XI, 8. Nothing definite is known about the findspots of these coins. Mr. Allan therefore tentatively suggests that they were probably current in the United Provinces and Central India. As there are five coins of this type, but lighter in weight, in the present hoard, it is difficult to state whether they were issued locally or were imported from outside. If they were local, the present hoard will support Mr. Allan's view that they were probably current in Central India. If they were imported, we may well imagine that they came to Kasarwad with a pilgrim from Benares going to Ujjayinī on a pilgrimage; for Cunningham ascribes the present type to Benares¹.

The hoard contained 10 punch-marked copper coins, one round and the rest rectangular. The round coin, which is .5" in diameter and 55 grains in weight, is a well preserved piece and has on the obverse, the Sun, the Branch, the Six-armed symbol, and a Bird, possibly a peacock perched upon a stick. On the reverse there are the Caduceus and the 'Ujjain' symbol (Pl. VI, 19). This seems to be an unpublished type. Most of the rectangular punch-marked coins have not been well preserved; but they seem to have had the Sun, the Six-armed symbol, the Branch and some other indistinct symbols. In one case the Six-armed symbol is both on the obverse and the reverse, which is rather rare (Pl. VI, 20); the weight of this coin is 50 grains. The narrower punch-marked coins which weigh 53 grains and are .5" x .25" in size, have only two symbols, the Sun and the Six-armed symbol (See Pl. VI, 21); they could not accommodate more. The coins illustrated in the plate are about .2" in thickness.

1. *C. A. I.*, p. 60.

A COIN OF PRAKĀŚAŚIVA SEBAKA

BY PRINCIPAL V. V. MIRASHI, AMARAOTI.

The coin published here for the first time (Pl. VII, 1) is from the cabinet of Mr. Hurmuz Kaus of Hyderabad (Deccan). In June last Mr. Kaus very kindly sent me excellent ink estampages of both the sides of this unique coin and supplied me information about its metal and weight. As desired by him, I publish the coin in this Journal. Mr. Kaus deserves the grateful thanks of all students of ancient Indian history for his readiness to publish such unique coins in his rich collection.

The provenance of the coin has not been recorded, but it seems to have been found somewhere in the Hyderabad State. The coin is of lead, round in shape, with a diameter of .9". It weighs 110 grains. It has on the obverse the figure of a horse facing left with the symbol¹ resembling Brāhmī *yya* above his back and a wheel in front of him. The existing legend which is plainly incomplete commences at vi and runs round the edge of the coin up to xii. The reverse shows, inside a double-border², a large arch probably representing a Stūpa, with a wavy line symbolising a river below. Pl. VII, 1.

The existing legend reads *kasasiva-Sebakasa*. It is clearly incomplete. I inquired of Mr. Kaus whether he had any other coins of this type and he sent me an impression of another (Pl. VII, 2), but it was without any legend. I therefore conjecturally restore the legend as *Pakasasiva-Sebakasa* for *Pakāsasiva-Sebakasa* (Sanskrit, *Prakāśaśiva-Sebakasya*³). This legend must have been preceded by the usual *raṁño*, but the letters have not come out on the present coin.

The characters are of about the middle of the third century A. D. Worthy of note are the forms of *k* with the lower end of the vertical turned to the left, *v* with a flat base and *s* with the right prong of its fork raised as high as the left. These characters, especially *k*, show that the coin belongs to the same age as those of Karṇa Sātakarṇi⁴, a successor of Yajña Sātakarṇi.

1. This symbol appears on the coins of Taxila, Mathura and Ujjain. See Allan, *Coins of Ancient India (B.M.C.)*, pp. 169, 229-30, and 244. The lower part of the symbol has not come out well in the estampage; but what has come out of it leaves no doubt as to what it originally was.

2. The border is clearly visible on two sides, at the bottom and on the right side.

3. The first *akṣara* of the name is conjecturally supplied; its correctness will have to be tested by future discoveries.

4. See Plate VIII, No. 27 illustrating my article on the Sātavāhana coins from Tachālā. (*Asie*, Vol. II, pp. 88 ff.)

If the legend restored above is correct, it would mean that 'the coin is of Prakāśaśiva-Sebaka'. The addition of *śiva* to the personal name of the king is noteworthy. In later times this became a distinctive sign of the name of the Śaiva ascetics, especially of the Mattamayūra sect. Prakāśaśiva-Sebaka was, as his name indicates, probably a descendant of the king Sebaka, whose coin I have recently published in this Journal¹. The present coin shows that Sebaka, like Sātavāhana, was the progenitor of a royal family known after him. The rulers of this family used his name as a dynastic appellation. The coins of Sebaka and Prakāśaśiva differ from each other in shape, fabric and type. The coin of Sebaka published in this journal is nearly square, though rather irregular in shape; the execution of letters and symbols, though bold, is not very neat and the figure of the bull facing right is not well drawn. Prakāśaśiva's coin is far superior to it in all these respects. It is perfectly round in shape; the letters and symbols are beautifully formed and the horse facing left is drawn with vigour. I have placed Sebaka in the latter half of the third century B. C. on the ground of palæography and fabric of his coin. Prakāśaśiva, the fabric and characters of whose coin resemble those of the monetary issues of later Sātavāhanas, could not have flourished earlier than about the middle of the third century A. D.

Horse-type coins are known to have been issued by Yajña Sātākarni. On some of these the animal faces right and the symbol over its back is the crescent moon². On some other coins of this king the horse faces left as here, but these coins show no symbol either over the back or in front of the animal³. Neither of these types is therefore exactly similar to that of the present coin. All these coins have the Ujjain symbol on their reverse. Some other coins listed by Rapson (e. g., Pl. V, G. P. 4 and No. 112) have, no doubt, the same device and symbols on their obverse as the present coin, but their legends are illegible. Again, the Ujjain symbol on the reverse of one of these shows that it was issued by a king of the Sātavāhana, and not of the Sebaka, dynasty. These coins are said to have been found in the Kṛishṇā and Godāvarī districts. Another coin with the obverse type exactly resembling that of the present coin was discovered at Koṇḍāpur and has been published by Mr. G. Yazdani in the plate illustrating his article on 'Excavations at Kondapur⁴'. As the plate was not quite clear, I requested

1. *Anta*, Vol. VII, pp. 94 ff.

2. Rapson, *Coins of the Andhras* etc. (B. M. C.), Pl. VI, No. 148 and G. P. 6.

3. *Ibid.*, Pl. VII, No. 155, G. P. 1.

4. *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXII, Pl. XV, No. 15.

Mr. K. M. Ahmad, Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad State, to supply me with a fresh photograph of that and any other horse-type coins he may have discovered; and he very kindly sent me excellent photographs of three coins, one found at Koṇḍāpur and two at Panigiri.¹ The Koṇḍāpur coin (Pl. VII, 3), it will be noticed, resembles our coin very closely, though unlike the latter, it is almost square in shape. Its reverse does not show any symbol, but curious as it might appear, it shows faint traces of two letters *ṇasa*, which may have formed part of a name like *ṇātakarṇi*. There are traces of letters on the obverse also, below the feet of the horse which read *Sātakarṇi* [sa]. As the complete legend has not been preserved and as several members of the Sātavāhana dynasty had their names ending in *ṇātakarṇi*, it is difficult to identify this king with certainty, but he was probably one of the immediate successors of Yājña Sātakarṇi; for the latter is known to have issued horse-type coins similar to, though not exactly of the variety of, this coin. If this conjecture is correct, Prakāśīva who imitated this type may have flourished some time after Yājña Sātakarṇi. The characters of his coin also show that he must be referred to a slightly later age.

One of the coins found at Panigiri, which is produced here (Pl. VII, 4), probably belonged to the same dynasty. It is square in shape and has on the obverse the figure of a horse facing left, with the same symbol over his back as on the present coin. The wheel in front of the animal has apparently been cut out. The reverse of this coin shows a similar semi-circular arch with this difference, viz., that it has some dots inside, probably representing the stones and bricks inside the Stūpa. There is a border of double line on the left and an indistinct taurine symbol to the right of the Stūpa. The obverse has remnants of a legend along the upper and right edge, but the *aksharas* are not completely legible. The last three of them appear clearly to be *-vakasa*. The *akshara* before *va*, which is not quite clear, may have been *se*. This coin seems therefore to have been minted by a king of the Sevaka dynasty which is plainly identical with the Sebaka dynasty mentioned above.

As stated before, the Sebakas imitated the monetary issues of the so-called Āndhra or Sātavāhana kings. As the dynasty was founded as early as the second half of the third century B.C., several of its members must have been contemporaneous with, and therefore feudatories of, the Sātavāhanas; for their principality, which must have been situated somewhere in Central Deccan, must have been included in the Sātavāhana Empire.

1. I am indebted to Mr. K. M. Ahmad for permission to publish these coins.

They probably declared their independence during the decline of the Sātavāhana power, in token of which they issued their own coinage. In course of time the dynasty came to be known as *Sevaka*, *v* and *b* being interchangeable. As these Sevakas were previously feudatories of the Sātavāhanas or Āndhras, they are mentioned in the Purāṇas as Āndhra-bhṛityas or 'Servants of the Āndhras.'¹ The Purāṇas state that after the empire of the Āndhras or Sātavāhanas comes to an end, their servants who are further specified as Āndhras, Śrī-parvatīyas, Abhīras and others, will rule the earth.² The Śrī-parvatīyas were probably the Ikshvaku kings whose inscriptions have been discovered at Jaggayyapet and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. Āndhras coupled with them may have been descendants of Sebaka. The Purāṇas tell us that they were seven in number and ruled for 52 years.³ One of these was Prakāśasīva whose coin has been published here. Let us hope that the names of the other members of this dynasty will soon be revealed by future discoveries.

1. The Purāṇas distinguish between the Āndhras or Sātavāhanas and Āndhrabhṛityas or the feudatories of the Āndhras. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar identified the two families and took *Āndhrabhṛitya* to mean 'Āndhras who were once servants or dependants', signifying Simuka and his descendants. *Early History of the Deccan*, Section V. This does not appear to be correct. The Āndhrabhṛityas are mentioned after the Āndhra or Sātavāhana kings. They were therefore feudatories of the Āndhras.

2. See 'Āndhrāpām saṁsthite rājye teshaṁ bhṛitya-ānvayā nṛpāḥ | sapta = aṣṭ = Āndhrā bhaviṣhyanti daś = Abhīras tathā nṛpāḥ ||'. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 45.

3. Cf. 'Āndhrāḥ Śrīparvatīyāś-cha te dvi-pañcāśataḥ samāḥa :'. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

A NEW SILVER COIN OF GAUTAMIPUTRA.

By Dr. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY

We have got a fairly extensive coinage of the kings of the Sātavāhana dynasty, but it is mostly in base metals like lead and copper. So far only one king of the dynasty, Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi, is known to have issued coins in silver. They closely imitate the Kshatrapa type and supply us the only known portrait of a Sātavāhana ruler. Only four coins of this type have been known so far; three of them were published in Rapson's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty in the British Museum*, Pl. VII and the 4th one was found among the coins of the Sarvania hoard, mostly consisting of Kshatrapa currency, and published and discussed by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1913-4 pp. 213-4.

The silver Sātavāhana coin that I am publishing today is the 5th known silver piece of the dynasty. It was purchased by me in August 1946 from a dealer in Mathurā, who stated that he had acquired it from Ujjayinī, which he had visited some months ago. This statement of his may well be trusted, for most of the coins that he showed me on this occasion were silver Kshatrapa coins, so common at Ujjayinī.

I shall first describe the coin and then discuss the identification of the issuer.

Metal, silver; size, .7" in diameter; weight, 30 grains.

Obv. Six-arched hill with dots in each arch, on a platform below a wavy line; Brāhmī inscription commencing from the top of the hill, *Raño Gotamī...*

Rev. 'Ujjain' symbol with a pellet in each orb.

Pl. VII, 5

As unfortunately the legend is not fully accommodated and preserved on the coin, the identification of Gotamīputra, who issued this coin, will have to be determined by such other evidence and indications that may be available. The famous Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is known to have wrested several provinces from Nahapāna, as is specifically stated in a record issued in his son's reign. Mālwa was one of the provinces annexed by the Sātavāhana conqueror and it is plausible to argue that the coins of the present type may have been issued by him to commemorate his achievement.

Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi however is not known to have issued any independent silver coinage of his own. He contented himself merely by recalling the currency of Nahapāṇa, whom he had overthrown, and restamping it with his own name and symbols. His legend on these coins reads *Raño Gotamīputasa Sātakanisa*, and as the present incomplete legend also begins with *Raño Gotamī*, it may be argued that Gautamīputra not only restamped the currency of Nahapāṇa, but also issued his own independent silver currency bearing the same legend.

This conclusion however does not appear to be sound. The reverse symbol on the silver coins restamped by Gautamīputra is also a Hill with pellets in each arch; but it is three-arched and not six-arched, as is the case with the symbol on the reverse of the present coin. After analysing the data of the available coins, Rapson had come to the conclusion that the change from a three arched *chaitya* (hill) to a six-arched one probably took place in the reign of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi (*Catalogue*, Introduction, pp. lxxii-lxxiii). The hill is surmounted by a crescent in some cases, but not in others.

The present coin as a matter of fact bears greatest resemblance to some of the known issues of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi found in Āndhradeśa and illustrated in Rapson's *Catalogue*, Pl. VI, 139-146. On the obverse of these coins we have a six-arched hill surmounted by a crescent, as is the case with the present coin. The arches of the hill have a pellet in both cases, and the platform and the wavy line below are also common to both the types. The reverse of the present coin is 'Ujjain' symbol with a pellet in each orb, which also is the case with the published lead coins of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi of the present type. The size of the present coin is also the same as that of the coins of this ruler above referred to.

It therefore appears very probable that the present coin was also issued by the same ruler, and we may safely complete its legend as *Raño Gotamī (putasa, Śrī Yajña Sātakanisa)*.

There was a temporary revival of the Sātavāhana power towards the end of the 2nd century A.D. under the leadership of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi. He succeeded in reconquering portions of Gujarat and Mālwa and annexing them to the Sātavāhana dominions. He signalled his success not only by issuing his silver portrait coins, but also by striking inscribed silver coins of the Āndhra-deśa type with a crescented six-arched Hill on the reverse.

Coins of both these types were intended for circulation in Gujarat and Malwa, where they have been found.

Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi seems to have achieved his successes towards the end of his reign and his effete successors could not only not succeed in retaining the newly conquered provinces but also in maintaining the integrity of the home provinces of the Empire. This seems to be the reason for the extreme paucity of the silver coins of this ruler.

The present coin is thus a unique one, as no other silver coin of this type was so far known to have been issued either by Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi or by any of his predecessor or successor.

A RARE-GREEK COIN.

BY M.M. BISHVESHVAR NATH REU

Archæological Superintendent, Jodhpur.

This coin, the description and photograph of which is published here for the opinion of the numismatists, was obtained by me from a coin-dealer of Rawalpindi in May 1938.

This is a rare coin not found in any of the catalogues hitherto published in India.

This silver coin measures $5/16$ of an inch (or about $\cdot 4$ inch or 10 millimeters) in diameter and its weight is 24 grains (or 1.555 grammes).

On its obverse is the head of the king facing to the right and perhaps crowned with ivy; on its reverse is a cancer and under its short tail is some sort of support or a symbol of water, beneath which there was perhaps a legend which is no longer legible.

PI. VII, 7 (natural size)

PI. VII, 6 (enlarged size)

In my opinion this coin is of Alexander the Great, the famous king of Macedonia, who invaded India in 327 B. C.

The cancer on the reverse may possibly represent one of the 12 Zodiacal signs connected either with the birth of the king himself or some noteworthy event in his life

I hope that scholars will kindly examine the photograph of the coin and throw some more light on it and its inscription.

CHIEF EDITOR'S NOTE

M. M. Reu has done well in drawing attention of the numismatists to this rare and interesting piece. But it is very doubtful whether we can ascribe the piece to Alexander the Great. In his own lifetime he did not issue any coins bearing his own bust. Nor does the bust on the present coin show any marked resemblance to the bust of Alexander as given on the coins issued in his name after his death. The coin seems to belong to an early period when the obverse was still reserved for the representation of a deity. The crab which occurs on the reverse of this coin is known to occur on some coins issued by Acragus, after its resettlement by Timoleon. On one of its type we have a prancing horse to right on the obverse and a crab on the reverse, as on the reverse of the present coin. A

coin of this type has been illustrated in Vol. II of the Plates accompanying *Cambridge Ancient History* in the plate facing p 8, numbered as h. This coin is slightly larger in size than the present piece and weighs 31 grains. I hope some numismatists who are specialists in ancient Greek coinage, will throw light on the present coin.

A COIN OF KAUSIKIPUTRA SĀTAKARṆI

BY PRINCIPAL V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

This coin, published here for the first time (Pl. VIII, A, 1), is from the cabinet of Mr. Hurmuz Kaus, the well-known coin-collector and numismatist of Hyderabad (Deccan). I am thankful to Mr. Kaus for sending me its excellent impressions as well as information about its size and weight for publication in this *Journal*.

The coin is of copper, rectangular in shape, measuring .80" by .60". It weighs 65 grains. It has on its obverse the figure of an elephant facing right, with the trunk uplifted. There is a symbol consisting of two flattened rings cut by a vertical bar over the back of the elephant and traces of what may be a *svastika* in front of him. The legend given below begins at the lower left corner and runs round the animal. Some *aksharas* of it at the beginning and the end have evidently been cut off. Besides, two more *aksharas* which must have occurred over the trunk of the elephant are now illegible and one in the upper right corner is partially cut. The reverse shows the well-known Ujjain symbol, each orb of which has a pellet within a double circle and the same symbol of flattened rings cut by a vertical bar in the upper right and left corners between two orbs of the Ujjain symbol. Similar symbols in the lower corners have been cut off. It may be noted that the type is imitated from old coins of the Sātavāhana dynasty, such as that of the king Sātavāhana recently published in this *Journal*¹.

The existing portion of the legend on the obverse reads *Kosikipu[tasa] Sa-*. The *aksharas* in the brackets are now indistinct and have been restored conjecturally. The last *akshara* *sa* is again only partially seen. The characters are of about the second century A. D., slightly later than those of the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas in the Nasik caves. The vertical bar of *k* is elongated in *ko*, but it is shortened in *ki*, evidently for want of space. *S* in *si* has a broadened shape, such as occurs in the inscriptions of the Kushāṇas. *P* in *pu* is angular, with both its verticals of the same length. There are very faint traces of what looks like *ta* after *pu*. The final *akshara*, though partially cut, resembles the second *akshara* *si* and is probably *sa* (or *sā*). The legend is thus *Kosikiputasa Sa-*. At least two *aksharas* (*raṁṇo*) seem to have been lost in the

1. *Asia*, Vol. VII, pp. 1 f.

beginning and some more at the end of the existing legend. The language is Prakrit. The legend means '(This coin is) of (the king) Kausikīputra Sa-'.¹

The elephant device on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse indicate that the coin is probably of the Sāta-vāhana dynasty¹. Large hoards of this type 'Elephant with uplifted trunk' on the obverse and Ujjain symbol on the reverse have been discovered in the Nāgda and Akolā districts of the Central Provinces and Berar,² but the coins in those hoards differ from this in certain respects. They are of potin and round in shape. Again, the elephant has trappings round his neck, and there is no symbol of flattened rings on the obverse and reverse as in this case. The provenance of the present coin has not been recorded, but it seems to have come from some part of the Central Deccan, as it bears unmistakable affinity to the coins of Satavahana found in the Aurangabad and Warangal districts of the Nizam's State.

Kausikīputra was evidently a metronymic of the king, whose personal name has not come out completely on this coin. We know of the following metronymics of the Sāta-vāhana dynasty from their coins³—

1. Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.
2. Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi.
3. Vāsishṭhīputra Sivasrī Sātakarṇi (?).
4. Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi.
5. Vāsishṭhīputra Śrī-Chaṇḍa Sati

Besides these, we know of a Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi and Maṭharīputra Sakasena from the Purāṇas and Kānheri inscriptions⁴. Again, the coins found at Kolhapur mention three metronymics, *viz.*, Vāsishṭhīputra of Vilivāyakura, Mādhariputra of Sivalakura and Gautamīputra of a second Vilivāyakura⁵, but it is doubtful whether these princes belonged to the Sāta-vāhana dynasty. The metronymics are supposed to be a characteristic of the coins found in the Andhradeśa, but they have also been noticed in the legend on the silver coins of Yajña Sātakarṇi found in Kāthiawāḍ⁶ as well as in that stamped by Gautamī-

1. The type was copied later on by the Śaka successors of the Sāta-vāhanas. See my article entitled 'An Ancient Śaka Dynasty of Māhishmati' *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 34 f.

2. *Ante*, Vol. II, 88 f.

3. Rapson, *Coins of the Andhras etc.* (B. M. O.), pp. 20; 29; 31: 34. The coins of Vāsishṭhīputra Siva-Śrī Sātakarṇi published by Rapson do not contain the name Sātakarṇi; they may therefore have been of Sivasrī Pulumāvi, whose coins were discovered in the Akolā hoard and who is mentioned by that name in the Purāṇas.

4. Fargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age* p. 42; *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. V, p. 79.

5. Rapson, *Coins of the Andhras etc.*, pp. 5 f.; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII, p. 279.

6. Rapson, *Coins of the Andhras etc.* p. 45

putra 'Sātakarṇi' on the issues of Nahapāna current in Mahārāshtra¹.

The metronymic Kauśikīputra is noticed for the first time on this coin. From inscriptions we know, of course, of several Kauśikīputras. One of them, Kauśikīputra Dhanadeva, belonged to the Śunga family and is known from a stone inscription found at Ayodhyā². He is not likely to have struck this coin, for he ruled far away in the North³. Several Mahārāṭhis who bore this metronymic are known from inscriptions of the early centuries of the Christian era, found in Koṅkaṇ and Mahārāshtra. One of them, Mahārāṭhi Viṇhudatta (Viṣṇudatta) made a gift of a cistern near a cave at Bhājā⁴. Another, Mahārāṭhi Mitradeva of the Okhaḷakiyas, is mentioned in an inscription of his son Vāsishṭhīputra, a feudatory of Puṣumāvi, incised in a cave at Karle⁵. But neither of these Mahārāṭhis is likely to have struck this coin, for though the Sātavāhanas, in very rare cases, allowed their powerful feudatories to issue coins in their own names⁶, there is no evidence to show that either of these Mahārāṭhis was so powerful. It is therefore very likely that the coin was struck by a king of the Sātavāhana dynasty, and if the reading of the last *akṣara* is correct, he may have been one of the Sātakarṇis mentioned in the Purāṇas. The complete legend may, in that case, have been *Raṁṇo Kosikiputasa Sātakarṇisa* meaning '(This coin is) of Kauśikīputra Sātakarṇi'. The palæographic evidence detailed above shows that this Sātakarṇi was probably one of the later kings of the dynasty and may have been one of the successors of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. Several of them are known to have borne the name of Sātakarṇi and issued coins, viz., Skanda Sātakarṇi, Yajña Sātakarṇi, Vijaya Sātakarṇi, Chaṇḍa Sātakarṇi, Kumbha Sātakarṇi, Karṇa Sātakarṇi and Śaka Sātakarṇi⁷, but except in the case of Yajña, Chaṇḍa and Śaka⁸, we do not know the names of their queen-mothers. Kauśikīputra may have been the metronymic of one of these later Sātakarṇis.

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 68 f.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 57.

3. This Dhanadeva may be identical with the homonymous king whose coins have been discovered at Ayodhyā. See, Allan, *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 182-3.

4. Bhagwanlal Indraji and Burgess, *Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India*, p. 24.

5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 61 f.

6. See my article 'A Coin of Sātakarṇi' *ante* Vol. VIII, pp. 19 f. in which I have shown that Kalalāya Mahārāṭhi, who was a feudatory of Sātakarṇi, issued coins in the joint names of himself and his suzerain.

7. *Ante*, Vol. II, pp. 89 f.

8. Yajña Sātakarṇi's mother was Gautamī, Chaṇḍa's Vāsishṭhī, and Śaka's Māṭhari.

SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS FROM BAHAL (BOMBAY PRESIDENCY).

BY PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA, ASST. EDITOR, AJ, BENARES.

INTRODUCTION.

Mr. S. N. Chakravarti has published a paper on a hoard of 690 silver punch-marked coins¹, which was found in 1945 at the village Bahal in Chalisgaon Taluka of the East Khandesh district in Bombay Presidency.² This is the largest hoard of the punch-marked coins ever discovered in that province.³

The coins are of 'various shapes—square, rectangular, polygonal, round and oval' and have 'the group of five symbols on the obverse—four constant and the fifth varying'. Of the four constant symbols, two,—sun and the six-armed symbol—, occur on every coin. Mr. Chakravarti has grouped them on the basis of their fabric and size in three groups A, B and C. The group A comprises of 106 coins, which are thin and large, while the group C has 352 coins which are thick and small. The group B with 232 coins, forms a 'connecting link between A and C'.⁴ The coins of each group have been divided into different classes and sub-classes with reference to symbols on the obverse. Each coin class bears on the obverse a group of four constant symbols and the sub-class is formed by the fifth symbol. Out of the entire hoard only 216 coins,—84 in group A, 100 in group B and 30 in group C—, are classified in the said paper.⁵

CERTAIN NEW THEORIES.

Mr. Chakravarti has suggested in his paper that these groups of the punch-marked coins, based on fabric and size represent denominations;⁶ this view can hardly be accepted. Fortunately enough, he has recorded the weight of 12 coins of the hoard, four from each group in table 4 of his paper. The weight of these coins varies between 46½ to 51 grains.

1. This includes five fragmentary pieces. Of them 3 are halves cut from round coins, and the remaining two fragments fit nicely to form a complete square coin, which has been broken by design or accident into two pieces. *Ante*, A. Vol. VIII, p. 68.

2. *J. B. B. R. A. S.* Vol XX (n. s) pp. 88-87 : A new find of silver punch-marked coins from the Bombay Presidency.

3. *J. N. S. I.* Vol V p. 169.

4. *Op. Cit.* p. 83.

5. *Ibid* p. 85-87.

6. *Op. cit.* p. 84.

We wonder how one could suggest in the light of such a small and negligible difference that they represent various denominations. We do not know any instance in the history of the currency of the world, where coins were issued, even if they were tokens, of various denominations, with so little a difference of weight. Moreover the weight of the coins of various denominations varies in some proportion in accordance with the value of the coins. Here the difference in the weight of the coins may easily be attributed to the wearage in the use. In a number of hoards the coins having the same symbol group have been found varying in weight according to the condition of the coins. For example, the coins of class II, group IX var. b of Patraha hoard vary in weight between 46.6 to 53 grains¹ having the difference of 5.4 grains, which is much more than the difference shown above. Can this difference be attributed to a difference in denomination? Certainly not. The coins which were more in currency look much worn and are lesser in weight than those which look less worn or look like fresh. The coins of the present hoard are of one denomination, which is of 32 *ratna* standard.

Mr. Chakravarti, presenting the above utterly untenable theory, refutes the idea that fabric and size had any relation with the periods of their currency². We do not know if any scholars have so far accepted the fabric and size as the scientific basis of the classification of the coins; nevertheless they did suggest them as broad basis of distinction between the two periods. Cunningham says, 'The earlier coins are generally thin and broad and of irregular shape. Some are oblong and some are nearly round³'. Mr. Durga Prasad says, 'The coins of earlier period are broader and thinner, of irregular shape with round corners, of a different standard of weight and impressed with a group of 4 crudely designed symbols⁴'. But we are not here concerned with these suggestions as they refer to the coins of four symbols. The coins of five symbols, according to Durga Prasad, are of comparatively later period (middle and later or Mauryan). Regarding them he says, 'They are more geometrical in shape, being circular, elliptical, oblong and square, with clear corners, clipped or unclipped, thicker and smaller'⁵. Mr. Walsh says that the punch-marked coins of the small square thick type are of a later period than the larger thin type.

1. *M.A. S.I.* No. 62 : *A hoard of silver punch-marked coins from Purnea*. p. 41-42.

2. *Op. cit.* p. 84.

3. *C. C. A. I.* p. 43.

4. *J. A. S. B. Num. Supl.* No. XLVII: Observations on different types of silver Punch-marked coins, their period and locale; p. 51.

5. *Ibid.* p. 51.

6. *M. A. S. I.* No. 59 : *Punch-marked coins from Taxila*, p. 81.

In 1924 a hoard of 1171 silver Punch-marked coins was found in the Bhir mound at Taxila. Of them 33 are long bar coins, 79 are minute coins and the rest are thin and large and bear on the obverse five symbols, of which two are always the sun and the six-armed symbol and are square, rectangular, polygonal, round and oval in shape¹. They correspond with the coins of the groups A and B of the present find. Along with that hoard were found two gold coins of Alexander the Great and one of Philip Aredaeus. These coins fix the date of the deposit at about 317 B.C. and it implies that the coins of the varieties, fabric, size and shape of the coins of that hoard were current at that period. It can safely be said with the aid of that hoard, that the coins of the group A and B of the present hoard were in currency as early as 317 B.C.

Another hoard of 157 silver punch-marked coins was found from the same site in 1912, which were small, square and thick². They correspond to the coins of group C of the present hoard. Along with the coins of that hoard was found a gold coin of Diodotus, which fixes the date of the deposit as early as 248 B.C. and the coins of the hoard may be taken to be in currency in that period.

But Mr. Chakravarti objects to these conclusions and says that 'the absence of the small thick coins in Bhir mound larger find would not imply that they were not in circulation at the time of the deposit of the find³. Further he says that it would not be correct to account for the absence of the thin large coins in Bhir mound smaller find by saying that they were out of circulation and were no longer issued then'⁴. Apparently the contention looks sound but in view of the evidence available, it is not tenable.

There is clear evidence to show that the small thick coins were not in circulation, when the larger Bhir mound hoard was deposited near about 317 B. C. It is admitted that the hoard was deposited at such a date which may be called as pre-Mauryan and that the smaller hoard at such a period which was Mauryan. There is also the undenyng fact that most of the coins of the smaller hoard have 'crescent on the hill' mark as one of their obverse symbols; and that this symbol was the imperial mark of the Mauryan kings has been established beyond doubt on substantial grounds by late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal⁵. The coins having 'crescent on the hill' symbol on the obverse are, as such, undoubtedly the coins of the Mauryan

1. *Ibid* p. 1.

2. *Ibid* p. 81.

3. *Op. cit.* p. 84.

4. *Ibid.* p. 84.

5. *J. R. A. S.* (July 1986), p. 489

period. Then how could they be found in a hoard deposited earlier ?

It is true that the absence of thin large coins in the smaller find of the Bhir Mound cannot be ascribed to their being out of circulation at the time of deposit of the hoard, as the present hoard and a number of other hoards contain both the varieties of the coins and show that they were simultaneously in circulation. And this fact has never been denied by Mr. Walsh or any other scholar. But at the same time the absence of the earlier coins in the hoard of later coins, when both were simultaneously in currency, is not improbable, though it looks somewhat very strange. In the excavations at Rairh in Jaipur State in 1938-39, three hoards of punch-marked coins—1933, 535 and 132 in number—were found within the area of 30 feet and at 17.34, 17.14 and 16.35 feet, respectively, above the datum line. All the three hoards were deposited in the Mauryan period and probably at very short intervals ; but while the first two hoards consist of both the varieties of the coins, the third hoard has only the coins with 'crescent on the hill' symbol, thick and small,¹ which are undoubtedly later.

With all these facts, there is hardly any doubt that the fabric, size and shape have something to do with the period of currency of the coins, though upto now no systematic approach has been made in this direction.

Mr. Chakravarti makes another suggestion. It concerns with the obverse symbols on the punch-marked coins. Of the four constant symbols, he thinks, the common symbols on all the coins probably have religious significance; of the other two symbols, one may be of locality, where it was struck and the other of the mint-master. Fifth may be of the authorities issuing the coinage.² In this respect, Mr. Walsh's suggestion is that, 'One mark may represent the state, one the king or local government, one the place where the coin was struck and perhaps one religious mark, recognizing the presiding deity; also the master of mint may have had his mark, which would fix his responsibility for the coin, and the additional varying marks may have been those of the *saṅghas*, village communities or *janapadas* or *nigamas* in which the coin was current.'³ Mr. Durga Prasad, keeping silence about the two common or constant symbols, expresses his views that the variation of the third symbol is for the king, the remaining two for the change of years and places most probably.⁴ Likewise other scholars may have their own views about the symbols on the obverse of

1. K. N. Puri : *Excavations at Rairh* P. 12 ; pl. XXVII—XXIX

2. *Op. Cit.* p 84.

3. *Op. cit.* p. 5.

4. *Op. cit.* p. 80.

the coins, but it is clear that all these suggestions are mere conjectures and have nothing substantial in their support. So far no genuine effort has been made to interpret the significance of the symbols on the coins. No useful purpose could be served by simply repeating the oft quoted passage from the *visuddhimagga*, unless a proper, systematic and scientific classification of the symbols and symbol groups is presented after the critical study of the maximum number of hoards available.

STUDY OF THE COINS

Now let us come to the study of the coins of the present hoard. Out of 690 coins only 218 coins are classified by Mr. Chakravarti in his paper. He has given no reason for excluding more than two-third (472 coins) from the classification. In the absence of their classification, we are unable to know if they had any interesting coins¹. To me it appears that all those coins were probably so worn that either they might have become plain or that they had very indistinct traces of the marks or that only one or two marks could be identified on them². This might have led Mr. Chakravarti to exclude them from classification. Nevertheless, if it was so, he should have mentioned these facts. If our conjecture is correct, we would like to point out that while 84 out of 106 coins of group A and 100 coins out of 232 of group B are classified, only 30 coins out of 352 coins of group C have found place in the classification. It shows that most of the coins of thick and small type were badly worn. This case is not peculiar to the present hoard; it holds good of some other hoard as well. In a hoard of 332 coins from Lalganj Tahsil (Azamgarh, U. P.), which is in my collection, 71 coins are so worn that either they have become plain or only indistinct traces of marks are visible on them; on 30 coins one mark and that mostly of sun could be identified; on 48 coins two marks could be identified. And mostly all these coins are of small and thick variety, while none of the coins of thin and larger variety in the hoard has less than three identifiable marks. In another hoard from U. P. (Treasure trove no 28 of 1916) now deposited in Lucknow Museum, out of 41 later coins only 13 are sufficiently clear for all the five marks to be deciphered³. These facts shed an interesting light on the metallurgy of the coins and lead us to conclude that the metal of the earlier—thin and larger—coins was hard and could sustain the long currency, while the metal of the later thick and small coins was soft and could

1. Recently Prof. D.D. Kosambi has published 4 interesting coins from these unclassified coins, *Antc* Vol VII, p. 64-65.

2. Since then, Prof. D. D. Kosambi has examined and reclassified the hoard; he found only 78 coins as too battered for proper classification. *Ibid* 63.

3. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol III, p. 2

not bear a long circulation. Chemical analysis of the metal of the coins should be made to verify this conclusion.

IDENTIFICATION OF SYMBOLS.

As regards the identification of the obverse symbols we wish to point out that in most of the cases only a portion of any mark appears on the punch-marked coins and in such cases, when the complete mark does not appear on any of the coins, it has to be determined from the different portions of the mark found on separate coins. But even then occasions arise, where the complete mark could not be determined with certainty on the coins of the same hoard. In such cases comparative study of other hoards often proves useful. But it seems to me that in the study of the present hoard, Mr. Chakravarti relied entirely on the coins of this hoard alone and sometimes on single coins only. His paper shows that he could not identify several marks completely or accurately. Sometimes he has misidentified the symbols. Symbols 10, 11, 12, 17, 19, 20, 22, 25, 30, 37, 40, 42, and 46 are inaccurately or incompletely identified by Mr. Chakravarti on the present coins.¹ The accurate symbols on these coins are illustrated on **Pl. IX** and the references to the similar symbols in various other hoards are given in Appendix B accompanying this paper. In the case of symbol No. 37, Mr. Chakravarti has confused two symbols as one. One is symbol 42 as corrected on our plate and the other consists of the symbols, which have been replaced for the present symbol on the plate.

Often it is not easy to distinguish between the two varieties of a symbol or between two different symbols, unless one is very conversant with the distinctions of the symbols. The confusion mostly happens in the case of the six-armed symbols. In such cases, the fact is often ignored by the scholars, that every symbol has its own group of symbols, i. e. particular symbols are to be found only with a particular type of six-armed symbol, or a particular six-armed symbol is found only with a group of particular symbols. In his study Mr. Chakravarti could not distinguish five undescribed varieties of the six-armed symbol from those he has described and the other variety of the symbols 7 and 46. So the coins having these symbols have been attributed by him to one or the other varieties of these symbols. Such seven undescribed symbols are illustrated on **Pl. IX** as 1i, 1j, 1k, 1l, 1m, 7a and 46a and the references to these symbols in other hoards are given in the Appendix B.

1. Prof. D.D. Kosambi has noticed inaccuracies in symbols 10, 12, 30 and 37. *Ando* Vol. VIII, p. 64.

In his table 3 Mr. Chakravarti has described a symbol 13a on a coin of class VIII in group C, but it is not illustrated on plate I of his paper. We believe the symbol is the same as we have illustrated on Pl. IX as 13a and described in the Appendix B.

Of the illustrated symbols on plate I of Mr. Chakravarti's paper, symbol 50 is a doubtful symbol. It is probably an incomplete or a misidentified symbol. (See Appendix A, table 3, Var. 44).

Symbols 1c, 5 and 41 should be omitted for the following reasons :—

1c is the same symbol as symbol 1a. It is rather strange how one could imagine of an eight-armed symbol, when the symbol of six arms only is known on the punch-marked coins. The coins to which it is attributed are of the same variety, to which symbol 1a is ascribed.

Symbol 5 is illustrated on plate I of Mr. Chakravarti's paper, but it is not attributed by him to any variety of the coins in the present hoard. It is the same symbol as symbol 42 as corrected on Pl. IX.

Symbol 41 is the lower part of the well-known symbol having bull at the top, which it seems is not punched on the coin. Other symbols on the coin help in correctly identifying the mark.

Of the remaining symbols 21, 32 and 35 are new symbols, if they are properly identified. Without the examination of the coins nothing more definite could be said about these symbols. As regards symbol 35, I have some doubt. It may be part of the well-known symbol, which is the same as Pl. IX, 51.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE COINS.

Apart from the inaccurate or wrong identification of symbols, Mr. Chakravarti's classification of coins, as far as the division of classes and sub-classes is concerned, is quite satisfactory and needs no comment. But as his classification is primarily based on groups, grouped on the basis of fabric and size, a number of coins, having the same symbol-group on the obverse, are grouped in more than one group, which is confusing. The coins having the same symbol groups on the obverse are of one and the same variety in spite of the difference in fabric and size.

Here I have tabulated the varieties in Appendix A under four tables. In Table 1, those varieties of coins are classified which are properly identified with their obverse marks and are

well-known from other hoards. In Table 2 are grouped those varieties which are well-known from other hoards, but Mr. Chakravarti has erred in identifying some of the symbols. These varieties have some other symbols than those as identified on them. In Table 3 are given those varieties, which may be known varieties, but the identification of their symbols is so inaccurate that they could not be properly classified unless they are re-examined. Table 4 contains those varieties, which are new, i. e. are not known from any other hoards, so far published. But their classification as new only holds good, if the symbols are correctly identified.

REVERSE SYMBOLS

Mr. Chakravarti has not attached any importance to the symbols on the reverse. He has made no reference to them in the paper, but has contented himself with a general remark of one sentence only. But for this, he is not to be blamed alone. The reverse symbols did not have the due share of attention from any of the scholars interested in this topic of the Indian numismatics. No attempt has yet been made for their proper classification, except recognizing the fact that they have some relation, whatever that may be, with the symbols on the obverse.

CONCLUSION

The present study is presented without a study of the original coins or their photographs. It is based merely on a critical examination of the facts presented by Mr. Chakravarti in the light of the knowledge attained from other sources. But I hope that my observations and conclusions are to a great extent accurate. In the interest of the furtherance of the study of the subject, the coins should be re-examined in the light suggested herein, and every coin of the hoard be classified and the weight, obverse and reverse symbols should be properly and accurately recorded; they should be published in a monograph with the illustrations of the coins. May I hope that the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, with which the hoard is deposited, will take early steps to publish such an exhaustive study?

APPENDIX A

CLASSIFICATION OF THE PUNCH-MARKED COINS FROM BAHAL.

TABLE I.

Properly Classified Varieties.

NOTE:—The symbol number printed in bold indicate that it was inaccurately or partly identified by Mr. Chakravarti on the coins. The correct symbol is as illustrated on **Pl. IX** accompanying this paper and not as illustrated by him on the plate accompanying his paper.

Serial No.	Class			Symbols	References from other hoards			
	Group A	Group B	Group C		B.M.C.	D.P.	Walsh	Bhattacharya
1	I, 1	I, 1	IX ¹	1f, 2, 6, 3, 7a,	VI, IVa	29A13	A2	iii, ivj
2	I, 2	I, 2	...	1f, 2, 6, 3, 8	VI, IIIc	29A2	A1	iii, ivb
3	I, 3	I, 3	...	1f, 2, 6, 3, 12	...	29A6	A3	iii, iva
4	I, 4	I, 5	...	1f, 2, 6, 3, 14	..	29A10	A13	...
5	I, 5	...	...	1f, 2, 6, 3, 15	VI, IIIe	29A3	A8	iii, ivk
6	I, 6	I, 6	...	1f, 2, 6, 3, 18	VI, III d	29A12	A7	iii, ivd
7	I, 7	I, 7	...	1f, 2, 6, 3, 20	...	...	A6	iii, ivl
8	I, 8	...	...	1f, 2, 6, 3, 26	VI, III f	29A4	A5	iii, ivf
9	I, 9	I, 8	...	1f, 2, 6, 3, 19	...	29A5	A4	iii, ivh
10	I, 11	...	...	1f, 2, 6, 3, 34	...	...	...	iii, ivg
11	...	I, 4	...	1f, 2, 6, 3, 22	...	29A7	A9	iii, ivb
12	IV	...	...	1f, 2, 6, 36, 7a ²	VI, IVb	29B3	A19	iii, va
13	...	VII, 2	...	1f, 2, 6, 25 , 7a ²	VI, IV f	29B2	A28	iii, via
14	VII	...	...	1d, 2, 6, 17 , 8 ³	...	...	...	...
15	II, 1	II, 2	...	1f, 2, 4, 16, 8	VI, IIe	25A1	C1	iii, iib
16	II, 3	...	...	1f, 2, 4, 16, 20	...	...	C4	...
17	II, 5	...	...	1f, 2, 4, 16, 33a	...	...	C5	...
18	...	II, 3	...	1f, 2, 4, 16, 18	...	...	C3	...
19	III, 1	IV	...	1d, 2, 11, 16, 8	VI, I h	2A1	J1	...
20	III, 2	...	...	1d, 2, 11, 16, 33	VI, I j	...	J2	iii, iig
21	V	...	...	1b, 2, 37 , 38, 18	VI, I d	6B2	M2	iii, ic
22	V, I2	...	...	1e, 2, 27, 7, 24	II, III f	...	...	...
23	...	V, I2	...	1e, 2, 27, 7, 47	II, IVb	...	...	ii, ivj
24	...	...	III	1g, 2, 44, 19, 43	II, Vc	24A1	...	ii, xh
25	...	...	I	1a, 2, 28, 7, 29	II, IXa	31A1	...	ii, vj
26	...	...	X	1h, 2, 48, 7, 49	II, IVq	30A1	...	ii, v, i

1. Coin of Var. 1 grouped as IX in class C is assigned with symbol 1a by Mr. Chakravarti, but no coin with this symbol is known any where. It seems to be a wrong identification for 1f. But it is more likely that it may not belong to this class at all, as its fabric suggests.

2. These coins are assigned with mark 7 but actually they have mark 7a, a variety of the same mark.

3. See Puri's *Excavations at Rairh*, pl. XXIV coin 41; pl. XXXIV, Var 8.

TABLE 2.

Known varieties, but attributed with wrong symbols.

Following varieties have been attributed by Mr. Chakravarti as having symbols, other than those known on them from the coins of other hoards. Such wrongly attributed marks are printed in bold in the column of the symbols. Some of the symbols on these coins are inaccurately or partly identified. They are indicated here with italics. Correct symbols are illustrated on Pl. IX.

St. No.	Class			Symbols		References				Remarks
	Group A	Group B	Group C	As assigned	Correct	BMO.	D. P.	WALSH	Bhattacharya	
27	VIII	1f,2,41,16,3	1f,2,4,16,8	VI.IIe	25A1	C1	III.IIb	Same as 15
28	VI	...	...	1d,2,89,40,8	1h,2,89,40,8	...	...	Q4b Coins 778, 906 A	
29	IA	III	...	1e,2,9,42,8	1i,2,9,42,8	II,VIIi	39B1	B(e)1	II,XIh	Same as 30
30	..	III2	VII2	1e,2,9,42,23	1i,2,9,41,23	II,VIIj	39B2	...	II,XIb	
31	...	...	VII1	1e,2,9,42,7	1i,2,9,42,7	II,VIIb	39B6	...	II,XIc
22	...	IX2	...	1e,2,9,42,13	1i,2,9,42,13	II,VIb	39B8	B(e)2	II,XII	
38	...	...	IV2	1e,2,9,37,23	1i,2,9,42,7	II,VIIj	38K2	...	II,XIb
34	IV1	1e,2,27,37,23	1e,2,27,42,23	...	40H1	...	II,XIa	Same as 25
35	...	...	II2	1g,2,27,19,48	1e,2,27,19,43	II,Vb	40C1	...	II,Xb
36	...	VIII	...	1c,2,28,7,9	1a,2,28,7,29	II,IXi	31A1	...	II,Vj	Same as 25
37	...	...	VI1	1e,2,46,7,47	1j,2,46,7,475	II,IVc	32A8	...	
38	V	1,2,45,46,16	1k,45,46,15	II,IXb	II,VId	Same as 25
39	...	XI	III	1,2,30,31,13	1l,2,30,31,1	II,Xb	22A2	...	II,XIf	
40	VIII	1a,2,10,13a.	1m,2,10,18a	...	36A2	...	II,VIIb	
				46	46					

TABLE 3

Varieties with doubtful assignment of symbols.

Serial No.	Class	Symbols	Remarks.
41	A.I. 10	1f, 2,6,3,35	The coin belongs to the class represented by series 1-11 in this hoard. The fifth mark as deciphered by Mr. Chakravarti is not seen on any of the coins of this series or any other series in any known hoard. This mark surrounded by a hollow cross (fig. 51) forms a fifth mark on a number of coins of this series. It is very likely that the coin is of the same variety as is D.P. 29 A 11/1; Bhattacharya iii. iiii; Puri Pl. XXII coin 38, and here the mark is partly identified. But if the mark is correctly identified, then the coin represents a new variety.
42	B.VI. 1	1e, 2,27,7,8	The coin belongs to the well known series represented in the present hoard with var. 22 and 23, but the fifth mark i.e. symbol 8 (elephant) is not known in the series, except in the sub-class having symbol 42 as the fourth mark (D. P.: 40H3). On the coins having symbol 7 as the fourth mark, the elephant is seen as the part of a complex symbol, illustrated here on plate IX (fig. 52). It is very likely that the coin is of the same variety as is Bhattacharya i. iv.h and the mark is identified in its incomplete form. But if the mark is correctly identified as symbol 8, then the coin represents a new variety.
43	B.IX.1	1e,2,13,42,7	Of the five marks, the symbol 42 is identified on the coin incomplete. It should be as shown on the accompanying plate. Of the remaining marks symbol 13 and 7 are the fifth marks and they never occur on one and the same coin. So the identification of atleast one mark is incorrect. On the present coin I think some other mark has been mistaken as

Serial No.	Class	Symbols	Remarks
44	C. V	1d, 2,6,8,26	<p>symbol 7. The coin may be of the variety 31 of the present hoard or 40E7 of D. P. If the coin belongs to the former class then the mark identified as symbol 7 is symbol 9 and symbol 1e is 1i. But if it is of the later variety then the mark identified as symbol 7 is symbol 27 and mark 1e is correct.</p> <p>Symbols 8 and 26 are the fifth marks. They cannot occur on one and the same coin. So one of them is erred for some fourth mark. Here we think mark 8 has been mistaken for mark 3. Hinder portion of both the marks are alike. The coin is most likely of variety 8 of the present hoard.</p>
45	C. VIII	1f, 2,6,7,12	<p>Symbol 7 and 12 are the fifth marks. They cannot occur on one and the same coin. So one of them is mistaken for some fourth mark, but which one is wrongly identified cannot be suggested off hand in the present case.</p>
46	C. XI	1e, 2,50,x,15	<p>Only four marks of the coins are identified. Mark 50 as identified by Mr. Chakravarti is not seen on any coin in any hoard. Probably it is an incomplete or misidentified symbol. If the identification of 1e is correct, then symbol 50 is misidentified for symbol 27 and the coin belongs to 40A1 or 40G7 of D. P. the two varieties of the two sub-classes having different fourth symbols. It is also probable that the symbol 50 might have been misidentified for symbol 9. In that case symbol 1e will be 1i.</p>

TABLE 4.

New Varieties of the coins, not known from any other source.

Serial No	Class	Symbols	Remarks.
47	A.I.12	1d,2,6,3,33a	The coin belongs to a well known series, which is represented in the hoards with series 1-11, but it has a different first and new fifth mark. Coins having 1f and 33 as first and fifth mark are known from Walsh (A12a), but with 1d and 33a is not known so far. Coins with 1d is known in this series (Walsh A31; Puri: Pl. XXXIX, coin 8) but they have symbol 17 and elephant (symbol 8) as fourth and fifth marks. Probably this coin is another variety of the same with another variety of the fig. 17 as fig. 53. But if 33a is correctly identified, even then it is a new variety.
48	A.II.2	1f,2,4,16,14	The coin belongs to the class represented by series 15-18 in this hoard. Mark 14 is so far seen only on var. 4 of this hoard which is same as 29A10 of D.P. and A10 of Walsh. It is seen for the first time on the coins of this class. So the coin represents an entirely new variety.
49	A.II.4 B.II.4	1f,2,4,16,21	The coin belongs to above class with a new fifth mark 21, which is not known on any coin of this or any other class of any hoard. If the mark is correctly identified, then the variety is new.
50	B.II.1	1f,2,4,16,7	The coin belongs to above class and the fifth mark 7 is a well known symbol, which is seen for the first time in this series. It is attributed to one coin. If the identification is correct, it adds a new variety to the series.
51	B.X	1f,2,32,3,8	Mark 32 on the coin is entirely new and represents the class mark, as the other two marks, besides the two constant marks, are the well known fourth and fifth marks. If the identification is correct or the symbol is complete, then it suggests altogether a new class of coins which are hitherto unknown.

APPENDIX B.

OBSERVE MARKS ON THE PUNCH-MARKED COINS FROM BAHAL.

Italicised figures in column 1 show the symbols, which were inaccurately or partly identified on the coins, by Mr. Chakravarti. The Bold figures indicate the symbols that were not identified and described by him. The symbol marked with asterisk has doubtful identification. In the last are those marks, which are referred as probable symbols on the coins, noted against them.

Symbols	Seen on varieties	References			Remarks
		D.P.	Walsh	Bhatt	
1a	25	21		2d	Was also attributed to Var. 1 (group C class IX) and 40. For Var. 1 see App. A, Tab. B. It has 1f. Var. 40 has undescribed symbol 1m.
1b	21	4		2a1	Omitted Same as 1a. Was also attributed to Var. 28, which has sym. 1h.
1c	...	...	...	...
1d	14,19,20,41,46	2	1f	2b	
1e	22,23,25,37,44,51	28		2	Was also attributed to var. 29-34 and 43, which have undescribed sym. 1i. Var. 35 was attributed with var. 1g.
1f	1-13,15-18,27,42,45	20	1a	2a	Was also attributed to var. 35, which has sym. 1e.
1g	24	19		2c	
1h	26,28	11	1c	2i	Var. 28 was attributed with symbol 1d.
1i	29-34		1u	2o	This mark is often mistaken as 1e. For detailed discussion see <i>J.N.S.I.</i> Vol. IV p. 109, § 35.

Symbols	Seen on varieties	References			Remarks
		D. P.	Walsh	Bhatta	
1j	37	22		2f1	Var. 37 was wrongly attributed with sym. 1e
1k	38			2k	Proper variety was not identified
1l	39	17		2q	do
1m	40	26		2m	Var. 40 was wrongly attributed with sym. 1a.
2	1-51	1	2	1	
3	1-11,13,45-47	32	3	36	
4	15-18,48-50	32e	3b	12	
5	...				Omitted ; seen on no coin.
6	1-14,41,42,45,46	33	4	11	
7	22,23,25,26,32,36,51	111a		86	
7a	1,12,13	111	6	87	Was mistaken on the var. as sym. 7
8	2,14,15,19,27,28,41,47,51	29	7	42	
9	29-33	44	9a	89	
10	40	40		7	
11	19,20	39	11a	9	
12	3,45	68	13	23	
13	31,39,43	75a	15a	27	
13a	40	72a		14	Identified other than symbol 13 on class VIII group C but was not illustrated in Mr. Chakravarti's plate.
14	4,48	109	19e		
15	5,38,44	101	20a	67	
16	15-20,27,48,50	99	21	66	
17	14	...	24a	62	This symbol is described by Walsh and Bhattacharya as 22a and 106 respectively, but both have given incomplete mark. It is seen in its complete form on coin 41, XXIV of Puri's <i>Excavations at Rairh</i> .

Symbol	Seen on varieties	References			Remarks
		D. P.	Walsh.	Bhatta	
18	6,18,21	92	.		New ; not seen elsewhere.
19	9,24,25	59	8a	124	
20	7,16		41	74	
21	49				
22	12		18a	18	
23	30,33,34	86		88	
24	22				
25	13		4g	80	
26	8,44	124	42a	110	
27	22,23,34,25,42	43		3	
28	25,36	115		90	New.
29	25,36	113a		109	
30	39			64	
31	39	57		130	
32	47				
33	20		43a	21	
33a	17,47			20	
34	10			78	
35	41				
36	12	54	35	134	Was also attributed to var. 33, 34, but they have sym. 42 as corrected.
37	21	46	34	35	
38	21	60	38	123	Omitted ; part of sym. 4.
39	28	58	48	126	
40	28		45	65	
41	...				
42	29-32, 43	48	44	57	
43	24,35			32	
44	24	108		70	
45	38	96		63	
46	38	32c		39	
46a	40	32d			
47	23,37	49		34	doubtful ; incomplete. Probably on Var. 41. Probably on Var. 42. Probably on Var. 47.
48	26,37	66b		29	
49	26	104		68	
*50	44				
51					
52					
53					

"HREZI" ON A COIN OF HORMAZD I OR II

BY DR. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A., PH.D.,

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In a very interesting paper entitled "Observations on Five Sāsānian Coins", *above*, Vol I, pp. 58-71, Mr. Furdoonjee D. J. Paruck refers to a drachm which he originally attributed (cf. *Revue Archéologique*, 1930, p. 234 ff.) to the Sāsānian emperor Hormazd II (303-10 A.D.), but was later inclined, after further study, to assign to Hormazd I (272-73 A. D.). In the legend of the coin in question Mr. Paruck reads the names of three territories forming parts of the Sāsānian empire as Inde, Iradaté and Harezi, which he identifies respectively with Sindh, Multān and Rājputānā. Whatever, however, be the value of the reading and interpretation of the words *Inde* and *Iradaté*, there is absolutely no doubt that the suggestion regarding the third word is wrong. Mr. Paruck says, "The reading of the word in the second line on the upper part of the reverse remained for a long time completely illusive, but now I am able to propose the reading HREZI. According to all the early Arab geographers, the old name of Rājputānā was Haraz. It is probable that the original form of this name was Haréz, as on this drachm" (*loc. cit.*, pp. 61-62). He refers to Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, Calcutta, 1924, p. 358, and quotes the following passage in support of the identification of Harez and Rājputānā : "The name of the country is somewhat doubtful as the unpointed Arabic characters may be read as Haraz (حراز) or Hazar (حزر) and Kharaz (خراز) or Khazar (خزر) as well as Jurz (جوز) or Juzr (جزر). But fortunately there is no uncertainty about its position which is determined to be Rājputānā by several concurring circumstances....." It is a matter of regret, however, that Cunningham's views have not been quoted faithfully and completely. For immediately before the above passage he says, "All the early Arab geographers speak of a Kingdom named Jurz or Juzr which from its position would appear to be the same as the Kiuche-lo of Hwen Thsang." Cunningham further says "Edrisi, quoting Ibn Khordābeh, states that Juzr or Huzr was the hereditary title of the King as well as the name of the country. This statement confirms my identification of Juzr with Gujr or Gujar, which is a very numerous tribe, whose name is attached to many important places in the north-west India and the Punjab and more especially to the great peninsula of Gujarāt." It will be seen that, according to Cunningham, the ancient

name of Rājputānā was Gujar or Gurjara and not Harez as suggested by Mr. Paruck. It is a matter of satisfaction that the suggestion of the great Indologist, made on insufficient data as early as 1871 A. D., has later been proved definitely by unimpeachable epigraphic evidence. The editor of the Calcutta edition of Cunningham's work, consulted by Mr. Paruck, remarks (pp. 696-97), "The inscriptions of the 9th century also applied the name Gurjara *rāshṭra* to the country north of Ajmer and Sambhar Lake (*Imp. Gaz. Ind.*, XII, p. 350). Its capital Pi-lo-mo-lo is modern Bhinmāl, 5°N. and 76° 16'E, a town in the Jaswantpur district of Jodhpur (*Imp. Gaz. Ind.*, VIII, p. 111). Bhinmāl or Bhillamāla, the plateau of the Bhils, was the capital of the Gurjara-Pratihāras who transferred their headquarters to Kanauj." The statement, although it confuses the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire with the Gurjara country and is not strictly accurate, is sufficient to disprove Mr. Paruck's contention.

That Hiuen-tsang's Kiu-che-lo and its capital Pi-lo-mo-lo stand respectively for Gurjara and Bhillamāla is supported by the Daulatpura inscription of 843 A. D. (*Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 211 ff.), according to which the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperor Vatsarāja (circa 780-805 A. D.) granted the village of Śivā in the Deṇḍavānaka *vishaya* (modern Didwana in the Jodhpur State, Rājputānā) of the Gurjaratrā *bhūmi*. In the days of the early Arab geographers, therefore, the name of the Jodhpur region of Rājputānā was Gurjaratrā or Gujarāt which was derived from the name of the Gurjara people. That, however, this country included the present Alwar and Bharatpur States in eastern Rājputānā is suggested by the celebrated Arab writer Albīrūnī who composed his work on India about 1030 A. D. Albīrūnī refers to 'Bazāna, the capital of Guzarāt' and places it 25 *farsakh* (about 92 miles) to the north of the kingdom of Mewar (capital Jattaraur, i.e. Chitrakūṭa or Chitor) and 15 *farsakh* (about 55 miles) from Rājaurī lying on the route towards the south-west from Kanoj. Rājaurī (i.e., Rājyapurī) is no doubt identical with Rājyapura (modern Rājorgaḍh in the Alwar State, Rājputānā), which was the capital of Mahārājādhirāja Mathanadeva of the Gurjara-Pratihāra lineage according to an inscription of 960 A. D. Albīrūnī further says, "The distance between Mathurā and Kanoj is the same as that between Kanoj and Bazāna, viz. 28 *farsakh* (about 103 miles)." The above indications show almost beyond doubt that Bazāna is no other than the modern Bayānā in the Bharatpur State of Rājputānā. It may be pointed out that Bazāna seems to have ceased to be the capital of Gujarāt in the days of Albīrūnī, as he says, "This town is called Nārāyan by our people. After it had fallen into decay,

the inhabitants migrated to another place called Jadura." The name Nārāyaṇa was apparently derived from a celebrated temple of that god at Bayānā. As regards Jadura, Sachau says, "This reading is uncertain. Perhaps all the signs of the Arabic text (حدود) are the name of a place." It, however, seems that the reading intended is Rājauri, i. e. Rājyapurī or Rajyapura which is the same as the modern Rājor. It may further be pointed out that Albīrūnī's *Canon Masudicus* gives the latitudes and longitudes of both Bazāna (or Nārāyan) and Bhillamāla, longitudes being reckoned from the coast of the Atlantic and Bagdad being located at 70°. As however the longitude recorded for Bazāna is palpably wrong, it hardly helps us in locating the city.

The above discussion will show that Harez was never the name of Rājputānā. According to the combined testimony of inscriptions and of Hiuen-tsang (7th century) and Albīrūnī (11th century), the capital of Gurjaratrā or the Gurjara country in Rājputānā was at first at Bhinmāl in the Jodhpur State, next it was at Bayānā in the Bharatpur State, and afterwards at Rājorgaḍh in the Alwar State. The Arab Geographers, therefore, speak of Gurjara and not of Harez.

WEIGHTS, MEASURES AND COINAGE OF MEDIAEVAL GUJARAT

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We have very scanty information about weights, measures and coinage current in mediæval Gujarat—that is, Gujarat under the Chaulukya or Solanki dynasty which ruled in Anahilawād Pāṭan from the end of the tenth century of the Vikrama era upto V. S. 1360, when the armies of Sultan Allauddin Khilji invaded and conquered Gujarat.

Politically, culturally and economically the Chaulukya period was the most prosperous period in the history of Gujarat. Literary and inscriptional evidence bears ample testimony to it. Splendour of Gujarat under Sidhharaja and Kumārapāla has become legendary. But it is very strange that not a single coin struck by the Chaulukya kings has been found as yet !

History of Gujarat before the Chaulukyas has come to light mainly through epigraphic and numismatic evidence. Coins of the Indo-Greek rulers, the Kshatrapas, the Traikūṭakas, the Bodhis, the Guptas, the Valabhis, the Rashtrakūṭas and the Hūṇas are found in Gujarat in large numbers, but it is simply astonishing that we have not, as yet, come across a single coin of the Chaulukya kings, who ruled in comparatively later times, and whose reign witnessed a great commercial development. From this, some scholars are led to believe that the Chaulukya kings might not have struck their own coins and only certain types of metal-pieces were current as coins; while others believe that a great amount of foreign currency was present in Gujarat, and hence the rulers might not have found it necessary to strike coins in their own mints¹; they had issued only certain copper-coins known as *Tankās*.

But either of these two surmises cannot be correct in their entirety, because we get the names of so many coins from the contemporary Jain *prabandhas* (which are historical works composed from religious point of view), *mahākāvyas*,

[It is possible that a fair percentage of the *Gadhiya* silver pieces, so commonly found in Gujarat and Mālwa, may have been issued by the Chaulukya rulers. A. S. A.]

kathānakas and inscriptions. Even the *Dvyāśraya-mahākāvya* of great Hemachandra alone furnishes valuable information in this matter. At several places in the *prahandhas* the *Tuṅkasālās* (mints) are referred to, and some standard coins are mentioned as the *Bhīmapriya*, *Viśalapriya*, etc., which shows that the Chaulukya kings of Gujarat had got their own mints, and that coins of some of those kings, e.g., *Bhīmadeva*, *Viśaladeva*, etc., were known through their own names.

Information regarding weights and measures which is available from contemporary evidence is even more scanty, and we can hardly get a complete picture of the system prevalent in mediæval Gujarat.

Hence the old Gujarati commentary on the *Gaṇitasāra* of Śrīdharāchārya, which gives almost complete table of weights, measures and coinage, will be useful to the students of this subject. The only copy available of this rare work is preserved in the Oriental Institute of Baroda, and I am highly indebted to Dr. B. Bhattacharya, Director of the Institute, for putting the manuscript at my disposal for my study. The manuscript contains 7 pages written in fine Devanāgarī script. It was copied down in Anahilwād Pāṭaṇ, the mediæval capital of Gujarat, in V. S. 1149 by one Rājākīrtimiśra, for instruction of the children of a wealthy Modha Bania family, which shows that the weights, measures and coins mentioned therein were of current use.

In the beginning of the manuscript there is some miscellaneous writing about arithmetic, which I have omitted here. Then begins the *Gaṇitasāra*. The anonymous old Gujarati commentator of the work has added a great deal of new information in his commentary, which is not to be found in the original. And hence the importance of the work. Names of many weights, measures and coins referred to in the commentary, which is written at Pāṭaṇ in North Gujarat, are found in the inscriptions at Māṅgrol in southern Kathiawad and at Nāḍol in Marwar, which shows that they were current all over Gujarat and also in Marwad, which was a part of mediæval Gujarat politically, culturally and linguistically. This commentary is the only source available, wherein we get systematic tables of weights, measures and coins of this period, and as such, I take the opportunity to publish it here with relevant notes. But I must say that the subject is so important and interesting that it deserves to be treated in a separate monograph.

The text of *Gaṇitasāra* with the old Gujarati commentary, as given in the manuscript, is as follows—

I. नत्वा शिवं स्वविरचितं गणितस्य सारमुद्धृत्य ।

लोकव्यवहाराय प्रवक्ष्यति श्रीधराचार्यः ॥

प्रवक्ष्यति प्रकर्षेण कथयिष्यति । कोऽसौ श्रीधराचार्यः । किं प्रवक्ष्यति । सारं गणितस्य । कस्मादुद्धृत्य । पौलस्त्यलोमकवशिष्ठसौरिपितामहादीनां गणितसिद्धान्ता-
नवलोक्य । किमर्थं वक्ष्यति । लोकव्यवहाराय । किं कृत्वा । शिवं नत्वा ।

शिवु भणीइ देवाधिदेवु भट्टरकु महेश्वरु किसु जु परमेश्वरु, कैलासशिषरुमंडलु,
पार्वतीहृदयरमणु, विश्वनाथु जिणं विश्व नीपजाविउं तसु नमस्कार करीउ बालाव-
बोधनार्थु बाल भणीइ अज्ञान तीहं अवबोध जाणिवा तणइ अर्थि, आत्मीय यशोवृद्धयर्थु
श्रीधराचार्यु गणितु प्रकटीकृतु

पुनः किंविशिष्टः । कियन्मात्रं गणितज्ञः । सर्वज्ञानार्थमाह ।

उत्तरतः सुरनिलयं दक्षिणतः मलयपर्वतं यावत् ।

प्राग् पयोदधिमध्ये नो गणकः श्रीधरादन्यः ॥

उत्तरदिशि सुरनिलयु पर्वत सीमा, दक्षिणदिशि मलयपर्वत सीमा, पूर्व दिशि
क्षीरसमुद्र सीमा, पश्चिमदिशि क्षार समुद्र सीमा—एतलां मध्ये श्रीधराचार्य गणक

[After this comes some unimportant writing about arith-
metical numbers, which has been omitted here.]

II. षोडशपणः पुराणः पणो भवेत् काकिणीचतुष्केण ।

पञ्चाहतैश्चतुर्भिर्वराटकैः काकिणी एका ॥

अतो व्याख्यानम् । [वराटक भणीइ कउडा, तेहे चार कउडेपांचगुणे
क्षीरइ हुंते २०, तेहे २० कउडे काकिणी ते भणीइ बोडी, ४ काकिणी पणु,
१६ पणि पुराणु] ५ कउडे पावीस, ४ पावीसे बीसु, ५ बीसे लोहडिउ, ४ लोहडीए
कउ, चिहा ऊणे ७ लोहडीए वांकुडीउ, ५ रूप एक द्रासु, द्रामि ५ रुआ, द्रामि २
द्रमठ, द्रामि ३ वांकुडा, द्रामि २० लोहडीआ, द्रामि ४० अधवा, द्रामि ८० सवा-
वीसा, द्रामि १०० बीसा, द्रामि ४०० पावीसा

III. द्विव सुवर्णादिक धातुतोत्य जाणिवा तणइ अर्थि आर्या १ कहीसिइ
किसी किसी छइ आर्या ?

माषो दशार्धगुंजा षोडशमाषो निगथते कर्षः ।

ससुवर्णसासुवर्ण (?) स्तैरेव पलं चतुर्भिश्च ॥

आर्या तणउ किसिउ अर्थु ? गुंजा भणइ चिणुटी वचइ रती, दश तणइ अर्थि
पांणि गुंजा १ मासु, तेणे १६ मासे कर्षु, तेणे ४ कर्षि पल्ल, [पलि पामणु, १२
पलि अधमणु, २४ पलि मणु, १० मणि धडी, १० धडी भार, इणि परि तोलतां
भारसइ लेखउं]

IV. हिव सुवर्णादिक धातुतौल्य प्रमाणम् ।

...यवैस्तु निष्पावमुपन्ति षड्भिरष्टाभिरेभिर्धरं ' प्रदिष्टम् ।

गद्याणकं तद्वदितयेनव्यावर्णयन्तीह सुवर्णदक्षाः ॥

इह अस्मिन् स्थाने सुवर्णदक्षाः सुवर्णपण्डिता व्यावर्णयन्ति कथयन्ति ।

८ सरसवि जवु, २ जवि रती, तेहे ३ रती वालु, तेणे ८ बालि धरणु वचइ
अधगदीयाणु, १६ बालि गदीयाणु, तेहे १० गदीयाणे पल, तेहे १५ पलि मणु

V. तृतीय परि जाणिवा तणइ अर्थि वृत्तु १ कहीसिइ—

निष्पावकानां युगलानि सप्त धाटीपटीष्टं घटके भ्रुवन्ति)

पलैर्द्विरुक्तं दशकेन तेषां तौल्यं प्रमाणं व्यवहारसिद्धिः ॥

निष्पावक भणीइ वालु, तेहि १४ बालि धड्डउ, तेहे १४ धडे पल, तेहे २० पलि मणु

VI. हिव सुवर्णादिक धातुतौल्यप्रमाणम् । सुवर्णरूप्यवस्तुपित्तलकांस्यसीस-
कलोहकथीरुगजदन्तानां मंजिष्टादिः पट्टसूत्रकर्पासिक तथा कर्पूरअगरुधुरतिगोलालुङ्कुम-
कस्तूरिकाप्रभृतयः । सूंठिपीपलिहिंशुमरीचादांनि वस्तूनि तौल्यानि विद्यन्ते ।

कुंकुमादीनि १० गदियाणे पल, सुवर्णरूप्यादि पल १० गदीयाणे, पट्टसूत्र पल
१६ गदीयाणे एवं कनूजमालवगुर्जरादिदेश प्रमाणम्

VII. हिव धान्यमपित जाणिवा तणइ अर्थि आर्या १ कहीसिइ. किसी छइ
आर्या ?—

खार्येका षोडशभिर्द्रोणैश्चतुराढको भवेत् द्रोणः ।

प्रस्थैश्चतुर्भिराढक एकः प्रस्थश्चतुःकुडवम् ॥

आर्या तणउ किसउ अर्थु ? १२ अधवालि १ कूडवु, ४ कुडवि प्रस्थु, ४ प्रस्थि
आढकु, ४ आढकि द्रोणु, १६ द्रोणि खारी

VIII. पुनरपि धान्यमपित जाणिवा तणइ अर्थि वृत्तु १ कहीसिइ.
किसिउ वृत्तु ?

चतुष्टयं खल्विह पल्लिकानां मनस्विनो मानकमामनन्ति ।

तैः सेतिकैका कथिता चतुर्भिः स्यात्सेतिकानां षट्केन हारी ॥

किसउ अर्थु—४ पवाले पाली, ४ पाली माणु, ४ माणे सेइ, १२ माणे पडकु,
२ पडके हारी, ४ हारी माणी, अथानन्तरं माणीसइ लेखउं ।

३. ...डे छोइहउ, २ छोहिए पवालियं, २ पवाले अधवाली, २ अधवाली
पाली, ४ पाली माणउ, ४ माणे सेइ, ८ सेइ हारउ, १६ सेइ कलसी, १० कलसी
मूडउ, मूडइ १० कलसी मूडइ २० हारा, मूडइ १६० सेइ, मूडइ ६४० माणा,
मूडइ २५६० पाली, मूडइ ५१२० अधवाली, मूडइ १०२४० पवाली, मूडइ

२०४८० छोहिआं, मूडइ ४०९६० अघछोहीआं, मूडइ १५९७४४०० चोखा,
मूडइ १६३८४० गढ मूडइ ३२००००००० राई ।

IX. दिव रसमपित जाणिवा तणइ अर्थि आर्या १ कहीसिइ. किसी आर्या ?
[The *āryā* is not written in the ms., probably owing to the copyist's oversight.]

१३ तिल टीप, ४ टीपि लगार, ४ लगारि पावली, २ पावली अघउली,
४ पावली करसु, ४ करसि पडु, ४ पलि सोहलु, २४ करसि डुढीउं, ४० करसि
आढीउं, ४ सोहले पाइउं, ८ सोहले अघघडउ, १२ सोहले पुढघडउ, १६ सोहले
घडउ, घडइ ३० अथवारणां, घडइ २५६ करम घडइ १०२४ पली, घडइ २०४८
अघउली, घडइ ४०९६ पावली, घडइ ८१९२ अघपावली, घडइ ६५५३६ टीप ;
इणि परि मपतां घडसइ लेखउं ।

X. पृथ्वीमपित जाणिवा तणइ अर्थि आर्या १ कहीसिइ. किसी छइ ज आर्या ?
हस्तोऽङ्गुलविंशत्या चतुरस्त्रितया चतुष्करो दण्डः ।

तद्द्विसहस्रं क्रोशो योजनमेवं चतुःक्रोशम् ॥

आर्या तणइ किसउ अर्थ ? ८ सरसवि जनु, ६ जवि आंगुल, २८ आंगुलि हाथु,
४ हाथि दंडु, २००० दंडि क्रोशु, क्रोशु भणीइ गाउ, ४ गाउ जोअणु, ४ जोअणि दंडु ।

XI. दण्डो भवेत्पाणिचतुष्टयेन दण्डैस्त्रिभिर्नेतनकं वदन्ति ।

द्विसहस्रसंख्यैरुभयप्रदण्डैर्निवृत्तं तं व्यवहारप्रज्ञाः ।

तद्द्विंशतिभूतलमानमाहुः वसुन्धरामानविधानधीराः ॥

वृत्तु भणइ किसउ अर्थ ? २४ आंगुलि हाथु, ८ हाथि दंडु, ३ दंडि वंशु,
१३ वंशि नेतनु, २० नेतनि हलवाउ, हलवायि ४८३८४० जव ।

[Here we find some *śloka*s giving information about Puranic geography and division of time, and also the commentary on those *śloka*s, which being not relevant to our purpose, I have not given here.]

एवं नत्वा गणितसारं श्रीधराचार्यकृतं समाप्तम् ।

चलन्ति मेरुप्रभृति कुला(चला)क्षलन्ति ताराग्रहभास्करादयः ।

कल्पान्तकाले चलति महोदधिर्न साधुवाक्यं चलति कदाचित् ॥

यादृशं पुस्तके दृष्टं तादृशं लिखितं मया ।

यदि शुद्धमशुद्धं वा मम दोषो न दीयते ॥

उदकानलचोरेभ्यो मूषकेभ्यस्तथैव च ।

रक्षणीयं प्रयत्नेन यतः कष्टेन लिख्यते ॥

भमपृष्ठकटीग्रीवं बक्रदृष्टिरघोमुखम् ।

कष्टेन लिखितं शास्त्रं यत्नेन परिपालयेत् ॥

सं० १४४९ वर्षे वैशाख वदि ११ रवौ श्रीमदणहिल्लपुरपत्तने समस्तराजावली-
समलंकृतश्रीदफनखानराज्ये मलिक श्रीशिलारसीहे व्यापृयमाणे सति । श्रीमोदज्ञातीय
त० गोगासुत ठ० अमरसीहसुत थिरपाठ-डुङ्गर-वडरसीहप्रभृति समस्तभ्रातृवर्गेभ्यः
भ्रातृपुत्राणां पठनार्थं पितृव्य चाणारी (?) राजकीर्तिभिभ्रैः सूत्रपुस्तिका
लिखिताऽस्ति ॥ छ ॥ शुभं भवतु कल्याणं लेखकपाठकयोः ॥ श्री ॥

NOTES

The manuscript of the *Gaṇitasāra* was copied down in V. S. 1449, i. e. about 89 years after Gujarat was conquered by the Moslems (V.S. 1360). The commentary in old Gujarati must have been composed sometime before this date, probably during the Rajput rule. But from the form of the language, it is evident that the work can hardly be earlier than the first half of the fourteenth century of the Vikrama Era. The date of the copying down of the work and the fact that it was copied down for the instruction of the children of a family of the merchant class, possibly by the family teacher, shows that the tables of the weights, measures and coins which were prevalent during the Hindu rule were also generally current even after the Moslem rule was established.

I. The author says that he is writing this commentary for *Bālāvabodhana*—that is, for the enlightenment of the common people. It would be interesting to note that in old Gujarati, especially in the Jain literature, Gujarati commentaries of Sanskrit or Prakrit works are generally known as *Bālāvabodhas*.

II. This is the table of coins. Names of several coins mentioned in this table are found in some inscriptions from Gujarat and Marwad, while others like *Lohadīu*, *Vāṅkuḍīu*, and *Dramaḍha*, etc., are known for the first time. The name *Vimśopaka*¹ is found in an inscription of Thakkur Rājapāladeva from Nadol, dated V. S. 1200. The *Viśā* in this table is the same as *Vimśopaka*. It was a small coin of copper. The word is spelled as *Viśopaka* also². The word *Rūo* has been used in an inscription of above mentioned Rājapāladeva dated V. S. 1202³. In an inscription in the Sodhaḍī Vāv at Māngrol

1. Jīnavijayaḥ: *Prācīna Jain Lekha Saṃgraha*, Vol. 2, No 388.

2. *Ibid*, No. 384.

3. *Ibid*.

in the Southern Kathiawad, dated V. S. 1202, the word *Rūpaka* is mentioned as follows—तथा लाठिपद्मपयके ठ० मुल्लकेन रूपकैः प्रदत्तः ।¹ The *Rūpaka* of this inscription and *Rūo* of above mentioned Rājapālādeva's inscription are probably identical with *Rūo* in our table. Achārya Hemachandra mentions *Rūadau* in an Apabhraṃśa verse quoted in his Prakrit Grammar—धम्मि न वेच्चइ रुअडउ (4-419), 'He does not spend even a rupee after dharma'. This *Rūadau* is the same as *Rūu*.

In the Mangrol inscription we also find the word *Kārshāpana*. This coin is very old. We find it in the Smṛitis of Manu, Yājñavalkya and Nārada. *Kārshāpana* was sometimes considered equal to 1 *pana* and sometimes to 16 *panas*.² Our table says—बोडशपणः पुराणः; which indicates that *Purāṇa* may be a synonym of the silver *pana*, which was equalled to 16 copper *panas*. It is evident from the table that the *Pana* was a copper coin, and that its price was equal to 80 cowries.

In the beginning of the table we find—२० कडडे कागिणी ते भणीइ बोडी । The word *boḍi* mentioned herein is old. In an Apabhraṃśa verse quoted by Achārya Hemachandra in his Prakrit grammar, we find—केसरी न लहइ बोडि अवि, गय लक्खेहि वेप्पन्ति (4-335), "The lion does not get even a *boḍi*, while the elephant is bought at lakhs of rupees." The Sanskrit commentary called *Dodhakavṛitti* on the Apabhraṃśa quotations of Hemachandra explains the word as *Kapardikā* (cowrie), but our table definitely shows that *Kāginī* (Sk. *Kākinī*) or *Boḍi* was not a cowrie, but its price was equal to 20 cowries. As the verse quoted by Hemachandra indicates, it was a token of insignificant value.

The word *drama* or *dramma* is found very often in literature and inscriptions. It is current as *dāma* in several modern Indian vernaculars. Originally the Sanskrit word *dramma* is derived from the Greek word *drachme*. *Dirham* used for the coins of Moslem rulers like Mahmūd of Ghazna was also from this word. It was the largest standard coin, and was made of gold or silver. Our table says that *dramma* was equal to 5 *Rūpakas*.

Several coins which are not referred to in our table are found in the commentary on the *Dvyāśraya Mahākāya* of Hemachandra. In addition to the *Rūpaka*, the coin for half a *Rūpaka* was also current, and it was known as *Bhāgaka*

1. G. V. Ācārya : *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat*, Vol. 2. no. 145.

2. When *pana* was merely a contraction of *kārshāpana*, it was equated to it; when it is stated that one *pana* was equal to 16 *panas* the rates of value between the copper *pana* (roughly equal to 80 *rattis*) and silver *pana* (roughly equal to 32 *rattis*) is stated.

(17-94). There are references of the coins equal in price to 20 *Rūpakas* (17, 81). These must be golden coins. Among other golden coins, *Bista* and *Nishka* are referred to. The weight of *Nishka* was 108 *suvarṇapalas* (17, 83-84), and of *Bista*, 16 *Māshas* (4,445). According to our tables (see III, IX), *pala* was equal to 4 *Karshas*, and it shows that *Nishka* must be a golden coin of very large size. *Surpa* was a small coin; a flower garland could be had for a *Surpa* (17, 48). *Prastha* is also referred to as a coin.

III, IV, V. These are the tables of weights for precious metals like gold and silver. The table given by the *Smṛitikāras* Manu, Yājñavalkya and Nārada is like it. There was considerable difference of opinion among the authors from different provinces of India regarding the weight of *māsha*, *karsha*, etc. Almost all the weights referred to in these tables are already known from various other sources. But even then, the present tables are particularly important in as much as they state for the first time, what system of weights was used in a commercial province like Gujarat for precious metals.

It is not mentioned here as to from what substance these weights were made. But elsewhere we are told that either they were made of iron or of the stones from rivers Gaṇḍakī or Narmadā, which being very hard would not be easily worn out.

VI. Our table says that one and the same weight carried different values with reference to different articles. In case of perfumes like saffron, and precious metals like gold one *pala* was equal to 10 *Gadīāṇās*, while in case of fine textiles, it was equal to 16 *gadīāṇās*. The commentary adds that this system of weights was prevalent in the countries of Kanoj, Malva and Gujarat.

VII. These are the weights for corn. They date from a very old time. We find them in the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya, and also in the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* and the *Padmapurāṇa*. In the *Purāṇas* the table has been given exactly like this, but in addition, two more items are mentioned: 2 *Palas* = 1 *Prasṛti*, 2 *Prasṛtis* = 1 *Kuḍava*. It seems that the *Kuḍava* was = 16 tolas, *prastha* = 64 tolas, *Adhaka* = 256 tolas, and *Droṇa* = 1024 tolas.

VIII. These are also the weights for corn. They are especially important, because very few of them are current in modern Gujarat and Marwad; and only a small number of them is known from the literary and inscriptional sources. *Pavālā* and *Pāli* of this table are synonymous respectively with *Pālā* and *Pāli*. The word *Pālā* is mentioned in the *Suṇaka*

grant of Karna Solaṅki of V. S. 1200, and also in the Nadol inscriptions of Thakkur Rājapāladeva of V. S. 1200 and 1202. Pālā was equal to four lbs.

The weight *Mudā* is referred to in the table. It is said that one *Mudā* was equal to 10 *kalasi*. In the present day Gujarat, *Kalasi* is = 16 maunds. As the table says that one *Kalasi* = 16 *Sei*, we may take *Sei* as equivalent to one maund.

From the literary sources like the *Jagaḍucaritra* of Sarvānandasūri it is known that Jagaḍushāh, that great philanthropist from Cutch, had distributed thousands of *mudās* of corn among the poor during the great three year famine of V. S. 1313-15. During the Chaulukya period, Cutch was a part of the Gujarat empire, and there is no wonder if an identical system of weights and measures was prevalent in Gujarat and Cutch.

The *Dvyāśraya* commentary of Puṇakalaśa furnishes a useful new reference. It gives a weight *āchit*, and adds that it was equal to 10 *bhāras* (4-45). At several other places *Sakaṭ* (a cartload) has been given as synonym of *āchit*, and its weight is said to be 6400000 *Gumjās*. In the same work a measure called *Lohita* is also given (17,82)

IX. Measures for liquids like oil and ghee. Several of the names are known for the first time from this table.

X, XI. Measures for land. Most of the measures given in this table are quite well known and are current in many parts of modern India. In the inscriptions the word *Halvāu* is given as *Halavāha* (modern Gujarati *Halavā*—"a piece of land which can be tilled by one plough") The measure *Netana* is known for the first time, as far as my information goes.

A NEW FIND OF GOLD COINS IN RAIGARH STATE

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The five gold coins that are discussed in this paper were found together in a field in Kharsia circle of Raigarh state in Central Provinces along with a broken and twisted copper pot. The exact place of the find is the bed of the outlet of a field in village Parsadih, 13 miles from the Kharsia Railway Station of B. N. Railway, 74 miles east of Bilaspur. The find was reported to me by Pandit Lochan Prasad Pandeya, Hon. Secretary, Mahakosal Historical Research Society. I then wrote to Mr. J. Mahanta, Bar-at-law, Dewan Saheb of Raigarh State, for a loan of the coins for examination and photographing. He readily acceded to my request and placed the coins at my disposal for publication. The numismatic world owes him a great debt of gratitude for the facilities given by him in the publication of the coins. The broken and twisted copper pot found along with them is most probably a part of the pot in which the hoard was originally kept. The pot however was a small one and could hardly have contained more than twenty coins of the *Padma-tanka* type.

This discovery sheds considerable light on the medieval history of south Kosala. Of the five coins, one belongs to the Muslim period. It was deciphered for me by Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal. It is a *mohur* of Nasiru-d-din Mahmud I, who is known to have ruled at Delhi between 1246 and 1266 A. D. He was a pious and abstemious ruler; government was carried on by Balban; but the *de jure* ruler was permitted to issue coins. The date of the coin is off the flan. It must have been some year between 660 and 669 A. H. Whatever the full date may have been, it clearly falls within the known dates of Nasiru-d-din Mahmud. The coin is an issue of the Dehli mint. It measures 1.1". I give below its description.

Obverse. In double circle

فى عهد الامام

الستعصم امير

المومنين

Margin—

ضرب هذه السكة.....

عهد Small circles over

and متعصم

Reverse. In double circle

السلطان الاعظم

ناصر الدين والدين

ابوالمظفر محمود

بن السلطان

Margin—

ضرب هذه السكة بمضرت دهلى

فى سنة.....

Translation of legend on obverse,
 'In the time (of) the Imām
 Al must'aṣim'
 Commander of the faithful.'

Traces of date are
 visible, but it cannot be
 made out with certainty.

PI. XA, 5

Of the remaining four gold coins in the find three are *Padma-ṭaṅkas* of the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa, c. 1210 to c. 1247 A. D. The *Padma-ṭaṅkas* of this type have been long known to numismatists. They were first published by Eliot in his *Coins of South India*; he conjecturally ascribed them to the Kadamba dynasty ruling in the 5th or the 6th century A. D.¹ Rapson also accepted this attribution to the Kadamba dynasty, but doubted whether the coins can be as old as the 6th century A. D.²

It was Mr. Srinivas Raghav Aiyangar who for the first time advanced the theory that these *Padma-ṭaṅkas* are really the coins of the Yādava rulers who were in power in the 13th century A. D. In *Numismatic Supplement*, No. 250, he has published and illustrated the coins of four Yādava rulers, Siṅghaṇa, Kṛṣṇaṇa, Mahādeva and Rāmachandra³.

Three of the four *Padma-ṭaṅkas* found in the present find bear a close resemblance to the coins of Siṅghaṇa illustrated by Mr. Aiyangar. They are all cup-shaped, concave on one side and convex on the other. The reverse is quite blank. The obverse has got a lotus in the centre and four marks punched in four corners. At each end of one diagonal, there is a partly preserved letter *Srī* in the old Kannaḍa Telugu script. At one of the ends of the other diagonal we have the name of the king and at the other the auspicious mark of a conch.

On the three coins of Siṅghaṇa, his name can be read fairly well on the original pieces. But as the coins are concave, it is difficult to photograph them so well as to render the legend legible in the photograph. I have therefore given a drawing of the first of them, which faithfully represents the legend in the original form and characters. In the case of coin No. 1, the plate gives two photographs, 1a and 1b, with different exposures, and also its drawing, 1c. The first letter *sa* is very clear on all the three coins. Its upper left limb is truncated on coin No. 1, **PI. XA, 1a**; its remaining portion can be clearly seen in the drawing (**PI. XA, 1c**) which will enable the reader to make out its outlines on the coins illustrated in **PI. XA, 2-4**. The first letter

1. Eliot : *Coins of South India*, p. 56.

2. Rapson : *Indian Coins*, p. 82 pl. V, 18.

3. *J. A. S. B.*, 1925, *Numismatic Supplement*, p. 6.

is simply *sa* on coins Nos. 1 and 2, **Pl. XA, 1-2**, but *śā* (standing for *śi* with its *mātrā* truncated) in coin No. 3, **Pl. XA, 3**. The letter *gha* is also clear on all the three coins; its form can be made out in the drawing of coin No. 1, **Pl. XA, 1c** which will enable the reader to trace it in the rather dim photographs. *Gha* is followed by *ṇa* which is of the modern Nāgarī variety, with three prominent lines hanging down. It is quite clear on all the coins in the original and its form is faithfully reproduced in the drawing of coin No. 1. It is hoped that it will enable the reader to trace its outlines on **Pl. XA, 1-3**.

There can thus be no doubt that the full legend is *Siṅgha-ṇa*, and that these coins were issued by the famous ruler of the Yādava dynasty of that name.

The upper part of the letters on the fourth coin, (**Pl. XA, 1-2**) has been truncated; it is therefore difficult to conjecture what the name of the king was who issued the coin. I am however publishing a photograph of the coin in the hope that it may be later found useful for comparison when better preserved specimens of this type are found.

On the coins of *Siṅghaṇa* below his name there is an object, which can best be described as a sword in its sheath. There are two dot-like objects attached to the sword; they may be intended to indicate the handle of the sword or the loop of the sheath.

On the fourth *Padma-taṅka*, we have a bow below the legend instead of the sword. A similar bow can be seen on the *Padma-taṅka* published by Eliot in *Coins of South India*, Pl. I, 8.

This discovery of the three coins of the Yādava king *Siṅghaṇa* along with a coin of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd in the fields of the village Parsadih in Raigarh state in Eastern C. P. or ancient south Kośala throws important new light on the history of the Yādavas. In his well-known *praśasti*, Hemādri claims that the Yādava king *Siṅghaṇa* had captured an elephant corps belonging to king Jājalla and deprived king Kakkula of his sovereignty.¹ Paṭana inscription, dated in 1206 A.D., states that kings of Mathurā and Benares had felt the sting of the Yādava power and that a petty general of *Siṅghaṇa* had defeated a Muslim ruler.² In the absence of

१. येनानीयत मत्तवारणघटा जाजल्लभूमिभूतः ।

कक्कूलादवनीपतेरपहृता येनाधिराज्यश्रियः ॥ V. 41.

२. पृथ्वीशो मथुराधिपो रणमुखे काशीपतिः पातितः ।

येनासावपि यस्य भृत्यबटुना हंसीरबीरो जितः ॥ *E.I.*, I, p. 340,

corroborative evidence these claims were usually taken to be unfounded. Jājalla II, the last Eastern Chedi ruler of that name ruling in South Kosala or Chhattisgarh, died in c. 1170. The dynasty did not however terminate with him; Jājalladeva II was succeeded by Ratnadeva III and the latter perhaps by Prithvīdeva III. No Jājalladeva III is however known to have succeeded these rulers in the first decade of the 13th century.

The discovery of three coins of Siṅghaṇa in the very heart of the kingdom of the Chedis of Ratanpur now enables us to understand the statements in Hemādri's *prāśasti* better. It is possible that Prithvīdeva III may have been succeeded by Jājalladeva III; only we have yet got no definite evidence to prove his existence or rule. Or it may be that in c. 1270 A. D. when Hemādri composed his eulogy, there was no definite information at Devagiri about the name of the Eastern Chedi king defeated by Siṅghaṇa about 60 years before. Jājalladeva was however a name closely associated with the Eastern Chedi dynasty, and Hemādri may have thought it convenient to introduce it in connection with the exploits of his patron's grand-father. It is well known how Chaucer introduces [D]emetrius as king of Ind in his Knight's Tale, the incidents in which occurred more than 1500 years after the death of that Indo-Bactrian king. Hemādri may have done the same, if it is conclusively proved that Prithvīdeva III was really never succeeded by a Jājalladeva III, ruling in Chhattisgarh in the first decade of the 13th century.

While admitting that the gold coins often travel over long distances with traders and pilgrims, it has to be recognised that the discovery of the three coins of Siṅghaṇa in Raigarh state, which formed the very heart of the old Eastern Chedi kingdom, now makes it very probable that Hemādri was not merely drawing on his imagination, when he referred to the defeat of king Jājalla by Siṅghaṇa. It would appear that Siṅghaṇa not only defeated his contemporary in Chhattisgarh, but also occupied the country for some time as claimed by a Yādava inscription found in Mysore.¹ Eastern Chedi rule had practically come to an end by the beginning of the 13th century, and it is not unlikely that after the defeat of Jājalla III, the Yādavas may have occupied a portion of the kingdom for a few decades. It must have been during this period of occupation that gold coins of the conqueror began to circulate in Chhattisgarh, some of which were included in the hoard that was discovered in Parsadih village.

1 of क्षोणीवल्लभजाजलदेवकरिषटासंवत्तनुर्धरराज्यहरः Chikka Sakkanna Insor.,
An. Rep. Mysore Ar. B., 1929, p. 148.

The statement of Hemādri and the Pāṭaṇa plates that Siṅghaṇa deprived king Kakkula of his sovereignty must also be taken to mean that he defeated the contemporary ruler of the Western Chedi house of Jubbulpore, rather than a king of that very name. It now appears probable that the Yādavas were in a position to retain the Chedi dominions for two or three decades. While they held Jubbulpore and Ratanpur, they may have made an effort to capture Benares also; hence the statement of the Pāṭaṇa inscription that the king of Benares felt the sting of the Yādava power. Whether the Yādavas ever penetrated upto Mathurā as claimed by the Pāṭaṇa inscription must be left an open question in the present state of our knowledge.

The Yādavas probably held the Chedi dominions for about three decades. The discovery of the coin of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd along with the three coins of Siṅghaṇa shows that it was probably during his rule that the Yādavas had to evacuate this territory owing to the pressure of the Muslim advance. The claim of the Pāṭaṇa inscription quoted on p. 149 above, that a petty general of Siṅghaṇa defeated a Muslim general may refer to some of the incidents of the conflicts between the two powers in Chhattisgarh. It is however also likely that it may refer to some skirmishes on the outskirts of Mālwa, where also conflicts between the two powers were possible.

DIRHAM OF AL MUQTADIR

BY MR. NAJI AL ASIL, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF
ANTIQUITIES, IRAQ.

[A paper on a Bull and Horseman type of coin of the Abbasid Caliph Al Muqtadir Billah Jaafar has been published by me in this *Volume* on pp. 75-78. I had requested Mr. Naji Al Asil, Director General of Antiquities, to throw further light on the coin. I am printing below his communication, which was received too late to be published along with my original paper.

A. S. A.]

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter dated 25/11/1946 in which you enquired about the Dirham of Al Muqtadir, which was found by this Department, we append below some explanations. Other detailed information will be included in a future number of "*Sumer*".

1. To our knowledge no dirham has been found on one side of which is a picture of a bull and on the other a mounted horseman except the Dirham of Al Muqtadir in question.
2. This is not an ordinary dirham used in currency. It must be of the kind called "Silat" dirhams, which are usually struck on occasions such as "Ids" and festive celebrations.
3. To our knowledge, the most ancient Abbasid pictorial coin is that of Al Mutawakkil Allah. On one side of it is the picture of the Caliph with a camel and driver. It was struck in 241 A.H.
4. The coins which were struck by the Shahi kings of Kabul valley and the Punjab, bearing the pictures of the bull and the horseman, (i. e. those which resemble the dirham of Muqtadir and are published in the first Volume of the *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum* by V. A. Smith, pp. 259, Plate No. 26, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5) bear Indian inscriptions, while the dirham of Al Muqtadir has its beautiful Kufic lettering.
5. These coins which were struck by the Shahis of Kabul have been thus referred to by Shaikh Ja'afar bin Ali of Damascus in his book "*Mahasin Al Tijarah*" which he wrote in the year 670. A.H.

The Author says :

"I was sitting one day in Tripoli in Syria in the market when an auctioneer came with broken silver amongst which there was a sound dirham. Its weight exceeded one "mithcal"; on one side of it there was a picture of bull, on the other an image of a mounted horseman with a very handsome face. On both sides there were inscriptions in a language I do not understand. I bought the silver and the dirham remained in my hands. One of the learned men of Damascus, Persian in origin, saw it with me. He told me that he knows the origin of this dirham. It is, as he said, struck in India, and is being used extensively in Gazna. He recited some verse in Persian in this dirham.

He told me further that the translation of the inscriptions on one side is :—

"Anyone who keeps this dirham and does not spend it except in a reasonable way, on religious commands, is like the horseman who is master of the animal and himself.¹

On the other side the inscription is :—

"He who spends this is like the bull in discrimination. He does not know himself or anything else."

6. It is our opinion that the minter who struck the dirham of Muqtadir provided the model for the coins of the Shahis of Kabul. The bull resembles an Indian bull in appearance. The other interpretation is that the dirham is of Indian origin. The horseman is represented carrying the reins in his right hand contrary to the Arab custom. The right hand is reserved usually for the sword.

[I am looking forward with great interest for further information on this interesting coin type, which the Director General of Antiquities has promised to publish in a future number of the *Sumer*. I had referred to two possibilities about the interpretation of this type. (1) That the coin type may have been borrowed by the Baghdad Caliph from the Shāhi rulers of the Kabul valley (2) That it may have been issued by some Hindu chief recently converted to Islam, who was a feudatory of the Caliph. I have already indicated that the first of the above two views appeared to me as probable.

[The translation of the obverse legend, as given by the learned scholar of Damascus to Shaikh Ja'afar bin Ali, is a pure fiction. This side has only the name of the king. The reverse has no inscription at all, except in the case of the coins of Spalapatideva, the legend on which has not yet been deciphered, A. S. A.]

The insuperable difficulty in accepting the Director General's view that the Hindu rulers of the Kabul valley borrowed this type from the dirham of Al Muqdadir is that there is clear evidence to show that they started this coin type in *c.* 875 A.D., i.e. about fifty years before the time of the Caliph Al Muqtadir. It will be possible to accept the view that the type first originated in Baghdad, if it could be proved that it had been started by some predecessor of Al Muqtadir earlier than *c.* 875 A. D.

It is further worth noting that the type was not one ordinarily used in currency, as Mr. Naji al Asil has himself observed above. There is no evidence whatever to show that its specimens were current in the Kabul valley rendering their imitation probable. The coins are so rare that they are a numismatic novelty. The coins of the Shahi rulers were on the other hand quite common at Ghazna and well known in Western Asia, as shown by the testimony of the Arab Author quoted by Mr. Naji Al Asil. They could therefore well have been borrowed in Baghdad. *A.S.A.*

SOME INTERESTING COINS IN WATSON MUSEUM.

BY MR. B. L. MANKAD, B. A., LL. B., CURATOR,
WATSON MUSEUM, RAJKOT.

I publish in this paper few coins of Rana Vikramaditya of Porbandar and of Zorawar and Bismilla, the Rulers of Radhanpur which are in the coin-cabinet of the Watson Museum, Rajkot. They differ in some respects from the coins of the same rulers in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, as described by Mr. Allan in Volume IV of *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*. They therefore deserve to be brought to the notice of the numismatists.

COINS OF RANA VIKRAMADITYA OF PORBANDAR

Like the early coins of Nawagar, the reverse of these coins of Rana Vikramaditya contains the design adopted from a Gujarat coin of Muzaffar Shah III which reads مظفر شاه السلطان. Below this is added in Nāgarī श्री राजा. On the obverse are found the portions of the legend لرحمىس بتايد شمس الدين (Pl. XC, 1-2). There are seven silver and eighteen copper coins in the Museum of this type. The weights and sizes of silver coins vary from 15 to 68 grains and .3 to .55 inches respectively, while those of copper coins vary from 58 to 170 grains and .48 to .65 inches respectively.

The coins described in Mr. Allan's *Catalogue* resemble these coins in several respects, but they differ from them in having on the reverse श्री राम instead of श्री राजा. It would be worthwhile ascertaining what import the word राम could have on these coins. The word राजा would of course denote the title of the rulers. These coins were issued from 1831 A. D. and onwards.

COINS OF ZORAWAR & BISMILLA, RULERS OF RADHANPUR.

Kings Zorawar and Bismilla ruled at Radhanpur from 1824 to 1874 and 1874 to 1895 A. D. Their coins in the museum are thick and misshapen. On the coins of Zorawar we have a uniface impression Jo on the reverse (Pl. XC, 3) and on those of Bismilla we have at the same place the uniface impression Bz in Gujarati written in Bālbodha style, i. e. under a top line (Pl. XC, 4). The obverse is quite blank in both the cases. There are seventeen copper coins of Zorawar in this Museum and their weights and sizes vary from 90 to 156

grains and $\cdot 35 \times \cdot 48$ to $\cdot 5 \times \cdot 7$ inches respectively, as they are oblong in shape. There are only two coins of Bismilla weighing and measuring 122 and 143 grs. and $\cdot 5 \times \cdot 6$ and $\cdot 5 \times \cdot 5$ respectively.

The coins of Zorawar as described in Mr. Allan's *Catalogue* have the uniface impression *Go* while those of Bismilla have the impression *Ji*. We fail to understand what connotation the letter *Go* can have on the coins of Zorawar; similarly, the significance of letter *Ji* on the coins of Bismilla cannot be understood. The letters *Jo* and *Bi* would, of course, represent the first letters of the names Zorawar and Bismilla respectively.

We hope the numismatic scholars would throw more light on this.

NOTE ON INDO-SASSANIAN COINS.

BY DR. J. M. UNVALA, PH. D. (HEIDELBERG).

Fifty coins selected from a hoard of more than 3000 coins, discovered at Piplaj in Ajmer-Merwara, had been kindly sent to me for inspection last December by Mr. U. C. Bhattacharya, M.A., Curator of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. They pertain to the type of coins, commonly called Indo-Sassanian. This term can be easily explained as referring to coins of the Sassanian type, particularly of the reverse-type of the fire-altar flanked by an attendant on either side, but struck in India. That the coins in question have nothing to do with the Sassanian coinage, even with the satrapal coinage, is absolutely certain.

All these coins of the Piplaj hoard are without legend or symbol of any type whatsoever; the presumed obverse marks, as given on p. 99 of *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, vol. VII, parts I & II, seem to be only *traits* pertaining to the extremely rough outlines of a bust, facing right, even in spite of the learned note of the Chief Editor¹ (*ibid.*, p. 99, note 1).

The reverse of these coins, **Pl. VIII B**, Fig. 1, as deduced from four well preserved coins, is comparable to that of a coin of the Major General A. Cunningham's Collection, illustrated in his *Coins of Medieval India* pl. VI, No. 14 etc. and reproduced here in **Pl. VIII B**, 14. It is derived from the reverse of the coins of the Sassanian king Firuz, through the intermediary of the reverse of the Hephthalite coin No. 3 of pl. IV, facing p. 36 of *J. Num. Soc. India*, vol. VII, parts I & II.

It seems that Indo-Sassanian coins are degenerate specimens of the Hephthalite coinage, once current in India as far east as Rajputana and Malwa. From the standpoint of the more or less summary treatment of their obverse and reverse types, these Indo-Sassanian coins can be classed into three groups: the first group comprising the coins of the Uruli hoard, discovered at Uruli in Poona district in September 1944 (cf. pl. III, facing p. 20 of *J. Num. Soc. India*, vol. VII, parts I and II), the second group comprising thick pieces of the *Gadhahiya* type (cf. *Coins of the Medieval India etc.*, pl. VI, No. 7), and the third group comprising coins of the Piplaj hoard.

[1. Recently some inscribed *Gadhia* coins were sent to me by Mr. Roshan Lal Samar of Udaipur, which had clearly engraved in front of the king's face legends like Śrīla...., Śrīhara, Śrīga.... Śrīvāra, Śrībha..., etc. It is thus clear that the symbol in question can be *aka* also, since it resembles that letter most convincingly. I had sent rubbings of these coins to Dr. Unvala for his consideration, but he replied saying 'I am still inclined to consider the symbol as part of the obverse motif, the counterpart of the filet on the left, of course in the contrary sense, whose beginnings we find in the fiat and thin series.' I personally hold that the discovery of a fairly large number of inscribed *Gadhia* pieces now makes it almost certain that the symbol in question is the letter *ha*, being the initial of the issuer's name. A paper on these new coins will appear in due course in this *Journal*. A. S. A.]

As regards the obverse of Indo-Sassanian coins, the treatment of the wings of the crown on coins of the Uruli hoard reminds us of the obverse of the Hephthalite coins, illustrated in *J. Num. Soc. India*, vol. IV, part I, pl. IV, Nos. 12 and 13. On coins of the first and second group, i.e. on those of the Uruli hoard and the *Gadhaiya* ones, the element shaped like an inverted S over the right shoulder of the prince is repeated in the reversed sense, i.e. like an S over the left shoulder for the sake of symmetry as on Sassanian seals, especially on seals with monograms. It represents most probably the undulated stem of a flower as on a Hephthalite coin, illustrated in *Numismatic Chronicle*, London 1894, Series III, vol. XIV, pl. XI, No. 10, or rather the filet of the diadem as on Sassanian coins.

The reverse of these coins shows two types, one with the fire-altar without attendants, the other on which the fire-altar is flanked on either side by an attendant. The first type is found on coins of the Uruli hoard and on those of the *Gadhaiya* series. On the former, the fire-altar is figured as consisting of a pedestal with three graded steps, a short shaft, indicated either by a six-rayed star as on the Uruli coins or by the sign of multiplication as on *Gadhaiya* coins,¹ and the fire-receptacle, indicated also by three graded steps by way of symmetry. The flame is represented by three rows of dots, surmounted by one elongated dot. The roundness of the receptacle seems to have been suggested by two curved lines. Two slantic rows of dots on either side represent the filets fluttering downwards with which the shaft is decorated; by way of symmetry, two slantic lines, directed upwards are added on either side (see **Pl. VIII B, 7**, reproduced from *Coins of the Mediæval India etc.*, Pl. VI, No. 7). The Uruli coins show even the crescent on right and the star on left of the flame which are common on late Sassanian coinage. The second type of the reverse is found on the coins of the Piplaj hoard, as mentioned above. But here it is highly stylised, the attendants holding the lance (see *J. Num. Soc. India*, vol. IV, part I, pl. III, nos. 1—8) are shown only by three vertical rows of blurred dots. The two curved lines indicating the roundness of the receptacle on Uruli coins are also found on those of the Piplaj hoard.

The Uruli coins are certainly earlier than those of the Piplaj hoard, as the treatment of the details of their obverse and reverse show. The latter can be dated later than the eighth century A.D.

The weight of well preserved coins varies between 3.316 gm. and 4.11 gm.

1. Compare with this fire-altar, the one depicted on *Coins of the Mediæval India etc.*, pl. VI, No. 18 and reproduced here in **Pl. VIII B, No. 18**.

A HITHERTO UNIDENTIFIED MUGHAL MINT-TOWN: DALĪPNAGAR.

MR. D. N. MARSHALL, M. A., BOMBAY.

About three years ago, Mr. Vicaji D. B. Taraporewala, a senior and enthusiastic member of the Numismatic Society of India, brought to my notice a Mughal coin in his possession, mint-town whereof he could not find in the hitherto published lists of Mughal mint-towns. On a careful scrutiny of the literature available on the subject, it was found that save for its mention by Mr. P. C. Tarapore in the paper contributed by him, in 1930, to the Numismatic Supplement to Vol. XXVI of the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,¹ no references to this mint town were available. Even in that paper, a coin of Shāh Ālam II bearing the name of this mint-town is, among others, just described, and a bald statement is added that "if the reading of the Mint is correct, this is a new Mint." No further details are given, and this mint-town, so far, therefore, has remained unidentified.

The coin in the possession of Mr. Vicaji D. B. Taraporewala is described below and illustrated in **Plate XI**; The size is enlarged four times for the facility of reading.

AR.	wt. : 173.5 grains ; size : 1.8 c. m
Mint : Dalipnagar ;	Date : 1178 A.H. 6 R.
(شاه)	(مانوس)
دین محمد عالم	میمنت
1178 M. M. 1	سنه ۶ جلوس
(سا) یق فضل اله حامی	ضرب
(از) دین	M. M. 2
	دلپ نگر

On a reference to the plate, it will be observed that the *nugtas* of ی (ye) or پ (pe) in the word دلپ نگر (Dalipnagar) have not been all struck on the coin itself. Only two *nugtas* seem to have been cut on the very edge near the base. On comparison with the reverse of the coin referred to by Mr. P. S. Tarapore,² it will be seen that the calligraphy in the case of the coin under discussion is more elegant and the outlines of the letters of the mint-town are clearer. Doubts may arise in view of the missing *nugtas*, and some alternative readings can be suggested. This question, however, will be discussed

¹ NS, XLIII, (806), 1930, p. 53, coin No. 18.

² See Plate 5, No. 15, NS, XLIII, 1930,

presently, but, in the meantime, let us examine the obverse side. Whereas no date is given on the coin described by Mr. P. S. Tarapore,¹ on this coin, on the obverse side, the date 1178 (AH) is clearly given. This date will be a guide to us in examining the movements of Shāh Alam just about this period and in ascertaining whether he had any connection at the time with this mint-town.

As regards ornamental marks, on the obverse, just above ح of حامی there is M. M. 1 (vide Pl. XI), while over ی in the same word, there is a circular cluster of five dots with the sixth in the centre. On the reverse, over س of سنه there is a circular cluster of five dots, over , of جلوس there is a cluster of three dots, and over ی of دلیپ نگر there is M. M. 2 (vide Pl. XI). *Nuqtas* and letters not clear on the coin are enclosed within parenthesis in the above reproduction. Besides the *nuqtas* of the word دلیپ نگر, a noteworthy omission is the word شاه before عالم, but the letters cut on the upper edge indicate its likely presence on the original die used for the coin. All these facts of internal evidence will be discussed later. First, let us attempt to sift external evidence as may enable us to locate the mint-town and identify it.

On a reference to the Imperial Gazetteer of India, we find that there is a place by the name of Dalīpnagar.² It seems it is a variant of Dhulīpnagar,³ a name sometimes applied to Bannu town in the North-West Frontier Province. This town was founded in 1848 by Lieut. (afterwards Sir Herbert) Edwardes, and the fort, erected at the same time, bore the name of Dhulīpgarh (or Dalīpgarh) in honour of the Maharaja of Lahore. The bazar was also known as Dhulīpnagar (or Dalīpnagar).⁴ The date of its foundation, however, rules it out of consideration for our purpose.

On a reference to provincial and state gazetteers, it is found that in Central India (to be more exact, Bundelkhand), the town of Datīā, which is the chief town of the state bearing that name, was known locally as Dalīpnagar. It was founded by Dalpat Rāo (1643-1707), who was the head of the State from 1683 to 1707, and called after his *rashi* name⁵. Certain connected facts in this regard are noteworthy. About the year 1760, Emperor Shāh Alam II visited Bundelkhand and received the Orchhā and Datīā chiefs at Bāndā when the title of Rājā was conferred on Indrajīt, the ruler of Datīā. He was given, at the same time, a *takht-i-rawān* (or a portable throne), two royal

1. *N.S.*, XLIII, 1930, p. 59, coin No 18.

2. *Imperial Gazetteer* (New edition) : Vol. XXV-Index, Oxford 1908, p. 146.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, p. 159.

4. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 402.

5. Central India State Gazetteer Series : Vol. VI.A- Text, Eastern States (Bundelkhand), 1907, p. 93, and p. 127.

standards, and *Arabi bājas* or Mughal band instruments¹. The neighbouring Orchhā State also was treated similarly by Shāh Ālam II, and the title of *Māhendra* was bestowed upon Sāwant Singh, the head of that State².

Sir Jadunath Sarkar refers to the campaign of Shāh Ālam in Bundelkhand in the year 1762. He describes the progress of this campaign and mentions that "the Bundela chiefs of Urchhā and Datia sent tribute to their sovereign³." These states previously owed allegiance to the Marathas but were showing restlessness⁴ and ultimately broke themselves free from Maratha overlordship. In another source, we find it stated that "Most of the ruling Chiefs of Bundelkhand now sent in congratulatory messages and presents, and some of the most important among them, such as Rajah Savant Singh of Orchha and Rajah Indrajit Singh of Datia, came in person and waited upon the Wazir and the Emperor. A few *pargana*hs of each of the two states Orchha and Datia were taken out of Rajahs' hands and annexed to the Empire, and Shuja-ud-daulah appointed officers to take charge of them, while they (the Rajahs) were confirmed in the possession of the bulk of their territories".⁵

There is further corroborative evidence that in these parts Mughal suzerainty was established at this time. In *Chahār Gulār-i-Shujāi*, written by Hari Charan Dās, a contemporary historian, whose work though somewhat discursive, is deemed to be of value,⁶ description is given as to how Emperor Shāh Ālam accompanied by Shujā-ud-daulah went towards Jhansi,⁷ Kalinjar⁸ and the countryside around and the nature of success that the expedition met with. It is stated therein: "The districts of Jhansi, Kalpi,⁹ etc., which belonged to the Bundelas and others, were after many battles and struggles taken from them, and annexed to the dominions of the Emperor and Nawab Shujā-ud-daula.....Afterwards

1. *Ibid*: p 101.

2. *Ibid*: p. 35

3. *The Fall of the Mughal Empire*, by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Vol. II: 1754-1771, Calcutta 1934, p. 544.

4. *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXVII, Nos: 8, 132 and 273; see also: Vol. XXIX, No. 12.

5. *Shuja-ud-daulah* by A. L. Srivastava, Vol. I: 1754-1765, Calcutta 1939, p. 142.

6. *The History of India as told by its own Historians-Muhammadian Period*, by H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson, Vol. VIII, London 1877, p. 206.

7. The boundaries of Datia State and Jhansi District are contiguous at present.

8. It is one of the well-known eight strongholds of Bundelkhand. See Central India State Gazetteer Series, Vol. VI. A, p. 9.

9. "When the Marathas acquired part of Bundelkhand early in the 18th century, Kalpi became the headquarters of their Governor." vide. *Imperial Gazetteer* (new edition), Vol. XIV, p. 318.

they crossed the Ganges and proceeded to Mahdi-ghat, where they encamped in 1177 A. H. (1763 A. D.).¹

But apart from the external evidence detailed above, we have internal evidence as well and to this we now turn. In the description of the coin, given in para 2, it was stated that the coin bears the year in which it was struck as 1178 A. H., i.e., 1764 A. D. This year closely follows 1760-63, the period during which, according to the historical evidence indicated above, Datīā and parts around came under the sway of the Mughals. It would be, therefore, in fitness of things were Shāh Ālam, who was a fugitive then and had in fact a very restricted area of territory to call his own, to establish in his freshly acquired domains a mint of his own, or to issue fresh coinage directly under his authority to circulate in these territories so as to impress upon his new subjects his suzerain powers.

Another and more direct item of internal evidence lies in the symbolic marks found on the coin. Of those described in para 3 above, some are for the purposes of ornamentation so familiar in the coins of the Mughal period. These are the three separate clusters of three, five and six points, respectively, resembling different forms of an asterisk. They occur on both the sides of the coin. The other two marks, however, do not seem to be merely ornamental. On the obverse, as has been described already, over ح of the word حامی, there occurs the sprig like symbol shown as M. M. 1 (vide Pl. XI). This is similar to the symbolic mark of Datīā as given in 'Index IV—Ornaments and Symbols' appended to Vol. IV of the catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.² In the same catalogue, coin No. 8 in plate XX, which is a coin of Datīā, portrays on its obverse a symbol similar to this. There too it is over ح of حامی. In the catalogue itself in describing coins of Datīā, on the obverse of twelve of them, in the formula فضل الله حامی a similar symbol is reproduced between the words الله and حامی.³ Though the twelve coins bear no mint-name⁴ and as such it is not possible to say very definitely that this mint-mark is of Dalīpnagar mint, this further evidence confirms the identification of Dalīpnagar as a town in Datīā State.

The cataloguer, in his introductory note, states that in Datīā State two distinct types of coin are reputed to have been struck—the Rājā Shāhi and the Gaja Shāhi.⁵ The latter imitates the coins of Orchha State, which at present is separated

1. Translated extracts from Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VIII, p. 215.

2. *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. IV Native States, edited by J. Allan, Oxford 1928, p. 872.

3. *Ibid* : p. 294.

4. *Ibid* : p. 293.

5. *Ibid* : p. 293.

from Datia State only by a narrow strip of British territory not more than 15 miles in width wherein lies the city of Jhansi.¹ The other type—the Rājā Shāhi—"is an imitation", the cataloguer continues, "of a coin struck by Shāh Alam at an unknown mint, with the date 1178 and of the sixth year of his reign."² Mark the words: 'an imitation of', 'an unknown mint', 'the date 1178' and 'the sixth year of his reign'. The coin under discussion bears the date 1178 and was struck in the sixth year of Shāh Alam's reign. Is Dalipnagar then the unknown mint? And are these twelve coins of Datia in imitation of the coin of Shāh Alam now under discussion? Evidence points to favour an answer in the affirmative and lends confirmation to the identification of Dalipnagar as Datia.

Let us now turn to the last symbolic mark. This is found on the reverse of the coin. This symbolic mark is assigned to Jhansi in Index IV attached to Vol. IV of the Catalogue already referred to.³ The distance between the town of Jhansi and the town of Datia is 16 miles only by the railway as given in the Indian Bradshaw, and, therefore, the location of Dalipnagar in parts round about Datia again receives confirmation. But in view of this mark of Jhansi, doubts may be raised whether Dalipnagar is Datia town itself. Let us attempt to see if these doubts can be removed.

It is not unusual to find more than one symbolic mark on one and the same coin. L. White King in his paper on the History and Coinage of Malwa says: "These marks are found sometimes on one side of the coin only and sometimes on both, while a few coins are ornamented with as many as three symbols."⁴ There are also instances of coins of Shāh Alam having more than one mint-mark given by Valentine.⁵ Prinsep, in discussing the symbols on Shāh Alam's coins, states that in fixing the localities of coins, there is an advantage in consulting such symbolic marks. He points out a further advantage when he states that "they enable us at once to class together various coins as having been issued by the same authority."⁶ The possibilities in the present case suggested by the presence of dual mint-marks are: (i) that on this coin, this symbolic mark is not representing Jhansi, but is either an additional mint mark of Dalipnagar or a mere ornamental sign,

1. Vide map attached to the District Gazetteer of the United Provinces, Vol. XXIV—Jhansi, Allahabad 1909.

2. I. M. C., Calcutta, Vol. IV, 1928, p. 298.

3. Ibid : p. 372.

4. Num. Chr., Fourth Series, Vol. IV, 1907, p. 67.

5. Copper Coins of India, Part I, by W. H. Valentine, London 1914, p. 98, coin No. 61; see also p. 120, coins Nos. 217-222.

6. Useful Tables illustrative of the Coins, Weights and Measures of British India, by James Prinsep, ed. by E. Thomas, London 1858, pp. 39-40.

which, later, as occurring on Datiā coins then in active circulation in and around Jhansi, came to be adopted by Jhansi as its mint-mark ; (ii) that it is a bi-mintal coin, examples of which during the Mughal period have been found,¹ and the mark of Jhansi is in token of the part struck at Jhansi mint ; or (iii) that this coin was issued from Dalipnagar, as the mint-name indicates, by an authority which then held sway over Jhansi as well.

Let us examine the evidence to ascertain which of these three possibilities is the most probable. Let us first try to find out if this mark on the date on which this coin was issued was a mint-mark of Jhansi. If the answer is in the affirmative, the first possibility will fall through, and we will then examine if the second or the third will apply in this case. If, however, the answer is in the negative, the solution is definite.

In regard to the mint mark of Jhansi (Balwantnagar), the facts are that as early as 1904, Burn included Balwantnagar (local name of Jhansi) in the list of mints wherefrom coins were issued in the reigns of Emperors Ahmad Shāh Bahādur, Ālamgīr II, and Shāh Ālam II.² He has also on the basis of description given by Rodgers referred to copper coins minted at Jhansi in the reign of Shāh Ālam II.³ The copper coin described by Rodgers⁴ is dated 1213 A.H. and being of such a later date is not useful for our discussion. Though Burn refers to the Balwantnagar coins of Ahmad Shāh Bahādur's reign as being in the collection of H. Nelson Wright, the latter in his catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum, Vol. III-Mughal Emperors of India, does not describe nor mention any Mughal coin of Balwantnagar mint, perhaps, none being in the collection of the Indian Museum. Whitehead, in his catalogue of coins in the Punjab Museum, notices coins of Balwantnagar of the reigns of Ahmad Shāh Bahādur, Ālamgīr II and Shāh Ālam II.⁵ Except the Ālamgīr coins, which bear a quatrefoil in the loop of س of جس none of them bear any mint-mark. In the catalogue of coins in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, there are a number of coins of Balwantnagar mint.⁶ Three of

1. See the *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. I, pp 50-52, where a bi-mintal coin of Shah Jahan is described.

2. *JASB*, Pt. I, Vol. LXIII. (1904), pp. 75-107.

3. See *JASB*, Pt. I, Vol. LXIV (1895) : Mogul Copper Coins by C. J. Rodgers, pp. 171-193 ; Plate XX, coin No. 103. See particularly p. 182 and p. 189.

4. *Ibid*: p. 182.

5. *P. M. C.*, Lahore, Vol. II-Mughal Emperors, Oxford 1914 - p. 353, p. 368 ; and p. 386 ; coin Nos. 2650, 2764-2765, and 2904-2906.

6. *Catalogue of Coins in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow*, Vol. II-The Mughal Emperors ed. by C. J. Brown, Oxford 1920, p. 366, p. 381, and pp. 407-408 ; coin Nos. 4248-45, 4889-92, and 4659-66.

them of the reign of Ahmad Shāh Bahadur¹ have a quatrefoil on the obverse, and one² of the four of the reign of Alamgir II bear a slightly different quatrefoil on the reverse. The others have no mint mark. Of those of Shah Alam's reign, the only one which in date is earlier than the date of the coin in discussion is No. 4659. It is of the third regnal year and bears on the obverse a mint mark resembling a fish, quite a different mark from the one now being examined. Dr. Taylor³ cites Balwantnagar as a mint town for the silver coins of Emperor Muhammad Shāh (1719-1748 A. D.) the information being based on a silver coin described by H. Nelson Wright in JASB, VI, 4, on p. 239 (NS, XIII, 78). Here, again, in the description, no mint mark is mentioned. The facts which emerge in respect of Jhansi (or Balwantnagar) mint, therefore, are that this mint started its career in an earlier reign, viz., that of Muhammad Shāh. Of the coins struck earlier than 1178 A. H. at this mint, none bear a mint-mark similar to the mint-mark on the coin under discussion. Of the coins described by Allan⁴ bearing the mint-mark identical to the one on the coin under discussion, though one is assigned a provisional date 1174 A. H. it is not correct as the regnal year thereof suggested as third cannot be reconciled, Shāh Alam's date of accession being 4. v. 1173 A. H.⁵ It seems to be a later issue and particularly as it bears in *balbodh* the numeral two on the obverse, it was probably issued from Balwantnagar mint when the Marathas had the authority over the mint.⁶ The conclusion that is suggested, therefore, from the fact that this mint mark has not figured on the coins of Jhansi (or Balwantnagar) of any date earlier than the date of the coin under discussion, is that the mint-mark was not on that date (1178 A.H.) a local mint-mark of Jhansi. Under the circumstances, the first possibility of the three suggested above seems to be the most probable, viz., that the mint-mark was at a later date copied from the non-local issue which was minted at Dalipnagar (a neighbouring mint to Balwantnagar) and which was meant for circulation in Datia and territories around.

In view of these facts, the doubts which we referred to as arising from the presence of the mint-mark of Jhansi are eliminated. To sum up, it may be asserted that in the light of

1 Coin Nos. 4243-45, p. 366.

2 Coin No. 4892, p. 381.

3 JASB, X, 5, p. 189 (NS, XXII, Art. 127).

4. I. M. C., Calcutta, Vol. IV—Native States, 1928, p. 346.

5. Prof. Hodiwala's contribution on the Chronology of the Mughal Emperors in his Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics, Calcutta, 1928, p. 288.

6. See "A Scrutiny of the Mints of Shah Alam II" by R. G. Gyani, in the Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh Oriental Conference held at Baroda in 1933, Baroda 1935, p. 727.

the evidence cited above, the conclusion that is evident is that Dalīpnagar, the mint-town of the coin under review, is the same as the present town of Datīā.

The question to be discussed next is whether Dalīpnagar could be called a Mughal mint or it was only a mint town for the local issues of Datīā. Mr. R. G. Gyani has pointed out that coins were struck during the late Mughal period by the local authorities in the name of the Emperor from various mint towns with distinctive marks of their own, though the Emperor had no control over these mints.¹ In a paper; "Remarks on the so-called 'Fish-hook' money", read by H. H. Wilson before the Numismatic Society, London, as early as on the 22nd December, 1853, he stated: "the coins of the last Shāh Alam of Delhi, although coined all over India continued to bear his name, and the mintage of Shāh-Jahanabad; and the Company's rupee bore the legend, struck at Murshidabad, many years after it was coined at Calcutta."² Stanley Lane-Poole in his introduction to the Catalogue of Indian coins in the British Museum gives an expression to his own difficulty when he states that "It must be confessed, however, that the line between the local and imperial coinage is hard to draw during Shāh-Ālam's reign and some of the coins described under this Emperor might perhaps be classed with equal reason among the local issues."³ The same difficulty has been echoed by others as well.⁴ In a contribution on "Some Coins of the Mughal Emperors," Longworth Dames in 1902 indicated⁵ the number of new Mughal mints brought to light since the publication of the British Museum Catalogue. He was careful, however, to point out that on the decline of the Mughal Empire, many of the new states formed from its ruins, with a view to avail themselves "of the prestige still attached to the *Bulshah*," continued to use on their coins the name of the reigning Emperor. Coins, therefore, struck in the name of the later Mughals should not be deemed in all cases to be struck under their authority. This very same point has been discussed by Johnson in 1903 in a paper on the "Coinage of the East India Company."⁶ He refers to the difficulties presenting themselves in distinguishing between (i) the Mughal issues, (ii) the imitative issues of the East India Company

1. Vide his paper on 'A scrutiny of the Mints of Shāh-Ālam II' in the Proceedings of the Seventh Oriental Conference held at Baroda in 1933, pp. 725-728; see also *NS*, XLVI, (336), 1936, p. 100N.

2. *Num. Chr.*, Vol. XVI, 1854, p. 181.

3. *The Coins of the Mughal Emperors of Hindustan in the British Museum*, by Stanley Lane-Poole, ed. by R. S. Poole, London 1892, p. clix.

4. See p. vi of the preface by H. Nelson Wright to his Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. III-Mughal Emperors of India, Oxford 1908.

5. *Num. Chr.*, Fourth Series, Vol. II, 1902, pp. 275-309.

6. *Ibid*: Vol. III, 1903, pp. 71-98.

and (iii) the local coinage of states which attained during this period semi-independence but continued to coin in the name of Shāh Alam even after his death.

Undoubtedly, it is not easy to say conclusively in the case of coins of Shāh Alam II, whether any particular coin is an imperial coin issued under the direct authority of the Emperor from a Mughal mint, or, is one of those independently issued by a local ruler from a mint of his own state. According to an estimate, prepared in 1914, in the reign of Shāh Alam the total number of mints known to be working was 87.¹ Since then, in the light of subsequent research it has risen, but even 87 exceeds the number of mints of other Mughal emperors in India. In the time of Akbar, despite the magnificent extent of his empire, there were 78 only.² This large number in the time of Shāh Alam, when the Empire was so attenuated, does, therefore, indicate some artificial inflation and suggests the desirability of careful scrutiny.

We have come across a reference made in 1938 by Mr. R. G. Gyani that "an overhauling re-examination" of coins assigned hitherto to later Mughals was in hand.³ When the details on the completion of this re-examination are published, there may be perhaps definite principles laid down afresh for deciding whether a coin of the later Mughal period can be classified as a Mughal coin or a local issue. In the meantime, in the light of such details as we have, let us proceed to examine the coin under discussion and also having due regard to certain criteria laid down by Whitehead for adjudging imperial issues,⁴ let us attempt a finding whether it is a Mughal coin or one of a local issue. On the basis of evidence before us, we are inclined to suggest that this particular coin is a Mughal coin. The arguments in support are given below.

In his history of Shujā-ud-daulah, based on original sources, Srivastava states⁵ that "the fall of Jhansi and with it the northwestern corner of Bundelkhand proved to be an event of great political importance, and it had wide repercussions in and out of the land of the Bundela Rajputs. The Maratha expulsion from that corner of this wild region was looked upon as a definite triumph of the Mughal arms, and it aroused temporary hopes of the rejuvenation of the Empire."

1. Numismatic Supplement to *JRASB*, XXII, (127). 1913, p. 195—a very useful contribution by G. P. Taylor of Ahmedābād.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. I, 1939, p. 72.

4. See pp. vi-viii of *P. M. C.*, Lahore, Vol. II. *Mughal Emperors*, Oxford, 1914.

5. *Shujā-ud-daulah*, by A. L. Srivastava, Vol. I-1754-1765, Calcutta 1939, p. 142.

Rulers, near and distant, offered their allegiance or gave up their negative attitude of hostility or indifference to the Imperial throne. It was a psychological moment in the story of Shāh Ālam's attempts to re-establish the lost glories of the Great Mughals. As has been stated already, at the time when he brought parts of Bundelkhand under his sway and annexed some *pargana*s of Orchhā and Datia to the Empire, he was a fugitive from his capital. These were his initial gains in his campaign to retrieve his lost position. It would be natural, therefore, were he, in the light of these circumstances, to resort to impress his regal authority by a fresh issue of his own coinage for circulation in a territory recently conquered by him.

The second point to take into account is that the coin bears marks which are similar to and were adopted later as the mint marks of Datia and Jhansi both. So, obviously, as has been stated already, it could not belong to the local issues of either of these two. The dual mint-marks suggest that the issuing authority had at the time jurisdiction over both the principalities,¹ and, we have evidence that Emperor Shāh Ālam had just then established such an authority over the territories of Datia and Jhansi.

The third point to note is that while in the present case the mint town is mentioned, in the case of all the coins so far known and definitely assigned to Datia and whose details have been published,² there is no mention thereon of a mint town. As early as 1897, Dr. Hoernle described three coins of Datia and illustrated them with plates in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.³ Later, in 1928, in the Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. IV-Native States,

1 For instances in support of this suggestion, see R. G. Gyanī's paper on "Some rare and unpublished coins of the Sindhiās," *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 72-80. Coin No. 4 is a coin of Sindhiā with the additional mint-mark resembling that of Bhopal.

2 Besides those discussed in this paper, a reference to a coin of Datia is found to have been made by Mr. O. Codrington in his Notes on the Cabinet of Coins of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, published in the Journal of the said Society, Vol. XVIII: 1890-94, pp. 80-88. On p. 84, in the list of coins of Indian States, he refers to a certain variety of coins of Datia as being in the possession of the Society. A personal visit to the rooms of the Society, however, and a request to the Librarian for permission to inspect the said coin proved unavailing. It seems that the existing lists in the possession of the Librarian did not disclose the presence of such a coin in the cabinet of the Society. In the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, however, Mr. Gyanī was kind enough to show me the coins of Datia in his charge. There are 3 silver coins bearing the regnal year 6 but no definite *hijri* date nor any mint-town. They resemble the Raja Shahi type of Datia coins referred to by Allan in his Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. IV-Native States, on p. 293-296.

3 Notes on Coins of Native States by A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, *JASB*, LXVI, 1897, Part I, pp. 261-274: See coins Nos. 24-26 in Plates XXXI-XXXII.

28 different coins of *Datiā* have been described,¹ and three of them are illustrated. The first twelve of these later 28 are described by the cataloguer as 'Rājā Shāhī' type of coins, and, as we have already quoted above, he adds: "The 'Rājā Shāhī' is an imitation of a coin struck by Shāh Ālam at an unknown mint, with the date 1178 and of the sixth year of his reign."² Mark the words 'a coin struck by Shāh Ālam'. As we have asserted above, the description of the coin discussed in this paper fits in with the description of the coin that the cataloguer has given, except in regard to the mint which is now identified. It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude that this coin is the one struck by Shāh Ālam and to which the cataloguer has alluded.

The fourth point to note is that when the coins of *Datiā*, illustrated by Hoernle and in the Catalogue of the Indian Museum or which are in the possession of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, are examined and compared with the coin under discussion, the following facts emerge :

- (i) the obverse and the reverse of the coins of *Datiā* locally issued, bear the word '*julus*' (جولس) and a part of the formula-'*Allah hami*' (الله حامی) too prominently in bold outlines, with the rest of the words missing altogether or almost missing. In almost all cases, only a very fragmentary portion of the usual legend is evident on either side;
- (ii) the word '*julus*' (جولس) is spelt in a distinctly queer fashion with the '*pish*' sign (پ) glaringly prominent;
- (iii) the mint mark of *Datiā*, though retaining the same outline as in the coin under discussion, is slightly different and is connected fancifully in most cases with the outlines of the letters '*lam*' (ل) or '*he*' (ه) of the word *Allah* (الله);
- (iv) the specimen of calligraphy in the case of *Datiā* coins is distinctly cruder and in some cases very inelegant;
- (v) in style and execution the coins of *Datiā* convey a poor impression as contrasted with the artistic elegance of the coin under review.

All these points show conclusively that the coin under discussion is distinctly of a type different from that of the coins catalogued and assigned to *Datiā*. It belongs to an earlier and better type and in style, execution and other points appro-

1. pp. 293-296 and plate XX. coins Nos 8-10. Only No. 8-the 'Rājā Shāhī' type is taken into consideration here, as the others are radically different in style and execution and belong to quite a different type, as pointed out by the Cataloguer.

2. p. 298.

ximates, if not equals, the standards we have come to associate with the coins issued from Mughal mints.

The inferiority of the local issues of Datia is evident from the value which they could command in the open market. The following table gives a comparative idea of the respective values of the different types of coinage in circulation in one of the districts of the (as known then) North-Western Province of India in the middle of the last century. This territory was a neighbouring province to Datia. The values in the table are in terms of one hundred rupees of the East India Company's issue and are taken from the Gazetteer of the said Province :¹

Gwalior	Rs. 93	0	0	Gajashahi or Tehri	84	8	0
Chanderi	„ 93	0	0	Nanashahi or Jhansi	83	15	10
Rajashahi or				New Rajashahi			
Old Chatterpur	88	0	0	or Datia	62	0	0
Srinagari	„ 87	10	8				

Mark the low value of new Rājāshāhī or Datia coins. Even the Rājāshāhī or old Chattarpur coins fetched only Rs. 88/- in terms of Rs. 100/- of the East India Company's coinage.

A further point to note is the statement made by Prinsep that the Datia mint dated from 1784.² This supports the suggestion made above that the local issues of Datia were later in time. It is possible that when it was started the issues therefrom were in imitation of certain imperial issues of Shāh Alam locally struck. An argument in support is available to prove this contention. On a personal inspection of the coins of Datia in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, it was found that in an attempt to be very faithful to the original, the numerals of the *hijri* date 1176 which are on the original coin, were reproduced on the later coins. But not all were there, nor, those that were there were placed together. Such of them as were there were found to be scattered all over the surface. The consistent repetition, furthermore, of the sixth regnal year in all these later coins also suggests imitation.

There are further supporting facts as well. Webb says : "The coins of the Native States are fashioned in a rude way With very few exceptions, the coins bear only portions of the inscriptions carried by the dies."³ There is a similar statement made by Mr. Gyani in describing certain coins of Sindhia. He says: "in a later stage these coins and specially

1, Statistical, Descriptive and Historical Account of the North Western Provinces of India by E. T. Atkinson, Vol. I.—Bundelkhand, Allahabad, 1874, p. 228.

2. See : *Useful Tables*, etc.....London, 1858, p. 30.

3. *The Currencies of the Hindu States of Rajputana*, by W. W. Webb, Westminster, 1898, p. viii.

the copper coins had very little of the legend while the symbols occupied the prominent position."¹ Both these characteristics have been found on the coins of Datia. We have seen that on them the legends are fragmentary and the symbols are made unduly prominent. The mint-mark and not the mint-name gives us the clue to the source of the coinage. All these traits are in perfect contrast to those of the coin under discussion. Therefore, it may be asserted that the latter, with its detailed legend and no undue prominence to the symbols, with its excellent calligraphy and elegant execution, belongs to an issue earlier than, and in type completely different from, the coins of Datia.

Before concluding, let us review our findings in the light of what Whitehead has laid down² as the criteria for determining whether any particular issue of coinage is Imperial or not. According to him:

- (i) they should be of the Imperial type and bear legible inscriptions ;
- (ii) they should have legible mints, and their regnal and *hijri* dates should be in accord ;
- (iii) local mint-marks, devices and symbols should be absent.

The Coin Conference held at Allahabad in December, 1910, wisely pointed out the desirability of scrutinizing additional features such as fabric and workmanship and local history of the place of issue. It was laid down that "fabric and workmanship of a coin, if crude and clumsy, would be evidence of origin other than imperial."³ Further, that history must supply "corroborative evidence of a Mughal emperor having exercised direct control over the locality from which issued any coins assigned to him."⁴ Ultimately, the Conference resolved that it would be advisable to regard all coins bearing the names of the Mughal emperors which were struck upto and including the year 1803 A.D. (or 1218 A.H.) as Mughal.⁵ Though, the coin under discussion can be classified as Mughal in the terms of this resolution, we should not like to base our conclusion on such an elastic standard adopted more out of convenience than otherwise. Rather, let us analyse the intrinsic characteristics of the coin and then adjudge it. If we do so, we find that in type, the coin is similar to those confirmed as imperial coins. Secondly, it bears legible legend in a very elegant style, the mint-town is identified and the regnal and the *hijri* dates are in accord. Further, the fabric and workmanship are not crude

1. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. I, 1939, p. 77.

2. *Vide* pp. vi-viii of the Preface to *P. M. O.*, Lahore.

3. *Ibid.* : p. vii.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

and clumsy, but bear similarity to imperial standards.¹ And lastly, local history supplies corroborative evidence of Shāh Alam, at that time, exercising suzerain authority in Datia and parts around.

The only criterion of Whitehead, which apparently seems to have not been satisfied, is in respect of the mint-marks. But, in this regard, too, it has to be remembered that Datia mint as pointed out above dates from 1783, that is fifteen years after the year in which this coin was issued. And the mint mark, therefore, in 1768 was not local, as no local coinage had then been issued under that mark. We have no example of a Datia coin of a year earlier than 1768 A. D. The evidence, in fact, that the local issues of Datia were later and in imitation of a coin struck by Shāh Alam has already been cited. Furthermore, the mint mark on this coin is very similar to, but is not the same as that of Datia, there being a slight difference in the curve of the base line. This difference seems to support the fact of later and cruder imitation.

We have already proved that the mint mark of Jhansi on the coin was not local on the date of the issue of this coin. Both the mint-marks having thus been found to be not local at the time the coin was issued, the criterion of Whitehead in this respect can be said to have been satisfied. So a scrutiny in the light of the criteria laid down by Whitehead favour the classification of this coin as an imperial coin.

Having regard to all the evidence discussed above, it may be asserted, therefore, that the coin does not belong to the local issues of Datia but is a Mughal coin struck under the authority of the Mughal Emperor, Shāh Alam II. Consequently, Dalipnagar whereat it was struck could be classified as a Mughal mint on that date. It may be added, however, that it is possible that Dalipnagar is an instance of a transitional mint,² which, though first started as a Mughal mint, perhaps, soon ceased to be as such³ and was restarted as a mint for local issues in 1784 with perhaps, the permission of the Emperor.⁴

In conclusion, I wish to thank Dr. P. M. Joshi and his assistant, Mr. Narvekar, for making available to me the

1. In this connection, the weight of the coin (178.5) has to be noted particularly.

2. For similar instances of transitional mints, see the author's introduction to the Catalogue of the coins of Mughal Emperors in the British Museum by S. Lane Poole, pp. cix-cxiv.

3. The suggestion is based on the fact that no coin of any other date minted at Dalipnagar is found yet as having been issued between 1768 (the date of this coin) and 1784 (the date of establishment of Datia mint).

4. See Prinsep: *Useful Tables*, etc. p. 27 where he states: 'The petty Raja of Datia was indignant at the suggestion that he had opened his mint without authority.'

valuable resources of the University Library under their charge. I am also grateful to Mr. R. G. Gyani for permitting me the inspection of the Datia coins in the collection of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and for making arrangements for the plaster-casts and estampages of the coin. And, lastly, I wish to take this opportunity to place on record in public my deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Vicaji D. B. Taraporewala for providing, so constantly, inspiration and encouragement in my cultural activities. My justification in making this personal reference is due to my feeling that his never failing enthusiasm for and his public munificence in aid of cultural activities have not received the due recognition.

A NEW MUGHAL MINT

BY DR. PANNA LALL, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., (Retd.)

Sometime back during my travels in South India, I had the good fortune to visit the Rajaram College at Kolhapur, where Prof. Kudangar, the Director of the Archæological Department, showed me some objects which had been discovered during excavations at Brahmapuri near Kolhapur. Among other things, six silver coins appeared to me to be of interest, bearing, as they did, names of rare mints, one almost certainly a hitherto-unknown mint. By the kind offices of the Hon'ble The Resident, these coins were lent to me for detailed examination and are described below in chronological order.

No. 1. Silver coin of the Mughal Emperor Shāh 'Alam Bahādur.

(A. H. 1119-1124 ; A. D. 1707-1712)

Mint, Karimābād ; *r. y.* 2 ; *wt.* 177 grs. ; size '8"

Obverse.

شاہ عالم باد
شاہ عالم باد
سکہ

Reverse.

سنہ ۲ جلوس
کریم آباد
ضرب

(Pl. XII, 1)

This coin is much like Lucknow Museum coin No. 3517. There are coins of the regnal year 3 in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (Nos. 1684 and 1685).

Nos. 2-3. Silver coins of the Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shāh.

(A. H. 1131-1161 ; A. D. 1719-1748)

Mint No. 2, Kolāpur ; *r. y.* 8 ; *wt.* 178 grs. ; size 9"

Obverse.

محمد
بادشاہ
محمد سا

Reverse.

میہند
سنہ ۸ جلوس
ضرب
کولہ پور

(Pl. XII, 2)

No. 3.

Ditto

Ditto

Mint Kolāpur ; *r. y.* 8 ; 1139 H. ; *wt.* 176 grs. ; size 1"

Obverse.

محمد سا
سا
بادشاہ
سکہ
مبارک ۱۱۳۹

Reverse.

میہند مانوس
سنہ ۸ جلوس
ضرب
کولہ پور

(Pl. XII, 3)

This coin is fortunately in a very good state of preservation and gives the complete legend, the mint name being quite clear. There can be no doubt that it is Kolāpur, and not Korāpur; the relative position and size of the strokes of the letter *l* and *ā* make this unmistakable.

Again this can have no connexion with coins of mint Kora which freely appears on the silver coins of Rafī-'ud-darjāt, Muḥammad Shāh and others down to Shāh 'Ālam II. That mint name is invariably written as *Kōra* without the Saffix *pūr*.

It is interesting to note that Kolāpur, or Kolhāpur (Kollāpuram) is an old and important town in Southern India. The Chola king Rājendradeva II (circa 1052-63 A.D.), while at war with the Chālukyas, pressed on to Kolhapur and planted a *Jayastambha* there¹ (See V. Rangacharya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. I. p. 227, No. 857).

No. 4. Silver coin of Muḥammad Shāh,
Mint Sakākul; *r. y.* 10.; 1141 H.; wt. 178 grs.; size .85"

Obverse.

محمد شاه
ادشاه غاے
سکه مبارک

Reverse.

مہمند مانوس
سنہ ۱۰ جلوس
ضرب
سکا کل ۱۱۴۱

(Pl. XII, 4)

Coins of this mint issued by Aurangzeb and Jahāndār Shāh are known and are in the Hyderabad Museum, but no coins of Muḥammad Shāh of this mint has hitherto been known. It may be identified with Chicacole, an ancient place in the Ganjam District of the Orissa Province, whose ruler like other rulers of the Dakṣiṇāpatha, was subjugated by the Emperor Samudragupta, as recorded among his exploits on his Allahabad pillar inscription.

Nos. 5-6. Silver coins of Muḥammad Shāh.

No. 5 Mint Tārāmātī or Tārāmāthī; *r. y.* 18 with device
π on reverse; wt. 176 grs.; size .9"

1. [A branch of the Śilāhara dynasty was ruling here during the 11th and 12th centuries as a feudatory of the Chālukyas. The antiquity of the place however goes to a much earlier period. At the same place where the coins described in this paper, were unearthed, was discovered a big hoard of the coins of the Sātavāhana period with the bow and arrow device, which are attributed by some to the Sātavāhana rulers and by others to their feudatories (Rapson, *Catalogue of the coins of the Andhras, Kshatrapas*, p. lxxxvi, plates, I and II). The *Padmapurāṇa* refers to this city as Karavira in *Uttara Kh.*, ch. 74) and it is known by that alternative name even today. A. S. A.]

<i>Obverse.</i>	<i>Reverse.</i>
بادشاہ غازی	میمنہ مانر
ک	سنہ ۱۸ جلوس
سکہ مبارک	ضرب تارامتی

(Pl. XII. 5)

In the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, several states assumed independence and struck coins on the pattern of the Mughal coinage but introducing various devices and distinctive marks of their own.

No. 6. Another silver coin of Muḥammad Shāh.
Mint Tārāmatī ; *r. y.* 18 ; *wt.* 1765 grs ; *size* .9"

<i>Obverse.</i>	<i>Reverse.</i>
متحد سا	میمنہ
بادشاہ غازی	سنہ ۱۸ جلوس
ب	تارا متی
سکہ مبارک	

(Pl. XII, 6)

The mint Tārāmatī, or Tārāmaṭhī is as yet unidentified

I am much obliged to my friend Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal Sahib for help in the preparation of this note and to Dr. V. S. Agarwal of the Museum of Central Asian Antiquities, New Delhi, for the photographs of the coins.

DISCOVERY OF THE FATHABAD MINT

BY PRIN. H. K. SHERWANI, NEW DELHI.

It was with some interest that the readers of this esteemed *Journal* read Captain Tarapore's article on *The Identification of the Bahmani Mint at Fathabad* on p. 47 of the Vol. VII of the *Journal*. It is the misfortune of the writer of this note that his book "*Maḥmūd Gāwān, the Great Bahmanī Wazīr*" should not have found its way to Captain Tarapore's table; otherwise he would have found the following clear footnote on p. 58, which might have saved him the trouble of penning the article in question.

"44. See *Report of the Hyderabad Archaeological Department*, 1329 F., pp. 52-53. The situation of Fathābād was long a mystery. *Khāfi Khān*, *Mutakhahu'l-Lubāb*, ed. Haig, III, 426, 436, says that Lāling near Dhulia was renamed Fathābād owing to the victory over *Khāndesh* in 1378. But a frontier town would hardly be a place where a mint would be situated. Moreover the Fathābād coins all belong to the reign of Muḥammad Shāh I, while we know of no victorious battle fought at Lāling till the reign of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Aḥmad II. There is, of course, another place, Dhārūr, which was also known as Fathābād, but we do not come across this '*urf*' till the reign of Shāh Jahān. A third would be Fathābād, half way between Aurangābād and Manmad, but the difficulty was that there were no remains of any description there. The difficulty in the way of the identification of the Mint has been solved by the decided reference in *Burhānu'l-Ma'āyir* p. 17 that Daulatabad was renamed Fathābād.

There are only eight Fathabad coins extant: 2 in the Hyderabad Museum, 2 in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and 4 in the British Museum, all of them belonging to the reign of Muhammad Shah I."

It is also slightly surprising that while Mr. Shamsu'l-lah Qadiri had definite recourse to *Mahmud Gawan* as far back as 1943, he should have made no mention of the matter to Captain Tarapore, who says that he was assisted by him in the compilation of the article.

The present writer might take leave to mention that practically all known numismatic evidence, so far as it has a bearing on the Bahmani Dynasty, has been discussed and utilised in his forthcoming book, *The Bahmanis and their Culture*

CAPT. P. S. TARAPORE'S REPLY

In the above note Professor Sherwani draws attention to a note on page 58 of his book *Mahmud Gawan*, in which the identity of Daulatabad with Fathabad is established on the authority of a passage in the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*. Incidentally, the professor regrets that his book, which was issued in 1943, did not find its way to my table. How far this is relevant will be seen later on. As far back as 1942 in a rejoinder to Mr. C. R. Singhal, published in the *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. IV of 1942 (page 67 line 19), I had occasion to allude to the identity of Fathabad mint with Daulatabad. This was based upon information given to me in 1940 by my friend Mr. Shamsulla Qadiri, but I was not able to procure an accurate translation of the Persian text of the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* at that time.

My article of 1945 was based upon the translation by Major J. S. King given in his book *The History of the Bahmani Dynasty founded on the Burhan-i-Ma'asir* published in the year 1900. This publication is well known to many scholars, but copies are hard to procure.

I am grateful to Professor Sherwani for having raised this subject, as I have again carefully examined Major King's translation on this particular point. The passage referring to Fathabad will also be found on page 145, Vol. XXVIII of *The Indian Antiquary* for June 1899, from which it might be inferred that Kalliani and not Daulatabad was renamed Fathabad. In the index of this Volume, page 335, it is also shown "Fathabad-Kalyan". But Major King's publication subsequently issued in 1900, mentioned above, does not contain in its index any such reference to Fathabad being the same as Kalyan. The explanation would appear to be that the compiler of *The Indian Antiquary* adopted the former view and made the entry in the index accordingly. The omission of such an entry in the index of Major King's publication of 1900 does not warrant any such conclusion.

The Persian text of the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* must therefore remain the authority on which the renaming of Daulatabad as Fathabad is based. The sense of the narrative in this text definitely leads to the view that Daulatabad was the place renamed Fathabad by Alauddin Bahman Shah I.

BAYANA HOARD OF THE GUPTA GOLD COINS.

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

In my presidential address, I have given in this number on pp. 96-98 a brief account of the Gupta coins found in Bharatpur state from the information that I could gather at Patna from different sources. Later on I had an opportunity to examine and classify this hoard at Bharatpur, thanks to the kindness of H. H. Sri Brajendra Sawai Brajendra Singhji Bahadur Bahadur Jung, the Maharajasahab of Bharatpur. Owing to other engagements I could devote only five days to the work and make only a preliminary classification. Some of the coins were not properly cleansed, and it was hoped that some further coins might become available. Originally the hoard consisted probably of about 2200 coins, of which some were melted down and some concealed. Bharatpur government could eventually recover as many as 1788; it is possible that some more may become available. A complete classification will therefore be done later, probably in the month of October 1947. I hope to publish a detailed paper, illustrated with plates, describing all the unique and rare coins. The Bharatpur government hopes to prepare a complete catalogue of this unique hoard, giving a scientific and accurate description of each coin. Both these will however take some time. As the hoard is the biggest one to be discovered and recovered, there must be the natural curiosity to have a preliminary account of it, and of its rare and unique types. I am accordingly giving below its preliminary classification, based upon my rough notes taken during my five days' stay at Bharatpur. Kumāragupta is apparently the last king represented in the hoard; it is possible that the single coin of the *Chhatra* type with the legend Kramāditya may have been issued by his son Skandagupta either as Yuvarāja or as emperor. The hoard therefore seems to have been buried towards the end of the reign of Kumāragupta or the beginning of that of Skandagupta, when person and property had become unsafe in northern U.P., and Rajputana owing to the Hūna invasion.

It may be incidentally observed that the coins in this hoard are probably greater in number than all the Gupta gold coins in all the museums in the world. This is the first occasion when so big a hoard of Gupta coins has become available for classification and study. The numismatic world will feel very grateful to His Highness the Maharajasahab of Bharatpur for recovering nearly 90% of the coins of the hoard. We all are now looking with great eagerness to the publication of the complete and scientific catalogue of the hoard which H.H. the Maharaja Sahab hopes to bring out in the near future.

BAYANA HOARD : PRELIMINARY CLASSIFICATION.

Chandragupta I : 10 coins

Types.	No. in the hoard.
King and Queen type.	10

Samudragupta : 173 coins

Standard type.	136
----------------	-----

Var. A. (Legend at I).	116
Var. B. (Legend at VII).	20

N. B. About a dozen coins are
rather small in size.

Battle-axe type.	8
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Var. A. With <i>Samudra</i> .	7
Var. B. With <i>Kri</i> .	1

Lyrist type.	7
--------------	---

Var. A. (Large size). RARE.	2
Var. B. (Small size). RARE.	5

Tiger-slayer type. RARE.	2
--------------------------	---

Var. A. With <i>Rājā Samudraguptaḥ</i> .	1
Var. B. With <i>Vyāghraparākramaḥ</i> on both sides.	1

Archer type. RARE.	2
--------------------	---

Aśvamedha type.	18
-----------------	----

Var. A. Legend beginning at I.	8
Var. B. Legend beginning at VIII. NEW VARIETY.	8
Var. C. Legend beginning at VI. NEW VARIETY.	2

Kachagupta : 15 Coins

<i>Chakradhvaja</i> type.	15
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Chandragupta II : 961 Coins

Archer type.	790
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Types.	No. in the hoard.	
Class I : Throne reverse.		
Var. A. <i>Chandra</i> under 1. arm	25	42
Var. B. <i>Chandra</i> between bow and bowstring	8	
Var. C. King to l., holding bow by the middle	6	
Var. D. As above, but king looking to r.	1	
Var. E. Goddess on backless throne	2	
Class II : Lotus reverse		
748		
Var. A. <i>Chandra</i> under 1. arm ; most common	708	}
Var. B. <i>Chandra</i> between bow and bow-string, NEW	1	
Var. C. King holding bow in r. hand	2	
Var. D. Bow in 1. hand held at the top, but king looking r.	2	
Var. E. King to l., holding bow by the middle and looking l.	3	
Var. F. Ditto, but king looking r.	4	
Var. G. King to l. but facing r. and holding the bow at the top	15	
Var. H. With crescent on Garuḍa	12	
Var. I. Lakshmī seated on a lotus, but with one leg tucked up.	1	
Horseman type.		
77		
King with bow and arrow; (in 3 coins king is to l., in one to r.)	4	}
King with sword only. (In 28 coins horse is to r., 19 being with and 9 without symbols. In 24 coins horse is to l., 22 being with symbols and 2 without symbols.)	52	
Unclassified	21	
Chhattra type.		
54		
Class I : With legend, <i>Mahārājādhirāja— Śrī-Chandraguptaḥ.</i>	4	}
Class II ;		
Var. A. With the legend <i>Kṣhitimavajītya</i>	13	
Var. B. With the legend <i>Kṣhiti . . Kramādītyaḥ</i>	13	
Var. C. Goddess walking l.	24	

Types.	No. in the hoard.
Lion-slayer type.	37
Lion-trampler Variety	22
Lion-combatant Variety	15

N. B. On 27 coins king is to l., and on 10 to r.

Couch type.	2
Var. A. (With no legend under the couch)	1
Var. C. With the legend, <i>Bhāgavatamahā</i>	1

<i>Chakravikrama</i> type.	1
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[Obv. King to l. receiving a present from Vishṇu with double halo round his face, mace in left hand. No circular legend.

Rev. Lakshmī standing on lotus.
Legend. *Chakravikramah.*]

Kumaragupta I: 623 coins

Archer type.—With <i>Kumāra</i> .	83
-----------------------------------	----

Var. A. Bow held at the top with string outward and <i>Kumāra</i> under arm.	5
Var. B. As above with the legend, <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i>	10
Var. C. Bow held at the middle, string outside, <i>Kumāra</i> outside the string and legend <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> .	1
Var. D. With the legend <i>Guṇeśo</i> . (Bow sometimes held at the middle and sometimes at the top)	3
Var. E. Bow held at the middle and legend <i>Mahātalam</i> .	3
Var. F. As above, but indistinct legend	61

Archer type: With <i>Ku</i> under arm.	67
With the legend <i>Vijitāvani</i> .	27
With the legend <i>Mahātalam</i> .	18
With indistinct legend.	22

Archer type: With neither <i>Ku</i> nor <i>Kumāra</i> and the legend <i>Paramarājādhirāja</i> .	27
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Peacock type;	13
Var. A. Deity facing three quarters to l.	10
Var. B. Deity facing front	3

Types.	No. in the hoard.
Lion-slayer type.	54
With the legend <i>Sākshādiva Nāra-simhaḥ</i> .	20
With the legend <i>Kumāragupto vijayī</i> .	9
With the legend <i>Kumāragupto Yudhi simhavikramaḥ</i> .	9
With the legend <i>Kumāragupto bhuvi simhavikramaḥ</i> . NEW	1
With indistinct legend.	14
With king to r.	1
Tiger-slayer type.	39
With <i>Ku</i> .	31
Without <i>Ku</i> .	8
Horseman Type.	308
Goddess feeding peacock.	257
<i>Guptakulavyomaśaśī</i> is the most common legend; <i>Kshitipatirajito vijayī</i> comes next. <i>Guptakulāmalachandro</i> ranks third. <i>Prithvītalani</i> is the rarest legend. On about 100 coins the legend cannot be made out.	
Goddess on wicker stool.	51
<i>Kshitipatirajito vijayī</i> is the most common legend, next comes <i>Guptakulavyomaśaśī</i> and <i>Guptakulāmalachandro</i> .	
'Pratāpa' type ¹	1
The central figure shows clearly folded arms at the waist—RARE.	
Aśvamedha type.	4
Var. A. Caparisoned horse to r.	2
Var. B. Bare horse to l.	2
N.B. Circular legend contains the word <i>Kumāra</i> .	
Elephant-rider type. RARE.	3
Elephant-rider-Lion-slayer type. RARE.	3
Chhattra Type. NEW.	2
Rhinoceros-slayer type. ¹ UNIQUE.	2

1. It is hoped that more coins of this type belonging to this hoard would become available for study.

Types.	No. in the hoard.
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[Obv. King on horse to r. attacking a rhinoceros by a sword in r. hand.

Rev. Lakshmī with an umbrella-bearer behind.]

Kramāditya : 1 coin.

(Personal name not given.).

<i>Chhatra</i> type.	UNIQUE.	1
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[Obv. King to r., nimbate, with an umbrella-bearer behind.

Rev. Lakshmī standing facing l.
Legend, *Kramāditya*h.]

SUMMARY

Chandragupta I	10
Samudragupta	173
Kāchagupta	15
Chandragupta II	961
Kumāragupta I	623
Kramāditya	1
Damaged and blurred	5
Total	<hr/> 1788

REVIEWS.

Numismatic Parallels of Kālidāsa; By C. Sivarama Murti, M. A., Curator, Archæological Section. Government Mussum, Madras. pp. 1-40; 28 figures. Price. 2/
Published By Saktikaryalayam, Madras. 1945.

The present booklet is charming, interesting and scholarly. The author illustrates in it 28 numismatic motifs which appear to him to show numismatic parallels to some striking ideas contained in the works of Kālidāsa. Each motif is illustrated by an accurate and beautiful drawing, which enhances the charm and utility of the booklet.

The author does not claim that the coin motifs he has discussed were inspired by Kālidāsa; he only maintains that they show numismatic parallels to Kālidāsa. He has thus wisely avoided taking the debatable position suggested by his earlier work, Sculptures inspired by Kālidāsa.

There can be no doubt that the Lyrist type of Samudragupta recalls to our mind Kālidāsa's description of the lyre of sweet notes planted on the thigh (*Raghuvamśa*, XIX, 19); similarly the pose of the king about to shoot at the lion on some coins of Chandragupta II recalls Raghu's description:

स एवमुक्त्वा मघवन्तमुन्मुखः करिष्यमाणः सशरः शरासनम् ।

अतिष्ठदालीढविशेषशोभिना वपुःप्रकर्षेण विह्वलितेश्वरः ॥

Raghuvamśa III. 52.

It is also quite possible that Samācharadeva's coin illustrates the idea contained in

निसर्गभिजास्पदमेकसंस्थमस्मिन्द्वयं श्रीश्च सरस्वती च ।

कान्त्या गिरा सूनृतया च योग्या त्वमेव कल्याणि तयोस्तृतीया ॥

In a few cases we feel that the parallels are rather far-fetched or non-existent. The idea of the emperor as *ekadhanurdhara* is better expressed by the Archer type of the Gupta emperors, where the emperors are shown with bow and arrow, than by the Bow-and-arrow type of the Kolhapur coins which show these two objects without their wielder. One may very much doubt whether the rude coins of Pavata having a three-arched hill by the side of a tree, really illustrate the idea contained in *Raghuvamśa*, XVII. 26. The presence of the Bull and the Elephant on some Greek coins is really due to local worship; the bull on one coin is expressly described as

the tutelary deity of Kapiśā. It is extremely doubtful if the Bull and Elephant type of Apollodotus can ever be regarded as illustrating the idea contained in

महोक्षता वत्सतरः स्पृशन्निव द्विपेन्द्रभावं कलभः स्पृशन्निव ।

रघुः क्रमाद्यौवनभिजयौघवः पुषोष गाभीर्यमनोहरं वपुः ॥ A. S. A.

In a large number of cases, however, the reader cannot but agree with the author and feel grateful to him for bringing out beautiful parallels, which so long remained unnoticed. The book will vividly emphasise the necessity of correlating the studies of archæology with those of literature.

Coins of Marwar. By M. M. Pandit Bishveshwar Nath Reu, Superintendent of Archæology, Jodhpur. pp. 1-29 ; 5 plates. Published by Jodhpur Government, 1946.

In the present booklet, the author gives an interesting account of the coinage of Marwar from c. 400 B. C. to 1945. Notices of early coinage of Marwar remained scattered at different places ; an account of the medieval and modern coinage can be gathered only from different catalogues. It was therefore a step in the right direction to bring out a brochure describing the Marwar coinage from the earliest times to the present day in one place.

Marwar had no special coinage of its own in the ancient period. The author has therefore given an account of such ancient coins as were found in Marwar. They were however few ; the bulk of the book therefore naturally deals with the modern coinage of the state. The author describes the coinage, illustrates the important types and gives the transliteration and translation of the coin legends. The book also gives many interesting facts about mint-management during the last 200 years. It is illustrated by five plates.

The author refers to a hoard of 6585 coins of the early Arab Governors of Sindh and 3811 coins of the Gadhia type. It would have been very good if these coins had been adequately dealt with in the book. We possess only a very vague knowledge of the tussle between the Arabs and the Gurjara Pratihāras ; the coins of the Arab governors, if properly analysed, may throw some important light upon the vicissitudes of this conflict.

A. S. A.

The Late Dr. N. K. Bhattasali.

BY N. B. SANYAL, M. A., B.L.,

Varendra Research Society, Rajashahi.

It is with deep regret that we announce the death by sudden heart failure of Dr. N. K. Bhattasali, which occurred at Dacca on 6-2-1947.

Dr. Bhattasali was the soul of the Dacca Museum, of which he was the worthy curator from its foundation in 1912. The indefatigable zeal, which he showed in building the Dacca Museum, when he had hardly any funds to purchase antiquities, will never be forgotten by the public of Eastern Bengal. Dr. Bhattasali moved incessantly, created public interest and sympathy, collected monuments and manuscripts and took a real delight in explaining their significance and importance to the visitors of his Museum. His book on '*Iconography of the Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*,' which earned him a Doctorate from the Dacca University, gives us an insight into his deep and wide scholarship and shows that he was as great in explaining and interpreting monuments as in discovering and collecting them.

'*Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bangal*' which was published as a Griffith Memorial Thesis in 1922, at once established the reputation of Dr. Bhattasali as a numismatist. His paper on 'Attribution of the imitation Gupta coins' published in *J. A. S. B.*, 1925, Num. Suppl. pp. 1—6, threw welcome light on an obscure problem. His paper on 'Old coins and how they help History' published in the *Modern Review* Vol. XLV, pp. 38-44 not only imparts new knowledge but is well calculated to excite public interest in the neglected branch of Numismatics. Mr. Bhattasali has published about thirty papers on different branches of Archæology and Indology, but it is not possible to enumerate them owing to the present paper restrictions.

Dr. Bhattasali joined the Numismatic Society in 1941 and was elected a member of the Editorial Board of this *Journal* in December 1946. We expected the *Journal* to be benefited and enriched by his co-operation, but all these hopes have been dashed to pieces by the cruel hand of Death, which has abruptly terminated the career of a simple, unassuming but noble and accomplished scholar. May his soul rest in peace !

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA, 1946.

The annual meeting of the Society for the year 1946 was held at Patna on the 28th and 29th Dec., 1946, in the premises of the Patna University Buildings.

On the morning of the 28th December, 1946, the annual meeting of the Society was inaugurated by Hon'ble Syed Mahmud, Minister, Bihar Government, in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering in the Senate Hall of the University. After his speech, Dr. A. S. Altekar read his Presidential Address which was much appreciated by the audience. This address is printed in this number on pp. 87-98.

On the morning of 29th December, 1946, the business meeting of the Society was held in one of the College rooms of the Patna College when the following members were present.

1. Dr. A. S. Altekar (President),
2. Dr. P. M. Joshi, Bombay.
3. Mr. S. C. Upadhyaya, Bombay.
4. Mr. P. C. Rath, Patna State.
5. Pr. V. V. Mirashi, Amaraoti.
6. Mr. P. L. Gupta, Benares.
7. The Curator the Curzon Museum of Archæology, Mathura.
8. The Curator, Indore Museum, Indore.
9. The Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.
10. The Curator, Dacca Museum, Dacca.
11. The Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow.
12. The Superintendent of Archæological Department, Jodhpur.
13. The State Archæologist, Mayurbhanj State.
14. Mr. R. G. Gyani, Bombay (Secretary).
15. Mr. C. R. Singhal, Bombay (Asstt. Secretary and Treasurer).

The following condolence resolutions were moved from the chair and passed, all members standing :—

(1) This meeting of the Numismatic Society of India places on record its deep sense of poignant grief at the sudden, premature and tragic death of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, the President of the Society. The services that he had rendered to the cause of Archæology will long be remembered by several generations of scholars. Rao Bahadur Dikshit was a distinguished numismatist and the services that he rendered

to the Numismatic Society of India as President and Editor of its Numismatic Supplements were very valuable, as they raised the status of the Society in the sphere of Indological research. The Society prays the Almighty to bestow upon his soul eternal peace.

Resolved that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to Mrs. Dikshit and the members of the deceased's family.

(2) The Society has learnt with profound sorrow the death of Dr. Hiranand Sastri, a distinguished epigraphist and eminent member of the Society. Dr. Hiranand Sastri rendered valuable services to the Society as its President for some time. The Society deeply mourns his loss and prays the Almighty to bestow peace on his soul.

The meeting then passed the following resolutions :—

(3) This meeting of the Numismatic Society of India congratulates His Highness the Maharaja of Bharatpur on the discovery and recovery of a large hoard of Gupta gold coins in his state.

It further requests him to take proper steps to get the hoard classified, analysed and catalogued with the help of expert advice and guidance.

It requests His Highness and his government that they should not allow a single unique coin of this hoard to leave the shores of India.

(4) It was resolved that books from the Taylor library should be issued only on the deposit of a sum equal to the value of the work to be loaned.

Books which are rare and out of print should be issued to members only through institutions and libraries, when absolutely necessary.

(5) Only those persons, who are members of the Society in their individual capacity should be eligible to become its office bearers.

(6) The work of the publication of the Journal should be entrusted to one editor assisted by an editorial committee consisting of five persons to be elected by the general body and three more to be coopted by the Editor. Only the Editor should be the member of the Managing Committee. The Secretary and the President should be authorised to make consequential changes in the constitution.

The present system of paying an honorarium to the contributors should be continued.

(7) Rs. 300 should be sanctioned for the office expences of the Editor and also of the Assistant Secretary and Treasurer.

(8) The accounts for the year 1946 were read. As they could not be audited owing to the Hon. Treasurer being on long leave, it was resolved to pass them, subject to such changes, if any, that may be required by the auditors.

(9) Resolved that the Managing Committee for the year 1947 be formed as under :—

1. President, Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares.
2. Vice-President, R. B. Prayag Dayal, Lucknow.
3. Secretary, Mr. R. G. Gyani, Bombay.
4. Asstt. Secretary } Mr. C. R. Singhal, Bombay.
and Treasurer }

MEMBERS OF THE MANAGING COMMITTEE.

1. Prin. V. V. Mirashi, Nagpur.
2. Mr. S. V. Sohoni, I. C. S., Cuttuck.
3. Dr. V. S. Agrawala, New Delhi.
4. Pandit M. M. B. N. Reu, Jodhpur.
5. Mr. Parmananda Acharya, Mayurbhanj.
6. Mr. M. M. Nagar, Lucknow.

EDITOR

Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares.

MEMBERS OF THE EDITORIAL BOARD.

1. Dr. V. S. Agrawala, New Delhi.
2. Dr. A. S. Shere, Patna.
3. Prin. V. V. Mirashi, Nagpur.
4. Mr. R. G. Gyani, Bombay.
5. Dr. P. M. Joshi, Bombay.
6. Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmad, Calcutta.
7. Mr. C. R. Singhal, Bombay.
8. Dr. Rajbali Pande, Benares.

(10) The authors should submit their publications for the award of the different prizes and medals of the Society before the end of October every year. The merit of the works submitted should be adjudged by a committee consisting of the President, the Editor and experts in editorial committee of the particular subjects dealt with by the works under examination. The award of the committee should be announced at the Annual meeting of the Society.

(11) The Society's grateful thanks be conveyed to the authorities of the Patna University for inviting the Society to hold its annual session at Patna and for giving all facilities to its members.

After finishing the business meeting of the Society, the following papers were read and coins exhibited.

1. Prin. Mirashi : A Coin of Prakāśasīva Sebaka.
2. Prin. Mirashi : A coin of Kauśikīputra Sātakarni.
3. B. N. Reu : A New Indo-Greek Coin.

Dr. Altekar exhibited the photographs of a number of new coins referred to by him in his Presidential Address and explained their importance.

Prof. Sharma of Bharatpur exhibited 24 new Gupta coins from the hoard discovered in Bharatpur state, which evoked great interest. The meeting was then dissolved with a vote of thanks to the chair.

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Balance Sheet as at

FUND AND LIABILITIES	Rs.	As.	Ps.	Rs.	As.	Ps.
General Fund.						
Balance as on 1st December 1945 as per statements of 30th November 1945.	8,874	15	11			
Add excess of income over expenditure during the year.	113	7	11			
	8,988	7	10			
<i>Less</i> : Amount transferred to Special Publication Fund as per resolution of the Managing Committee.	8,000	0	0			
				988	7	10
Special Publication Fund.						
Amount transferred from General Fund account as per resolution of the Managing Committee.	8,000	0	0			
Amount transferred from the Income of 1946.	1,000	0	0			
				9,000	0	0
Suspense Account. 18 0 0				18	0	0
				10,006	7	10

We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the books and vouchers and beg to report that we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required, and in our opinion, the above Balance Sheet exhibits a true and correct view of the state of affairs of the Society according to the information and explanations given to us and as shown by the books of the Society.

Bombay, dated the 12th May 1947.

DINUBHAI & CO.
Registered Accountant,
Hon. Auditors.

OF INDIA.

31st December 1946.

PROPERTY AND ASSETS	Rs.	A.	Ps.	Rs.	A.	Ps.
Furniture				100	0	0
Cash and Other Balances						
Postal Cash Certificates matur- ing on 25-4-47 ...	2,291	4	0			
Postal Cash Certificates matur- ing on 23-2-50 ...	3,525	0	0			
Postal Savings Bank a/c No. 478633 ...	259	10	0			
National Savings Certificates maturing on 1-4-58 ...	2,000	0	0			
National Savings Certificates maturing on 2-7-58 ...	1,000	0	0			
Central Bank Home Savings A/c. No. 105518 ...	69	15	1			
M. A. Powills ...	127	9	0			
Bank of India Ltd. C/A. ...	468	13	0			
Cash on hand ...	164	4	9			
				9,906	7	10
				10,006	7	10

Note: The figure of Income and Expenditure account are taken as per receipts and payments account. The subscription includes life membership of Rs. 300. 2. 0 and also subscription in advance.

NUMISMATIC
Income and Expenditure Account for the Period

EXPENDITURE		Rs.	As.	Ps.
To Stationery and Printing ...		1,134	6	6
„ Postage and Telegrams ...		186	4	9
„ Sundry expenses ...		196	6	0
„ Honorarium ...		262	0	0
„ Bank Charges ...		2	8	0
„ Contributions ...		152	14	0
„ Nelson Wright Medal ...		25	7	0
„ Contribution to the Special Publication Fund, as per resolution of the Manag- ing Committee ...		1,000	0	0
„ Excess of Income over Expenditure during the year ...		113	7	11
		3,073	6	2

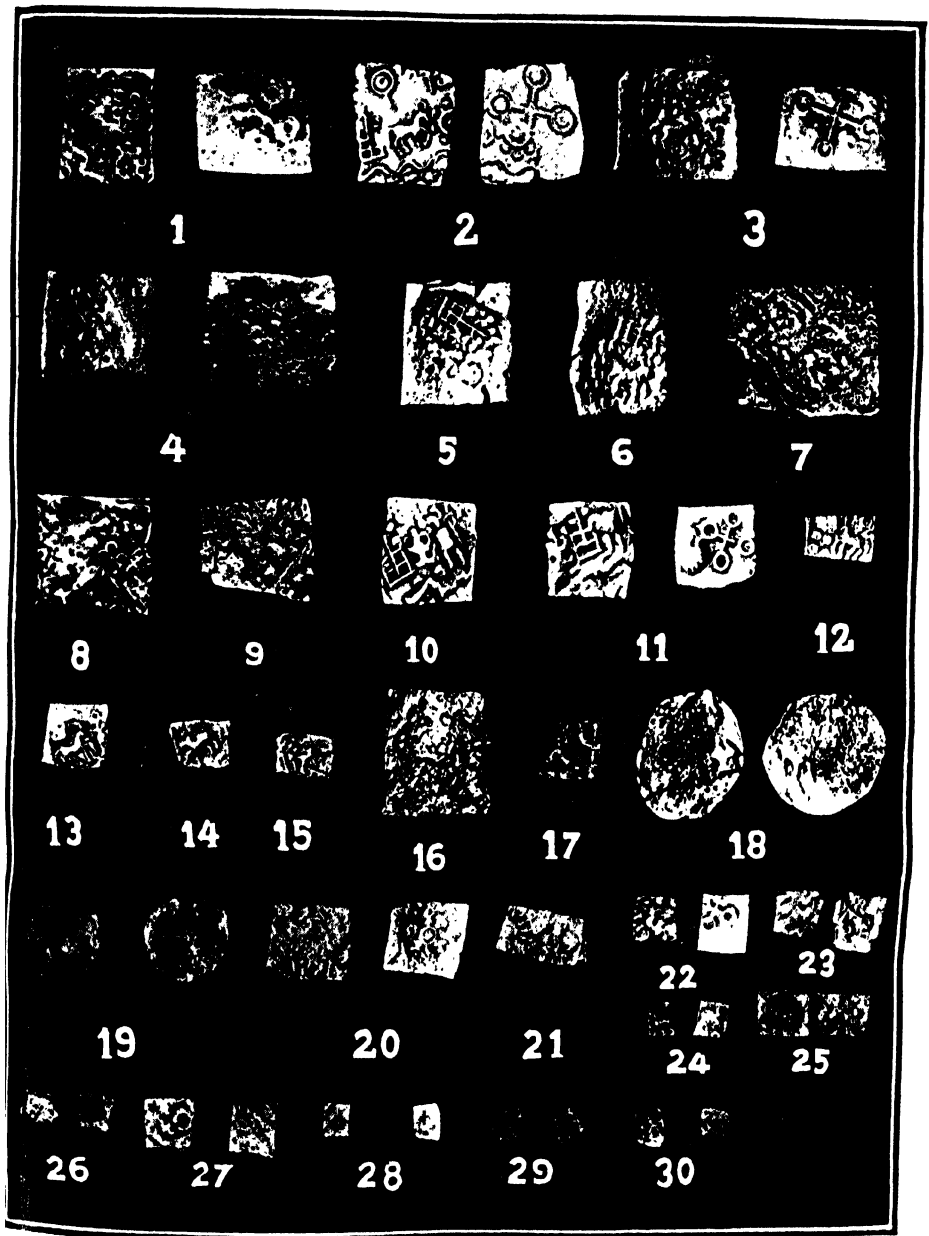
Bombay, dated 12th May 1947

DINUBHAI & Co.,
*Registered Accountants,
Hon. Auditors.*

SOCIETY OF INDIA.

from 1st December 1945 to 31st December 1946.

INCOME.	Rs.	As.	Ps.	Rs.	As.	Ps.
By Interest						
Postal Savings Bank A/c No. 478633 ...	27	5	2			
Central Bank Home Sav- ings A/c No. 105518 ...	6	3	0			
				33	8	2
„ Subscriptions						
Arrears ...	360	2	0			
Current ...	319	11	0			
Advance ...	36	0	0			
Life ...	300	2	0			
Quinquennial ...	100	0	0			
				1,115	15	0
„ Sale of publications ...				511	15	0
„ Advertisement Charges ...				12	0	0
„ Government Grants						
U. P. Govt. for 1945-46	300	0	0			
Hyderabad Govt. for 1946	200	0	0			
Punjab Govt. for 1945-46 and 1946-47 ...	600	0	0			
Bihar Govt. for 1945-46	300	0	0			
				1,400	0	0
				3,073	6	2



NEW COINS FROM KASARWAD

1



Obv.



Rev.

2



Obv.

3



Obv.



Rev.

4



Obv.



Rev.

6



Obv.



Rev.

5



Obv.



Rev.

7

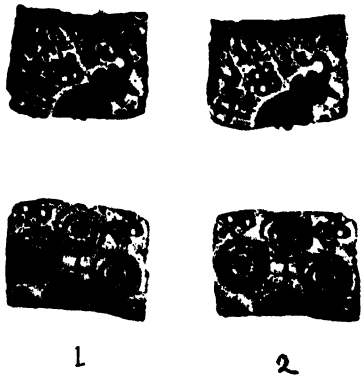


Obv.



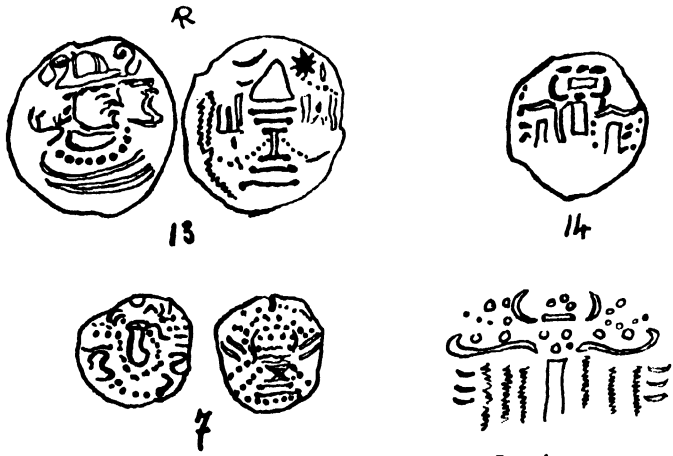
Rev.

A



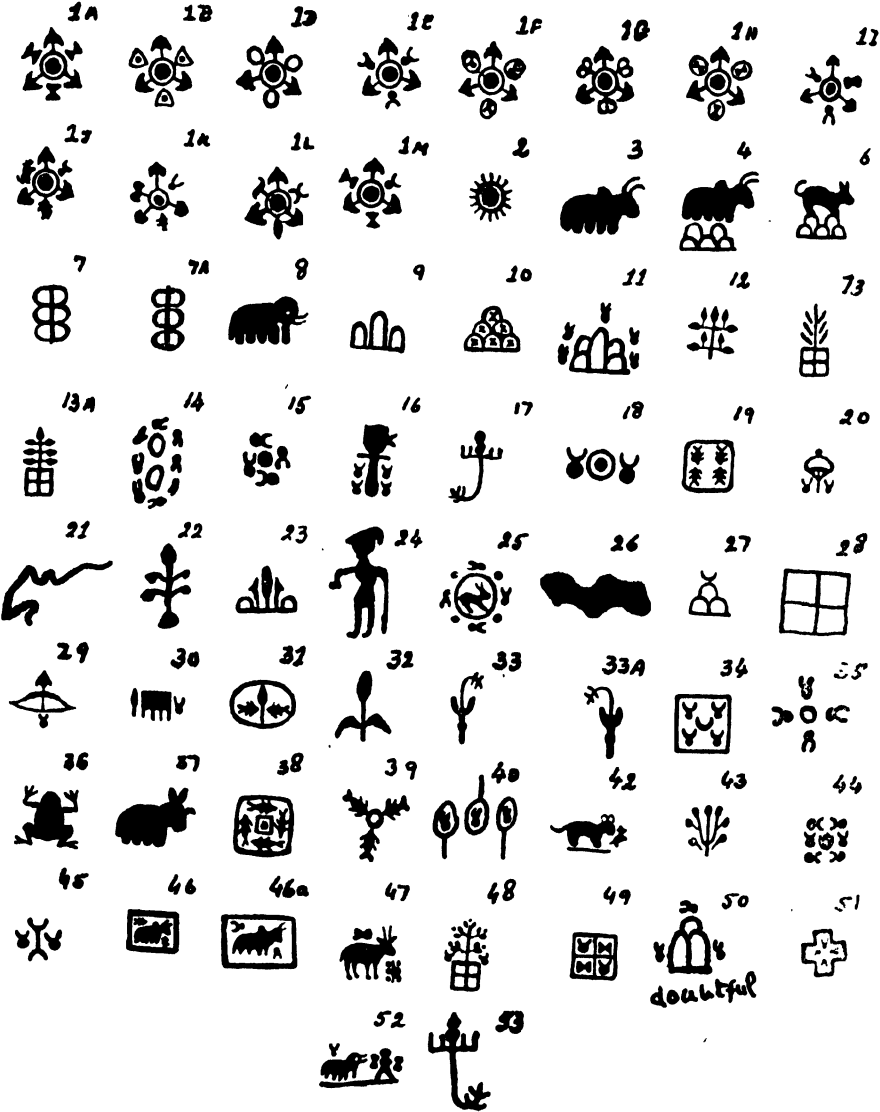
A COIN OF KAUSIKIPUTRA SĀTAKARNĪ

B



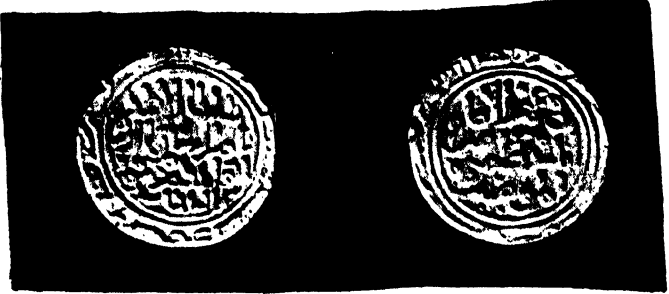
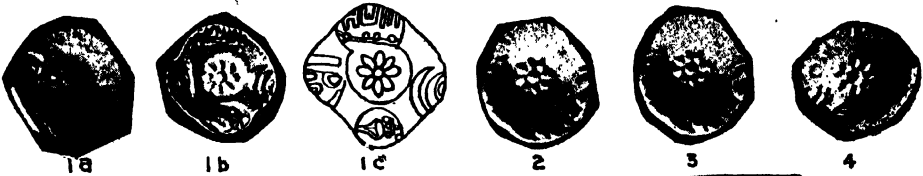
INDO—SASSANIAN COINS





SYMBOLS ON BAHAL PUNCH-MARKED COINS

A



5

COINS FROM RAIGARH HOARD.

B



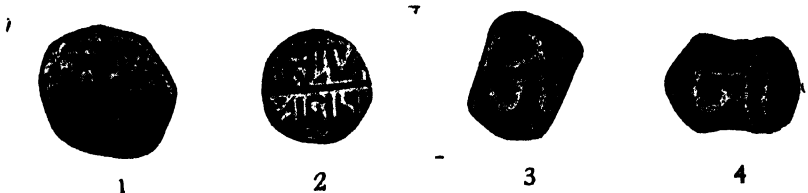
1.



2.

MACHINE-MADE COIN OF HYDERABAD.

C



1

2

3

4

COINS FROM WATSON MUSEUM.

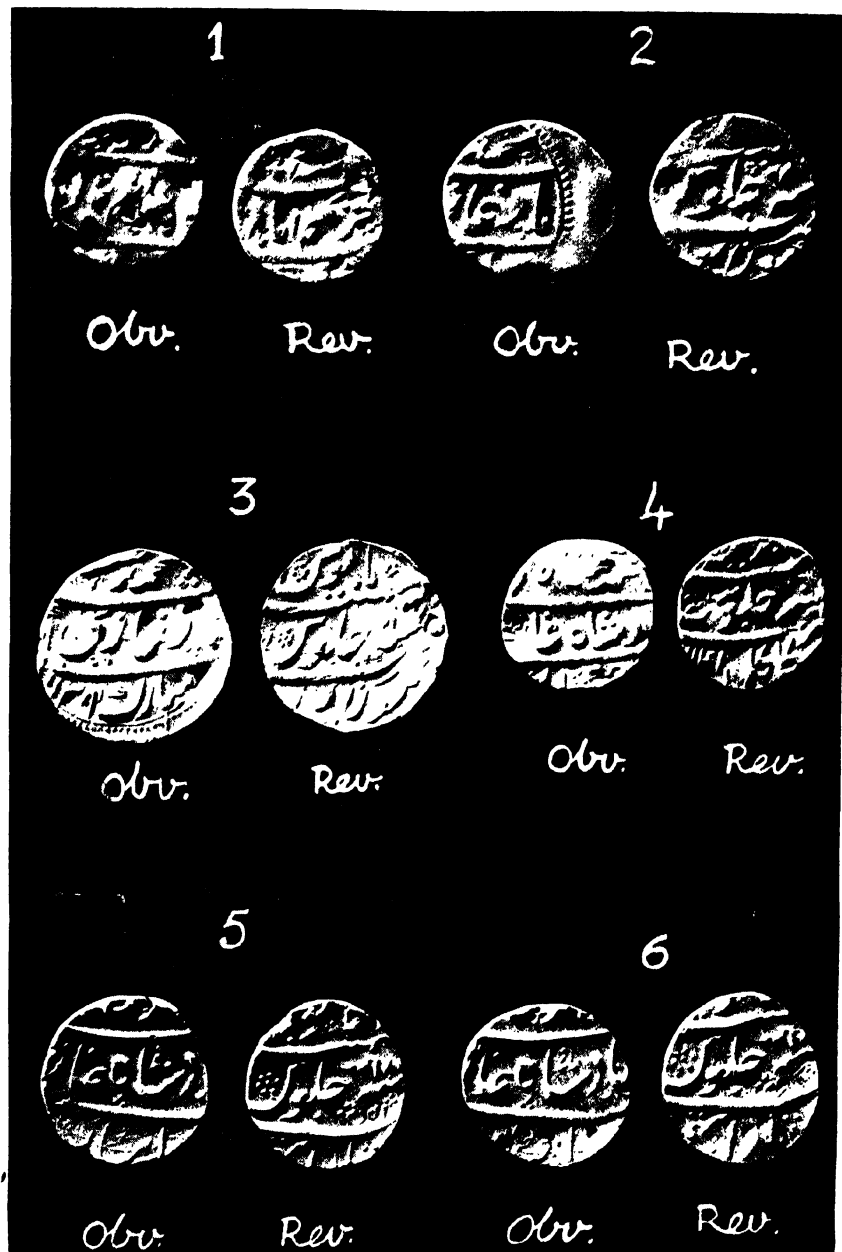


OBVERSE



REVERSE

DILIPANAGAR MINT COIN OF SHAH ALAM II.
(Enlarged four times.)



MUGHAL COINS FROM KOLHAPUR

THE
JOURNAL
OF THE
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

VOL. IX

JUNE 1947

PART I

Issued in February, 1948

EDITOR

PROF. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., LL.B., D.LITT.,

*Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture,
Benares Hindu University.*



THE
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

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**THE
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA**

1948

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Vol. IX.

1947

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December, 1947

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A NEW (KOŚALA ?) VARIETY OF SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS.

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES.

Punch-marked coins of ancient India present a number of problems which still remain unsolved. The material for their solution is insufficient and inconclusive and it is therefore desirable that we should continue to collect more data for their solution. From this point of view the discovery of a new type of silver punch-marked coinage, which is being described in this paper, is very interesting and valuable. The five coins that are being published here were purchased from Mr. Kesarichand Jaria, a coin-dealer from Lucknow. It appears that a large number of these coins were found in a hoard somewhere in U. P. or Kośala and that Mr. Jaria procured a part of them.

We shall first describe the coins illustrated in **Pl. IA.**

No. 1. Metal, silver ; size, irregular squarish, 1.05" x .95" ; weight, 53 grains.

Obverse : 1. In the upper left corner, the Six-armed Symbol consisting of alternating arrowheads and rectangles only partly visible. Only one of the rectangle is visible, and it looks somewhat like an oval. But in coin No. 5, the rectangles are clear and so we may assume that what looks like an irregular oval was really intended to be a rectangle.

2. In the lower left corner, the Sun, with slanting rays.
3. Lower side centre, some animal, possibly a tortoise, surrounded by circles.
4. Right side below, Elephant to right with two tusks.
5. Right side top, an incomplete symbol, possibly the hind part of an animal. **Pl. IA, 1.**

Reverse : Blank.

No. 2. Metal, silver ; size, irregular, greatest length 1.2", greatest breadth .9" ; weight, 52 grains.

Obverse : 1. Left side centre, Six-armed Symbol with alternating triangles and arrowheads.

2. Lower side bottom, Bow and arrow strung together.
3. Lower side right corner, portion of the Sun Symbol with slanting rays, similar to No. 2 on coin No. 1.
4. Right side centre, a symbol consisting of a circle with taurine on either side, the one above being blurred.

5. Right side top, the same as No. 3 in coin No. 1, but the animal here definitely looks like a tortoise.

PI IA, 2

Reverse : Blank.

No. 3. Metal, silver ; size, irregular, greatest length 1·5", greatest breadth ·85" ; weight, 52·5 grains.

Obverse : 1. Lower side, left corner, the Sun.

2. Right side centre, Six-armed Symbol with arrowheads and ovals alternating.

3. Right side top, the Animal surrounded by dots.

4. Upper side right corner, Taurine, which may be part of the circle flanked by two taurines occurring on coin No. 2.

5. Left side upper part (to be viewed from the right of the photograph), Four Lotus buds in a lake, the lower ones being clear. The lake is denoted by an incuse conical depression, whose right side (when viewed from the right of the photograph) looks a little detached in the plate, but is not so in the original. PI IA, 3.

Reverse : Blank.

No. 4. Metal, silver ; size irregular, greatest length 1·15", greatest breadth, ·85" ; weight, 52·5 grains.

Obverse : 1. Upper side centre, Six-armed Symbol with arrowheads and triangles alternating as in No. 2 above, but better preserved.

2. Left side centre, Bow and arrow strung together, the same as No. 2 on coin No. 2 above.

3. Lower side, Animal surrounded with dots. It is similar to No. 5 of coin No. 2 and No. 3 of coin No. 1, but the dots are relatively smaller ; those in the lower portion can be detected only in the original and not in the photograph.

4. Right side centre, a circle flanked by taurines, the one on the left being blurred and the one on the right being incomplete.

5. Right side top, the Sun symbol but partly engraved.

PI IA, 4.

Reverse : Blank.

No. 4. resembles No. 2 both in size and symbols.

No. 5. Metal, silver ; size, greatest length, 1·15", greatest breadth, ·95", weight, 52·5 grains.

Obverse : 1. Left side centre, Six-armed Symbol with alternating arrow-heads and rectangles as on No. 1.

2. Left side lower corner, the Sun.

3. Lower side right corner, the Animal surrounded by dots.
4. Right side near the top, an incomplete symbol, but its traces suggest an Elephant facing right.
5. Upper side extreme top, an Insect with many feet.

Pl. I A.5.

Reverse: Blank.

No. 5 resembles No 1 in size. Four symbols of both these coins are identical, the fifth incomplete one being different.

The five coins illustrated along with this paper undoubtedly constitute a new class of the silver punch-marked coins. In their large size, they resemble the Kośala coins described by Babu Durga Prasad¹ and Srinath Sah²; they however differ from them in not being saucer-shaped. They have no symbols on the reverse as is the case with four of the six coins described by Mr. Srinath Sah. They have however no numerous additional marks imprinted on the obverse, as is the case with the Kośala coins of Babu Srinath Sah. Their weight varies between 52.5 and 53 grains, which is the normal weight of most of the well preserved punch-marked silver coins, though it is about 5 grains less than the theoretical weight of 32 *ratis* or 58 grains, as postulated by Manu.

Early coins of Kośala, like those referred to above, or those of the Paila hoard,³ had only four symbols on the obverse; like the later punch-marked coins, the present coins, however, have 5 symbols on the obverse. They however differ from them in having a size nearly twice as large. The peculiar symbol occurring in early Kośala coins like those of the Paila and Saheth-Maheth hoards and the Kośala coins of Durga Prasad, namely, three Serpentes round a knob, is absent on these coins. Nor do Pentagrams, Circle surrounded by four umbrellas or by five semicircles with knobs in the centre or circle surrounded by two arches, one larger and one smaller, occur on the present coins as they do on those of Babu Durga Prasad and of the Paila hoard. If we compare the present coins with those of the Golakhpur (Patna) hoard, we find that the size of both is approximately the same, and equally irregular. They also resemble them in having the Sun and the Six-armed symbol as the constant symbols, as is also the case with later punch-marked coins. The Flower pot and Hexagon, which are common symbols on the coins of the Golakhpur hoard, are absent on the present coins.

1. J. A. S. B., N. S., 1934, pp. 12-13, pl. I-III.

2. J. N. S. I., III, p. 47; V. pp. 13-16.

3. J.N.S.I., Vol. II, pp. 15 ff.

The Elephant which occurs on coin No. 1 and possibly on No. 5 is a common symbol on the punch-marked coins; so is the Circle flanked by taurines, occurring on coins Nos. 2-4, which is common on later coins. The Bow with arrow strung is, however, a rather rare symbol and occurs on class 4 varieties a and b of the British Museum Catalogue. The insect with many feet at the top of coin No. 5 is rather rare on the obverse; it occurs on class 6, Group VI, varieties a, b and f of the British Museum Catalogue.

The symbol, Four Buds in a tank, occurring on coin No. 3 is a new symbol. So is the animal, most probably tortoise, surrounded by dots or circles. This symbol is similar to that of the ox-head surrounded by circles occurring on some of the punch-marked coins in the Golakhpur (Patna) hoard. It may be, however, added that while on some of the coins of this hoard the symbol is clearly that of the ox-head (e. g. Pl. 11 no. 83 of *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1919), it distinctly resembles the present symbol on some other coins in that hoard (e. g. Pl. 11 No. 81).

The size and symbols of the present coins suggest that they are nearer in type and time to those of the Golakhpur hoard than those of the later period. They resemble the early Kōśāla coins only in their size, and not in their nature. We may tentatively place them in c. 400 B. C.

No. 1 resembles in its symbols Class 1 and Class 6, Group III, variety a of the British Museum in having the Sun, the Six-armed symbol and the Elephant, but its 4th and most characteristic symbol, Animal surrounded by dots, does not occur on the British Museum coins. The Six-armed Symbol also is of a different variety. Nos. 2 and 4 resemble Class 2, Group X, varieties a and b and Class 4 of the British Museum in having the Sun, the Six-armed Symbol and the Bow and arrow, but they differ from them in having the animal surrounded by dots. Their fifth symbols also does not occur on Class 2 of the British Museum. No. 4 bears a close resemblance to Class 6, Group 1, variety d of the British Museum. Besides the Sun and the Six-armed Symbol, both these have the Circle flanked by taurines (partly visible on our coin). The symbol, Four Buds in the tank, on our coin is replaced by Four Fish in the tank in the British Museum piece. The latter has Bull instead of the Animal surrounded by dots on the present piece. Coin No. 5 resembles Class 6, Group VI, varieties c and d and Group VII, variety f in having the Animal with many feet on the obverse. If its indistinct animal is Bull, it will be closer to Class 6, Group II, variety c, which has that animal. It will be different from it however in having the Animal surrounded by dots as the fifth symbol.

A NEW (KOŚALA ?) VARIETY OF SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS 5

It is likely that there may be more coins of this type in private and museum collections. If they are published, we shall be able to know whether the Sun, the Six-armed Symbol and the Animal surrounded by dots is a common characteristic of the coins of this class. It would be worth knowing whether the symbol, Four Buds in a lake, occurs on any of them. I trust that private collectors and museum curators will re-examine their collections to find out whether they have any coins of this class and take early steps to publish them in this *Journal*, if they have any.

SOME NEW HERMAIOS-KUJULA KADPHISES COINS.

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES.

How precisely the Greek rule came to an end in India and what were the relations between Hermaios, who is usually presumed to be the last Greek ruler and Kujula Kadphises, who was the first ruler of the Kushāna dynasty, are problems that have been engaging the attention of scholars for nearly a century. No satisfactory answer to them, that can be universally accepted, has however yet been found. The evidence of the coin types seems to suggest that Kujula Kadphises gradually expanded his power at the cost of Hermaios and eventually supplanted him. For we have got the coins of Hermaios alone, then of Hermaios with his own name and bust on the obverse and the name of Kujula Kadphises on the reverse; then come the coins with the bust of Hermaios but the name of Kadphises on the obverse in Greek and the name of the same ruler on the reverse also in Kharoshthi. Finally, we have the coins of Kadphises alone, his name appearing both on the obverse and reverse. The evidence supplied by this series of types seems *prima facie* to be conclusive in showing that Hermaios associated or was compelled to associate one Kujula Kadphises in his government towards the end of his reign, and that the new partner in the administration eventually supplanted him either in his life time or soon after his death. This was the view which the late Mr. Rapson had advocated in his *Indian Coins*, p. 16, published in 1898.

Later on, however, when he had an occasion to write on the same subject in the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 560-2, he admitted that the above view was not the correct one, and that the Kabul valley was in possession of the Parthians for a few decades during the interval between the downfall of Hermaios and the rise of Kujula Kadphises. He pointed out that the coins which bear the names of Hermaios must, if we judge from their style and fabric, extend over a long period, and that they were mechanically copied by Kujula Kadphises to supply his first issues in the Kabul valley. Rapson points out that the last issues issued by Hermaios during the concluding days of his reign, when his power was tottering, are those which bear his old age bust on the obverse and Heracles standing on the reverse. This type was later on mechanically copied by Kadphises I. In the beginning he was content to have his name on the reverse; but later on

he put it on the obverse also. This coin type was continued, says Rapson, by Kadphises until a much later date in the same way and for the same reasons for which the East India Company continued for many years to strike rupees bearing the name of the Moghul emperor Shah Alam. The people were accustomed to this type and the new conqueror realised that there was a chance for his currency being accepted by the public, only if it resembled the old one in its essential features.

Archæological and other evidences have now shown that the Parthian rule intervened between the Indo-Greek and the Kushāna rule at Taxila. It is, therefore, clear that the correct view is that the so-called joint coins of Hermaios and Kadphises I are not really an instance of joint coinage, but merely mechanical copies of the type of Hermaios, which were popular in the Kabul valley. The coins of this type which have been so far published in the catalogues, e. g. *The British Museum Catalogue*, the *Punjab Museum Catalogue*, the *Indian Museum Catalogue*, etc., do not give us a vivid idea of the mechanical process of imitation of the once popular type. If we examine the coins illustrated in the above catalogues, we shall find that the bust of the obverse bears a certain fairly recognisable similarity with the old age bust of the last Greek ruler. If we consider the coins alone, we have still to concede the possibility of all these coins having been issued during the course of a single generation. All of them have a fairly legible Greek legend as well.

During my visit to Taxila in December 1945, Mr. Amalanand Ghosh, M. A., Superintendent, Excavation Branch, Archæological Survey of India, gave me for examination some copper coins of the Hermaios-Kadphises type found at Taxila in the fields. They are all copper and of a smaller denomination than those that have been so far published. After examining them, I found that they would be giving us a clearer idea of the mechanical process of copying than those published already. With the kind consent of Mr. Ghosh, I have, therefore, decided to publish them here.

On all the published coins of this type, as observed already, there is a certain recognisable resemblance between the features of Hermaios and those of the bust appearing on the later imitations. The most remarkable thing about the five coins that are published here is that in most cases the features of the busts bear hardly any resemblance to those of Hermaios. The features of **Pl. IB, 1** have perhaps some resemblance with that of the latter. But in the case of **Pl. IB, 2**, the bust is facing front, which is not the case with the prototype or with any coins of this type published so far. In the case of **Pl. IB, 3** the bust seems to be in imitation of the well-known Roman bust,

which appears on one of the types of Kujula Kadphises. The reverse of this coin, however, does not show the king seated right on a seat-like curule chair with right arm extended, as is the case with the Roman bust type, but Heracles standing, which occurred on the proto-type of Hermaios. In the case of **PI IB, 4** the resemblance between the features of the coin and those of Hermaios is too remote to be readily recognised. The climax of barbarousness is perhaps reached in **PI IB, 5**. The king seems to be wearing a cap with dotted borders. He faces right, as is the case with the Hermaios' bust in the proto-type; but he has very thick lips and a very long and prominent nose. There is no similarity whatsoever between his features and those of Hermaios.

The crudeness of art, the absence of any recognisable resemblance in features, and the total degradation of the Greek legend on the obverse make it clear that these coins could not have been issued as a joint coinage of Hermaios and Kujula Kadphises. They were obviously issued some decades after the passing away of Hermaios, whose coin type is sought to be continued on them. It is interesting to note that the degeneration on the reverse, where the name of Kujula occurs in Kharoshthi, is not so great as that on the obverse, where Greek letters and an unfamiliar and much degraded bust had to be imitated. Heracles on the reverse, however, is clear on all the five coins; the club is easily recognisable; only the lion's skin hanging down from the left hand has not been properly represented.

The British Museum Catalogue and *The Indian Museum Catalogue* do not record the weight of the coins of the Hermaios-Kadphises type published in them. The Punjab Museum coins of this type vary in size from .9 to .95 inch, and their weights vary from 97 to 156 grains. The coins of the present lot are smaller both in size and weight. The weight of the heaviest among them, **PI IB, 2**, is only 87 grains and that of the highest, **PI IB, 4**, is 40 grains. This will show that the type was issued in several denominations.

If the Parthian rulers succeeded the Indo-Bactrians in the Kabul valley and Taxila, and if the Hermaios type was so popular there as to render its imitation obligatory for the Kushānas, we may well ask as to why this type was not imitated by the Indo-Parthian rulers who were the immediate successors of the Greeks. The reason is not far to seek. It is now well recognised that the Indo-Parthian rulers, Azes, Azilises, Gondopharnes, etc. entered India through the Bolon pass and gradually extended their power up the Indus in the course of time. In the districts and provinces of India, which they conquered first, the Hermaios type was not current.

The little kingdom of Harmaios did not extend to the middle or lower Indus. The Indo-Parthian conquerors, therefore, did not come into contact with this type till a late period of their career, when they succeeded in conquering Taxila and the Kabul valley. By this time they had already established their normal coin type, king on the horseback on the obverse and some deity on the reverse. They were not prepared to change it for the convenience of the residents of a new province recently added to their kingdom. The case of the Kushānas was however different. They entered India via Khaibar pass. They had no coinage, or script of their own. When they conquered the Kabul valley, they found it necessary to issue coinage for their new subjects, who were long accustomed to it. Having no numismatic traditions of their own, they naturally preferred to mechanically imitate a type which was current in the Kabul valley. It appears that in some important cities, in spite of the intervening rule of about 75 years of the Parthians, some mint mechanics were left, who were familiar with the old Greek traditions and methods. They manufactured coins of the types already published in the British Museum, the Indian Museum and the Punjab Museum Catalogues, which bear a fairly close resemblance to the original prototype. In some places, however, the artists were quite new to the task and unfamiliar to the methods. They could manufacture coins of a very rude type only, like those which are being published in this paper. Some of them knew neither Greek nor Kharoshthi scripts. They were responsible for manufacturing coins like **Pl. I B, 5** of this paper.

We close this paper with a description of the coins. We have to add that the photographs are in some cases slightly smaller in size than the originals.

Coin No. 1. Metal, copper ; size, more oval than circular, .6" .75" ; weight, 81 grains.

Obverse : bust of the king facing right, head having large hair, some falling down to the shoulders ; traces of circular Greek legend ; it is merely an unintelligent copy of some of the letters of the original legend. Letters λ and γ are visible at ix.

Reverse : Heracles, proudly standing, facing front ; club in right hand ; lion's skin, clumsily represented, falling from the left.

Pl. I B, 1.

Coin No. 2. Metal, copper ; size roughly circular .7" in diameter ; weight, 87 grains.

Obverse : Traces of a rude bust facing front, having no resemblance to any face of Harmaios. Traces of some letters of the Greek legend, [KOZO] $\lambda\theta$ K[$\Delta\phi$ IC].

Reverse: Heracles, as on No. 1, but not so proud in his demeanour; three letters *Kujula* of the legend *Kujula Kashasa Kuśhānayavugasa dhramañhitasa*, beginning at xii. Pl. I B, 2.

Coin No. 3. Metal, copper; size circular, but truncated at the bottom; 7" in diameter; weight, 70 grains.

Obverse: Bust of the king resembling more that of Augustus than that of Hermaios; some traces of Greek letters in the upper left corner.

Reverse: Heracles standing as on No. 1 and 2. The original coin shows traces of the letters *julaka* of the legend mentioned above; being blurred they have not come on the plate. Pl. I. B, 3.

Coin No. 4. Metal, copper; size, roughly circular, 7" in diameter; weight, 40 grains.

Obverse: Bust of the king, but not similar to any on the earlier three coins; traces of Greek legend.

Reverse: as above; traces of Kharoshthi legend on the right side. Pl. I B, 4.

Metal, copper; size, circular, 6" in diameter; weight, 42 grains.

Obverse: bust of the king facing right; lips thick, nose very long; the king wears a cap with a peculiar double dotted border; some traces of Greek legend.

Reverse: Heracles, as on above coins; no traces of Kharoshthi legend Pl. IB, 5.

A NEW SPECIMEN OF THE BOW IN-BOW-CASE TYPE OF MAUES.

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES.

One of the rarest types of the coins of King Maues, who was one of the earliest Scythian invaders of north-western India, is the one which has Horse to right on the obverse and a Bow in Bow-case on the reverse. The British Museum Catalogue of the coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of India and Bactria describes (p. 72) a coin of this type but does not illustrate it. Cunningham has published a coin of this type in his *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, p. 33. and Pl. 11, 15. A third specimen was published in the *P. M. C.* I, p. 103 and Pl. X, 35. A fourth coin of the type was found in the Taxila excavations and published in *A. S. R.* 1914-5, Pl. XXV, 18. I am publishing today a 5th specimen of this type, recently acquired for the cabinet of the Benares Hindu University from Mr. Govinda Ram, a coin-dealer of Rawalpindi.

The present type throws a considerable light on the career and nationality of Maues. This ruler is so far known to have issued 24 coin types. Only on three of them do we find the smaller legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΑΥΟΥ; all the rest have the fuller legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΤΑΛΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ, attesting to the imperial position of the issuer.

Three types of Maues, where the legend is shorter, are the following:—

1. Elephant's Head and the Caduceus type, which is in imitation of the coins of Demetrios.

2. The Apollo and Tripod type, which is in imitation of a well-known type issued by Apollodotus.

3. The Bow in Bow-case type which is in imitation of the well-known type of Arsaces, illustrated in *B. M. C.*, XXXII, 12.

It is now generally admitted that Maues was originally in the service of the Parthians, and entered India perhaps as their general or viceroy through the Bolon pass. The three types mentioned above throw interesting light on the career of this military adventurer. Of these types the 3rd one, a new specimen of which is being illustrated in this paper, was probably issued by Maues, earliest in his career while he was still recognising the suzerainty of the Parthians and had not yet launched upon a career of expansion towards India.

He was perhaps still somewhere in Seistan or Baluchistan, and professed to be merely a viceroy and therefore issued a type in close imitation of that of Arsaces Theos, illustrated in *B. M. C.*, XXXII, 12. There is a striking resemblance between this prototype and the coin we are publishing today. Both have on the obverse Horse to right and a Greek legend. In the case of the prototype, the legend is longer and gives the full divine title of the founder of the Arsekidan family. Maues however was still a subordinate viceroy and had to be content with the simple legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΑΥΟΥ. He dare not assume any imperial titles as long as Mithradates the Great was living, i.e. down to c. 88 B. C. In the case of the reverse of the prototype of our coin, there is Bow in Bow-case in a border of fillet. Maues retained the central type, but replaced the ornamental fillet border by a Kharoshthi legend, in order that the type should conform to the established practice in India.

The present coin was probably issued by Maues very early in his career. That is probably the reason why the type is so rare. Probably it prevailed in Seistan for a while, and it is not unlikely that its present specimen reached Rawalpindi from that locality.

Lower and Middle Indus regions were the first ones to be annexed by Maues. It is well-known how Demetrios and Apollodotus had either jointly or severally annexed this territory during the period of the expansion of the Bactrian power. The coins of these rulers must have been quite common in the lower and middle Indus valley, and it is but natural that Maues should have imitated their coins and of nobody else. It is very likely that these two coin-types were issued by Maues early in his career, when he still dare not assume imperial titles owing to his relations with his powerful suzerain Mithradates the Great.

As, however, Maues became more and more powerful owing to larger and larger additions to his kingdom, and as he went further and further out of the reach of his imperial overlord, he discarded all these three types, where we find him content with the simple title Basileos, and issuing numerous new types, with full imperial titles, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ.

The present type of coin is thus an important document throwing light on the earlier and humbler stage of the career of Maues. I am therefore publishing its fifth known specimen.

Metal, copper ; size, rectangular, .75" x .6" ; weight, 75 grains.

Obverse : Horse walking to right ; Greek legend ; on the right, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ to be read from inside the coin ; on the left, ΜΑΥΟΥ, to be read from outside the coin.

Reverse : Bow in Bow-case ; Kharoshthi legend ; on the right *maharajasa* ; on the left *Moasa*, both to be read from inside the coin ; Greek monogram N with a vertical line cutting across its slanting line. **Pl. IB, 6.**

As compared to the P. M. coin, this coin is smaller, being $\cdot 75'' \times \cdot 6''$, the former being a square of $\cdot 8''$. Its weight is, however, nine grains more than that of the P. M. The horse is hardly recognisable on the P. M. coin ; it is quite distinct on the present one. The legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ has not been preserved at all on the P. M. coin ; it is fairly clear on our piece. The name of the king, however, ΜΑΥΟΥ is a little clearer on the P. M. coin. The Kharoshthi legend as well as the Greek monogram on the reverse are much better preserved on our coin than on the P. M. piece.

The B. M. coin being not illustrated cannot be fully compared. Like the P. M. coin it is square and not rectangular ; it has got the same legends and monogram. We do not know the state of its preservation.

A COIN OF LAKHAṆA (?) UDAYADITYA.

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BANARES.

The history of the Hūṇas is still shrouded in considerable obscurity. Two of their rulers, Toramāṇa and Mihirakula are well-known to us from their coinage; they are also referred to in inscriptions and literature. There were however a number of other Hūṇa rulers, ruling in the Punjab and Rajputana, who are known to us only from their coinage. Their time and location is still uncertain.

Among the kings of this category is Rājā Lakhaṇa (?) Udayāditya. So far he was known to us only from two coins, which were published long ago in 1838 in Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I, p. 411. Thomas, who has edited these essays, tells us that these coins belonged to the collection of Col. Abbot of the Bengal army, mainly gathered from the Hazara district of the N. W. F. P., of which he was in political charge.

No numismatic work or catalogue has subsequently published any coins of this mysterious ruler. I was therefore glad to get a coin of his from a dealer in Rawalpindi during my visit to the place in the Christmas of 1945. The coin was purchased for the Benares Hindu University and is kept in its cabinet. It is being published for its rarity.

Like the earlier two coins, the present one is also in silver. It is a thin and broad piece; its weight is 57 grains. It is circular in size with a diameter of 1.1"; the obv. side in the photograph in the plate is slightly bigger than the original.

The coin may be described as follows:—

Obverse: within dotted circular border, there is the bust of the king facing right. The king wears a peculiar conical cap; a crescent overlaps its front side, as on the other two coins of this ruler. A diadem is wound round the cap and its ends are hanging down behind the head. An earring of three pearls hangs down the ear and there is a pearl necklace round the neck. The features of the king are similar to those on his two earlier coins, but they look older than those on the wood-cut No. 3 of Prinsep. The legend is *Rājā La...* on the left side and *Udayāditya* on the right. The two letters following *La* are unfortunately blurred on the present coin and so we cannot say whether the name of the king was *Lamaṇa* or *Lakhaṇa* as thought by Thomas or *Latona* or *Lanoṇa* as conjectured by Drouin. If *Lae-lih* was the pioneer Hūṇa

conquered, his coins would not show so much Indianisation as to include a full-fledged Brāhmī legend and a Hindu title.

Reverse : This side is blurred, but the photograph shows clear traces of an altar with an attendant on either side. The reverse of the two earlier coins of this ruler published in *Prinsep's Essays* has not been illustrated. But probably they also had the same objects.

Pl. I B, 7.

There is considerable uncertainty about the time and identity of this ruler. The Chinese sources inform us that the leader of the Hūṇa invasion which snatched away the kingdom of Gandhāra from the Kidāra Kushānas was Lae-lih and one suggestion is that Lakhaṇa of the coins may be identified with this king. This view does not seem very probable. It is not likely that at so early an age, the Indianisation of the coin type could have advanced so far as we see on the coins of Udayāditya. The coins of the early Hūṇa period were like those published by Whitehead in *J. A. S. B.*, 1913, p. 481 ff. where we find either the Pahlavi legend alone or that legend with a few Brāhmī letters only and the Hindu symbols like conch, wheel, etc. It must have taken some time for the solitary Brāhmī letters to be replaced by the full-fledged Brāhmī legend. On the present coin we have also the Hindu title Udayāditya. When we remember how neither Toramāṇa nor Mihirakula took any such Hindu title, it becomes difficult to hold that Udayāditya of our coins was a predecessor of these rulers. We should therefore place him sometime after c. 550 A. D. A Kashmir king named Raja Lahkhaṇa belonging to the Hūṇa stock is mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅgī*; but his *biruda* is Narendrāditya and not Udayāditya. It is not at present possible to determine his relationship with Lakhaṇa Udayāditya.

SOME RARE AND INTERESTING INDO-BACTRIAN COINS.

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES.

The coins that form the subject matter of this paper belong to the collection of Mr. D. D. Ghosal, 85 Tantipara Lane, Santragachhi, Howrah. Mr. Ghosal was kind enough to send to me a large number of his Indo-Bactrian coins for inspection and publication, if found to be worth publishing. As the genuineness of the Indo-Bactrian coins is a subject upon which even experts differ frequently, I requested the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, the former Director-General of Archaeology in India, to examine the coins separately and arrive at his independent conclusions. In spite of his illness, which unfortunately proved fatal, Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit kindly agreed to do so. After separate and independent examination, Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit and I came to the conclusion that the eight coins that are being published in this paper are both genuine and rare and therefore worth publishing. I am accordingly publishing them here. I am indebted to Mr. Ghosal for allowing the coins to remain with me and Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit for a considerable time to suit our other preoccupations. If all private collectors show equal interest in getting their coins scrutinised and published, there is no doubt that numismatic and historic studies will progress more rapidly.

A DIDRACHM OF EPANDER.¹

Metal, silver; size, circular; diameter, 1.05"; weight, 141 grains.

Obverse: Helmeted bust of the king facing right, crest falling behind the helmet.

Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ, below, ΕΠΙΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

Reverse: Pallas facing left, hurling thunderbolt by right hand; aegis on the left arm. Kharoshthi legend, *Maharajasa jayadharasa*; below, *Ipandrasa* Pl. II, 1

1. The term didrachm is used here to denote the silver coins of about 160 grains issued by later Indo-Bactrian rulers. The hemidrachm is taken to denote the silver pieces of about 88 grains issued by them. Some numismatists describe these coins as tetradrachms and drachms respectively of a lower weight standard. According to the early standard, a drachm was of 67.2 grains and a tetradrachm of about 269 grains.

This is the first didrachm of Epander to be published and the coin is therefore unique so far. *B. M. C.* publishes and illustrates only a bronze coin of this ruler at p. 51; in the supplement a broken silver hemidrachm is described at p. 169 and illustrated on Pl. XXXI, 13. The *P. M. C.* publishes and illustrates a hemidrachm in entire condition (Pl. VI, 516), but has no didrachm. The present coin is therefore unique so far.

The features of the king on the present piece are similar to those on the hemidrachm published in the *P. M. C.*, VI, 516. Both the coins have an identical monogram.

Two years ago, Mr. Siri Chand, a coin dealer of Rawalpindi, had offered me for sale a didrachm, exactly similar to the one in the collection of Mr. Ghosal. It also had the bust of the king facing right and had on the reverse Pallas facing left and hurling thunderbolt. I cannot now recollect whether that coin had the same monogram as the present one.

A TETRADRACHM OF PLATO.

Tetradrachms of Plato are very rare. There is only one tetradrachm of this ruler in the British Museum, (*Catalogue*, VI, 11), and none in the Punjab or the Indian Museum.

The tetradrachm in Mr. Ghosal's collection is, therefore, one of the rare Indo-Greek pieces. Both its obverse and reverse are better preserved than is the case with the British Museum specimen.

Metal, silver; size, roughly circular; diameter, 1·3"; weight, 250 grains.

Obverse: within fillet border, helmeted bust of the king to right, the helmet having a crest falling behind; ears and horns of the bull on the helmet. Both ends of the diadem fall down under the helmet. The shoulder is covered with drapery. No legend.

Reverse: Sun-god Helios facing right, with rays issuing from his head, and driving a quadriga. The deity is clad in chiton and chlamys. Monogram in front of the deity. Below the feet of horses in exergue, MI only. Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΗΛΙ ΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ

Pl. II, 2

The weight of the present coin is only one grain more than that of the B. M. coin. The features of the king on it are similar to those on the B. M. piece; but they are much clearer and sharper. The crest over the shoulder is clearer and more voluminous; one can, therefore, see clearly and distinctly the winding and coiled wires of which it is made and which go on

thinning towards the end. The border on the obverse on both the coins is similar.

The reverse has the same monogram as the B. M. piece. The legend is better preserved and more distinct. The most important point in which the present coin differs from the B. M. piece is in its having only two letters in the exergue instead of the three in the B. M. piece. We have only M and I; the initial P is altogether absent.

Can it be argued that the present coin is a forgery by a die-cutter who failed to notice the indistinct letter P on the B. M. piece? I think not. Both Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit and myself fail to find anything suspicious about the coin. The presence of two letters only in the exergue is not suspicious; M and I would give us the date 47 instead of 147 which would be given by PMI. This is just like the modern practice of omitting hundreds while giving the date and month; we usually date our letters, say as 1-12-47, when we mean 1-12-1947. It is interesting to note in this connection that on some of the coins of Heliocles, which are also apparently dated in the Seleucid era, we have only two letters in the exergue instead of three. Thus on the *B. M. C.*, Pl. VII, 3, we have in the exergue $\pi\pi$ only, perhaps standing for 83, and referring the king to the year 183 of the Seleucid era, corresponding to 130 B. C. The same is the case with B. M. coin No. 5, referred to at p. 21 of the *Catalogue*, but not illustrated.

There is a close similarity between the coins of Plato and Eucratides. The portraits of both are strikingly similar. In his most popular type, Eucratides also bears a similar helmet with crest falling behind and adorned with the horns and ears of the bull. This last was a Seleucid device, pointing to a close connection between these two rulers and the contemporary Seleucid house. The title Epiphanos taken by Plato is obviously borrowed from that of Antiochos IV, probably after his death. The device of Dioscuri charging on the reverse of the coins of Eucratides presents an appearance not dissimilar to that of Helios driving the quadriga on the coins of Plato.

There is no doubt that Plato and Eucratides were contemporaries and closely connected. Plato may have been either a rival of Eucratides or his subordinate. Very probably the latter was the case.

The well-known tetradrachm with the bust and name of Eucratides on the obverse and the conjugate busts of Haliokles and Laodice along with their names on the reverse has been usually interpreted to suggest that Heliocles and Laodice were the parents of Eucratides, the latter being a Seleucid princess and the former a commoner. The name Heliocles

is after the sun deity Helios. We have got the sun deity Helios on the reverse of the two tetradrachms of Plato, driving in a quadriga. Can it be that the presence of the deity on the reverse was suggested by the name of the father of the striker? In that case we can well assume that both Eucratides and Plato were the sons of Heliocles, who fought together against Demetrius and his party. The similarity of their features and coin types makes this conjecture very probable. Plato seems to have been the younger brother and may have issued his coins either after his elder brother's death or during his lifetime with his special permission. The date on Plato's coins, 147 of the Seleucid era, corresponding to 165 B. C., suggests that the coins concerned may well have been issued in the lifetime of his elder brother, who is quite likely to have continued to rule even after that date.

A HELMETED DIDRACHM OF ARCHEBIOS.

Metal, silver; size, circular; diameter, 1"; weight, 148 grains.

Obverse: Bust of the king to right, wearing a helmet with crest; Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ, below ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ

Reverse: Zeus standing facing, sceptre in right hand and brandishing thunderbolt with the left; Kharoshthī legend, *Maharajasa dhramikasa jayadharasa*, below *Archebiyasa*. Monogram.

Pl. II, 3.

The didrachms of Archebios are rather rare. There is none in the Punjab Museum, and the *British Museum Catalogue* has illustrated only two. In one case the king is diademed and facing right, (Pl. IX. 1) and in the other he is facing left, helmeted and thrusting a javelin (Pl. IX. No. 4). A didrachm with helmeted bust to right was unknown till 1923, when three of its specimens were published by Mr. R. B. Whitehead in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of that year Pl. XIV. 11, 12 and 14. One of these didrachms, (Pl. XIV, 14) had the additional word ΚΑΙ between ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ. The same is the case with the present coin.

The face of the king is similar to that seen on *B. M. C.*, Pl. IX, No. 4 and the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1923, Pl. XIV, No. 14. The monogram occurring on the present coin is to be seen on the coin of this ruler illustrated in *B. M. C.*, IX, No. 1. The weight of the *B. M. C.*, Pl. IX, No. 1 is 139 grains and of No. 4 it is 147.6 grains. Our didrachm weighs 148 grains.

STRATO I

The career and coinage of Strato I is perhaps more interesting than that of any other Indo-Bactrian ruler. It covers a period of about 65 to 70 years; it began at a time when the expansion of the Greek power under the house of Eucratides was still going on; it ended on the eve of the complete overthrow of the Greek power in the eastern Punjab by the Śakas. The coinage of Strato shows his portrait at many more different stages of life than is the case with any other ruler. We can see his features at the age of about 20, 25, 30, 35, 40, 50 and 70; his portrait at the last stage is that of an old man with sunken cheeks and teethless jaws. In his middle age he had developed a taste for the beard also; for on one of his didrachms, we can see him with a beard as well (*C. H. I.*, Vol. I, Pl. VII, No. 21).

For many years didrachms of this ruler were rather rare. The *British Museum Catalogue* publishes only one (X, 10), and the same is the case with the *Punjab Museum Catalogue*, Pl. V, 355. Later on Mr. Whitehead obtained a large number of his tetradrachms believed to be from one hoard and ten of them were published by him in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1923, Pls. XV and XVI.

I publish today two tetradrachms of this ruler which are interesting in their own ways.

HELMETED BUST DIDRACHM OF STRATO I.

Metal, silver; size, circular; diameter, 1"; weight, 148 grains.

Obverse: Bust of the king to right, wearing helmet with crest; ends of the diadem falling down under the helmet; Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ; below ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ

Reverse: Pallas to left hurling thunderbolt with right hand, aegis over the left. Monogram. Kharoshthī legend, *Maharajasa pratichhasa tratarasa Stratasa.*

Pl. II, 4

This tetradrachm is similar to the one published in *B. M. C.* X, No. 10 but it is in a much better condition than the latter, and therefore weighs about 15 grains more. In the *B. M.* piece, the Greek legend on the left side and the Kharoshthī legend on the right side have not been well preserved; on the coin being published here, the whole legend is very well preserved. The monogram on the present coin is also different from that on the *B. M.* piece or on the *Punjab Museum* didrachm; it is however not unknown to the coinage of Strato, because it occurs on one of the copper coins of this

ruler described but not illustrated in the *B. M. C.*; see Strato's coin No. 14, p. 41. It also occurs on some of the didrachms of this ruler published by Mr. R. B. Whitehead in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1923, p. 328.

DIADEMED BUST DIDRACHM OF STRATO I.

Diademed bust with thrusting javelin type.

Metal, silver; size circular; diameter, 1"; weight, 145 grains.

Obverse: diademed bust of the king facing left and thrusting javelin; one end of the falling diadem above the fist and the other below it; Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ; below ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ

Reverse: Pallas to left hurling thunderbolt with her right hand; aegis on the left hand; Kharoshthi legend *Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa Stratasa*; monogram.

PI. II, 5.

This didrachm is in many respects a very interesting coin. Didrachms of Strato with the king thrusting javelin are rare. Neither the *B. M. C.* nor the *P. M. C.* nor the *Cambridge History of India* has illustrated any variety of them. In the Kabul find coins published by Mr. R. B. Whitehead in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1923, he publishes and illustrates one didrachm of Strato, where the king is helmeted and thrusting javelin. This coin has been illustrated on Pl. XV. 13. But Mr. R. B. Whitehead has referred to a didrachm of this ruler, where the king is diademed and facing left and is thrusting javelin. He did not illustrate this coin as it was in a very poor condition. Our present didrachm exactly corresponds to the description of the piece not illustrated by Mr. Whitehead. It, therefore, appears to be the first coin of its type to be published.

It is possible to suspect the genuineness of this coin on account of the features of the ruler. The art is rather poor and the features are also strikingly different from those on the didrachm illustrated just before (PI. II. 4). We have however to remember that the features of this ruler on his different didrachms show striking difference. Thus *P. M. C.* Pl. V, 356 has features different from those on No. 359 of the same plate. *C. H. I.* Pl. VII, No. 20 is different in features from No. 21 of the same plate. We cannot, therefore, impugn the genuineness of the coin merely on that account. Strato lived in difficult and unsettled times, and it is just possible that all mint-masters in his long life may not have succeeded in giving

an exact representation of his features on the different dies struck by them. It is a pity that Mr. Whitehead did not illustrate the only other coin of this type so far known to exist ; in that case we could have compared the features as well as the monograms of the two pieces. It may however be pointed out that the features of the present portrait to some extent recall those on the *P. M. C.*, Pl. V, 359. In the latter case the king is a blooming youth ; in the present case he looks a little lean and careworn.

The monogram on the present coin is also interesting. It does not occur on any of the coins of this ruler so far published. Nor does it occur in the list of the Indo-Greek monograms published by Mr. R. B. Whitehead in his *P. M. C.* Vol. I.

A TETRADRACHM OF EUTHYDEMUS II.

Tetradrachms of Euthydemus II are rather rare. There is one in the Punjab Museum and one in the British Museum. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit and myself are not quite sure about the genuineness of the third tetradrachm of this ruler that is being published here ; we, however, feel that it is more likely to be genuine than otherwise. The face is rather dull and has a frosty appearance ; it lacks sharpness and distinctness and so gives rise to some doubt. The features are also to some extent dissimilar to those appearing on the two tetradrachms so far illustrated. Its weight however is the same as that of the two published tetradrachms.

The features of the king on the published tetradrachms are those of a youth of about 25. On the present coin he appears to be a careworn ruler of about 35. This coin would, therefore, tend to show that Euthydemus II did not die early in his life during his father's internecine struggle with Eucratides. He appears to have lived for at least a decade after his father's death and may have led a precarious existence in some hilly district of the Punjab or Afghanistan.

I shall now describe the coin.

Metal, silver ; size, roughly circular ; diameter, 1·2" ; weight, 260 grains.

Obverse : within dotted border diademed bust of the king facing right : no legend.

Reverse : young and naked Heracles facing, ivy crowned ; he holds a wreath of ivy in right hand and a club in the left, from which lion's skin is hanging down. There is an object like a sword immediately below the club between the left leg of the deity and the hanging lion's skin.

The sword like object below the club is to be seen also on the two published specimens of this ruler, but it is much more distinct on the present coin.

The monogram of the present coin is the same as that on the two earlier ones.

I publish now two more tetradrachms of Philoxenus which are not unpublished, but which have some interesting points about them.

PHILOXENOS: HELMETED BUST TYPE.

Metal, silver; size, circular; diameter, 1"; weight, 150 grains.

Obverse : king facing right with helmet having the ears and horns of a bull on it ; crest behind the helmet. Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ, below ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ

Reverse : king riding on prancing horse marching right, both helmeted and diademed. Monogram under the horse ; Kharoshthi legend, *Maharajasa apadīhataṣa Philasinaṣa*. PI II, 7

The monogram on the present coin is so far known to have occurred only on his square hemidrachms (e.g. B.M.C., XIII. 5). This is the first round diadrachm of the helmeted bust type to show this monogram. It occurs on the diadrachm in the *P. M. C.* VII, 576, but it has a diademed bust of the king.

PHILOXENOS: DIADEMED BUST TYPE.

Metal, silver ; size circular, diameter 1" ; weight, 148 grains.

Obverse : bust of the king facing right, wearing a diadem ; Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ below ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ

Reverse : on prancing horse marching right, helmeted and diademed king. The king can be clearly seen holding the reins of the horse. Under the horse, the same monogram as on PI II, 7. above. Circular Kharoshthi legend, *Maharajasa apadīhataṣa Philasinaṣa*. PI II, 8

This coin is identical in type with that published in *P.M.C.* VII, 576. Only the diadem arrangement is slightly different. There are two ways in which the falling ends of the diadem are shown on the coins of this ruler. In some cases both the ends are shown falling down parallel to each other as on the present coin and in *P. M. C.* XIII. 5, 7 and *P. M. C.* VII. 583 ; sometimes the upper end is deliberately raised to form a peak, as on PI. II. 7 above and *B. M. C.* XIII. 6 and *P. M. C.* VII. 576, 577.

A NEW DIDRACHM OF NIKIAS.

By DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

Nikias is one of the Indo-Bactrian rulers of the later period, whose history is shrouded in considerable mystery. His coinage and coin types suggest that he was closely connected with Hippostratus. Both have issued coins of the prancing horse type and the Dolphin type (suggesting a naval victory); the new square forms of sigma and omega occur on the coins of both along with the earlier round forms.

Silver coins of this ruler are still rare. The *B. M. C.* publishes no coins of this king in the white metal. The *I. M. C.* has only one hemi-drachm; it has a diademed bust of the king to r. on the obverse and a warrior fully accoutred to l. on the reverse. In 1923, Mr. Whitehead published in *Numismatic Chronicle* a new hemidrachm, similar to the one in the *P. M. C.*, but differing only in having the king helmeted instead of diademed; see Pl. XVI. 13.

The third silver coin of this king was published in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1940, pp. 108-9. It was a didrachm, having on the obverse diademed bust of the king and on the reverse, Athena facing and brandishing sword and thunderbolt. Its weight was 145.5 grains and size 1.1" in diameter. The Greek letters on it were in the earlier and rounded form.

I am publishing today the 4th silver coin of this ruler. It is a didrachm and belongs to the valuable collection of Dewan Bahadur Radhakrishna Jalan of Patna. It was purchased by him in 1947 at my request from a dealer in Rawalpindi.

The new didrachm resembles the one published in 1940 in the *Numismatic Chronicle* in all respects, except that it shows the king helmeted and not diademed. The legend on the obverse is the same; on the reverse also we have the same deity Athena facing and brandishing thunderbolt by her right hand, and holding aegis over the left. The monogram on the new diadrachm is the same as that which occurs on the helmeted hemidrachm published in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1923, Pl. XVI, 13. I shall now describe the coin.

Metal, silver; size, 1.1"; weight 158 grains.

Obverse: Helmeted bust of the king to right; crest over the helmet; both ends of the diadem hanging down; shoulder covered with drapery.

Legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ
below, NIKIOY

Reverse : Athena facing ; right hand raised up and brandishing thunderbolt ; left hand folded and covered with aegis. Monogram formed by two letters V, crossing each other, one facing up and the other facing down.

Kharoshthī legend ; above, *Maharajasa tratarasa* below *Nikiasa*.

Pl III, 1

A RUDE IMITATION COIN OF HELIOKLES.

BY SATISH CHANDRA KALA, M. A., CURATOR,
ALLAHABAD MUSEUM.

In the collection of the proposed Museum at Pauri in the Garhwal district of U. P. there is an interesting coin type of Heliokles. The coin was acquired by the writer in the year 1939 in a village near the Dharmājika Stūpa at Taxila and remained with him till his entire collection was presented to the Museum. When purchased the coin was in an excellent state of preservation. On enquiring about its provenance he was informed that the coin was found in the spoil earth which was removed in the excavations of the Dharmarājika Stūpa at Taxila.

The coin is a barbarous imitation in copper. It is not strictly round. The edges are roughly cut. On the obverse there is found the bust of the king encircled by an astralogueous border. The bust shows a robust human type. On the reverse there is the standing figure of Zeus holding a thunderbolt in his right hand. His left hand holds a long sceptre which is resting on the ground. The legend is ;—

Left, HAIIAEΣv

Below, DIK[AIOY]

Right, [B]AEAE(ΩE)

Pl, III, 2

The name of the king is blundered on this coin as on other coins of this type now in the coin cabinet of the Central Museum, Lahore, and also like the bronze imitations of this ruler in the British Museum. The figure of Zeus on the present coin and those in the British Museum are similar.

The monogram on the present coin is different from others known so far. It is, therefore, a different variety and is thus worth noting.

1. Whitehead—*Catalogue of the coins in the Punjab Museum* Pl. III, pp. 188-9.
2. Gardner—*Catalogue of the coins in the British Museum*, p. 22.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

Mr. Kala's claim that the coin constitutes a new variety of the coinage of Heliokles is not justified. The monogram does not appear on the genuine coins of Heliokles published in the *B. M. C.* or the *P. M. C.* But the present coin does not belong to that category. It was issued some time after the overthrow of Heliokles by one of his Scythian opponents. Barbarous imitations issued by these Scythian chiefs are described along with the coins of Heliokles in the *B. M. C.*, but it does not mention the monograms occurring on them. Nor does it illustrate this type. So we do not know whether any of the *B. M.* coins have the present monogram or not. Cunningham has, however, published a coin exactly similar to the present one in his *Later Indo-Scythians* Pl. 1 no. 10. The size, the weight and the deity on both the pieces are identical, as also the monogram. The present type is illustrated only in Cunningham's *Later Indo-Scythians*, which is out of print; the coin is, therefore, worth publishing and illustrating.

It is also interesting from its findspot. Cunningham has observed in the above work, "Only a few stray specimens (of rude imitations of Greek coins) are found in the Kabul valley and none in the Punjab" p. 302. The present coin, however, was found in the spoil earth of the Taxila excavations. It would thus be the first coin among the barbarous imitations of the Greek coins to be found in India. It is important from this point of view. It tends to show that some of these barbarous imitations were current in India along with the regular coins issued by Maues, Azes and other Scythian rulers.

SOME VARIETIES OF TAXILA COINS.

By MR. M. K. THAKORE, B. A., LL. B.

Bombay Civil Service (Jdl.), Civil Judge, Kopergaon.

The following uninscribed copper coins of Taxila are not represented in Allan's *Catalogue of Ancient Coins in the British Museum*, and so far as I am aware, they have not been published before and hence deserve notice.¹

No. 1.	Obverse	Reverse
	Crude representation of a plant and Crescented Hill.	Crescented Hill and <i>nandipada</i>
	Wt. 44.44 grains	S. '6"

Pl. III, 3.

The first symbol on the obverse, 'a crude representation of the elaborate plant,' and the second symbol on the reverse *nandipada*, are found in varieties *c* and *d*, Class 3 of the *B.M.C.* In var. *c*, the plant appears on the obverse with three more symbols and the *nandipada* on the reverse also with three other symbols. The crescented hill is common to both the sides as on the present coin. In var. *d*, the plant is on the reverse with hill and a small *svastika*, while the *nandipada* is on the obverse with hill and another symbol, looking like the Brāhmī letter *ryya*. The coins of this variety are square. The present coin however is round and similar in fabric and weight to the coins of var. *c*, *d*, and *e* of Class, 4 of the *B.M.C.*

No. 2.	Obverse	Reverse
	Crescented Hill and Mauryan <i>ma</i> .	Mauryan <i>ma</i> and Crescented Hill
	Wt. 44.12 grains	S. '6"

Pl. III, 4.

This is only a variation of the *B.M.C.*, Var. *e*, Class 4, the order of the symbols on the reverse being reversed.

There is another coin of this type with me which is smaller, being only 24.82 grains in weight and '5" in size.

No. 3.	Obverse	Reverse
	Crude Elephant to left ; Mauryan <i>ma</i> in the upper corner.	Crescented Hill in the upper left corner ; below,

1. I am indebted to Dr. A. S. Altekar for his kind suggestions in preparing this note.

hollow cross; to the right a tree and in the centre at the top Mauryan *ma*.

Wt. 30.56 grains.

S. .5".

Pl. III, 5.

I think that the animal on the obverse is certainly elephant.¹ In front of the elephant, in the upper corner, is Mauryan *ma*. The reverse has a combination of four symbols, out of which three, the crescented hill, the hollow cross and the Mauryan *ma* are well-known Taxila symbols. The crescented hill in the left upper corner is not clear. Below it is the hollow cross, about which there can be no doubt. To the right is the fourth symbol, a tree which is of a type not yet met with. In the centre at the top between the hill and the tree is Mauryan *ma*. In view of the symbols, the coin can be assigned to Taxila with a fair amount of certainty.

No. 4.

Obverse

Reverse

Bull to right

Within ornamented square border a peculiar symbol clear in the plate.

Wt. 25.23 grains

S. .54."

Pl. III, 6.

B.M.C. varieties *f*, *g*, *h*, *i* and *j* of class 5 represent bull or bulls on the obverse. Vars. *f* and *g* have plain reverse, var. *h*, has the same symbols on the reverse as on the obverse, while vars. *i* and *j* have lion on the reverse. The bull on all these coins however is of a different type. The bull on the present coin appears to be similar to the bull on the gold coin No. 169, Class IV of the *B.M.C.* There is however no Taxila symbol along with the bull.

B.M.C. varieties, *c* and *d* Class I, have on the obverse the plan of a courtyard of a monastery with cells around and *stūpa* in the centre, and the plan of a monastery with *stūpa* at its centre, respectively. I wonder if the present symbol is a type of monastery with a *stūpa* in the centre. Dr. Altekar has suggested that it may be an altar or an ornamented *Tulasī-vrindāvana* (without plant), both of which appear on Gupta coins. The only reason why I would assign this coin to Taxila is the presence of the bull and the provenance of the coin.

[1. The animal is too indistinct to be made out in the photograph or the plate. A. S. A.]

[A coin of exactly this type has been included in the *British Museum Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of India and Bactria*, on Pl. IX, No. 13. It is a bronze piece, square in size, and has on the obverse Bull facing right within dotted border and exactly the symbol of the reverse of the present coin on the reverse. The weight of the B.M. specimen is not given in the Catalogue, but its size is .5" square, —almost the same as that of the present piece. Gardner has conjecturally attributed the coin to Apollodotus, probably because it has Bull on the obverse, as on a number of coins of that Greek ruler, and because the symbol on the reverse has some kind of resemblance to the tripod lebens, appearing on the coins of Apollodotus. The find-spot of the B.M. specimen is not known, but since it is included among the Indo-Greek coins, it may have been obtained in the North Western Frontier Province or the Western Punjab. Absolutely uninscribed Greek coins without even a monogram are not known, and it is therefore likely that the coin of Mr. Thakore as well as the one in the British Museum may belong to the Taxila series. The symbol on the reverse of these coins is not a tripod, though it bears some resemblance to it.—EDITOR.]

No. 5.	Obverse	Reverse
	Crescented Hill and pillar.	Mauryan letter <i>go</i> and Crescented Hill.
	Wt. 25.23 grains	S. .5."

This coin has been unfortunately lost and hence cannot be illustrated now. The symbols on the obverse, which were carefully noted by me, are the same as on *B.M.C. var. a*, Class, 1, the order being reversed; while those on the reverse are the same as on *var. c*, Class, 4. It may be argued that the second symbol on the reverse, pillar, is merely a part of the preceding symbol, Brāhmī *go*, and in that case the coin belongs to *var. e*, Class, 4. The two symbols however were wide apart, rendering this theory improbable. The pillar-like symbol is represented by a straight line and not by a curved one, as in the case of the coins of *Var. e*, Class 4.

SQUARE COPPER COINS FROM BALAPUR (C.P.)

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

The four coins that are being published in this paper were kindly sent to me for examination and publication by Mr. Lochan Prasad Pandeya, Hon. Secretary, Mahakosala Historical Research Society, Raipur. They were found in the bed of the Mahanadi river at Balapur in Bilaspur district (C.P.) by gold washers searching for gold dust and beads, which are frequently found at the place.

Along with the four coins, that are being published in this paper, Mr. Pandeya had sent to me 16 other pieces, most of which were similar in size and fabric to those illustrated with this paper. Some however were too blurred to be studied. Such traces as remained, however, showed that most of them had elephant on one side and a human figure on the other, as is the case with most of the coins illustrated with this paper.

The coins are all uninscribed, and only their symbols can be used for determining their attribution. We shall discuss it after describing the coins.

Coin No. 1. Size roughly rectangular, $\cdot 7'' \times \cdot 6''$; weight, 46 grains; metal, copper.

Obverse :—Within a dotted border, elephant walking to right.

Reverse :—Two serpents with raised hood facing each other; a dot between their heads. Behind the serpent, to right, there is another symbol, which has come out only partially. It consists of a dotted crescent-shaped line on the left, another dotted line below, which is incomplete and a dot or knob in the centre. Probably there was another line on the left, as a counterpart of the line on the right, which has not come on the coin. There were four more coins of this type of different weights in the lot sent by Mr. Pandeya, but this symbol was not more complete on any one of them.

Pl. III, 7

Coin No. 2. Metal, copper; size, roughly rectangular, $\cdot 5''$; weight, 31 grains.

Obverse :—Elephant walking to right as on No. 1 above. The enclosing dotted border has not come out well.

Reverse :—A human figure, probably a female, standing with hands on the waist. What appears as hanging down below the waist on the right and the left, are probably the ends of the upper garment. **Pl. III, 8.**

There were three more coins of this type among the coins sent to me by Mr. Pandeya.

Coin No. 3. Metal, copper; size, roughly rectangular, .4"; weight, 16 grains.

Obverse :—Within dotted border visible on the right side only, rudely sketched elephant to right.

Reverse :—The figure is rude and incomplete, but most probably it is intended to stand for a human figure akimbo, as on coin No. 2 above. There is some indistinct symbol on the left of the figure. **Pl. III, 9.**

Coin No. 4. Metal, copper; size, roughly rectangular, .55" x .45"; weight, 11 grains.

Obverse :—A very crudely sketched and blurred elephant walking to right.

Reverse :—A female figure standing, both hands on the waist; an indistinct symbol on the left. **Pl. III, 10.**

The present coins bear considerable resemblance to some of the types of the Sātavāhanas. The elephant symbol, which occurs on most of the coins of the present lot, is to be frequently seen on the Sātavāhana coins found in Andhradeśa. It occurs on types Nos. 17-21 enumerated on p. xxix of the Introduction of Rapson's *Catalogue* of the Andhra and Kshatrapa coins in the British Museum and illustrated on plates VII and VIII of the same work. Elephant occurs on Sātavāhana coins found in Mālwa, Central India and Chanda district of C. P. See Rapson's *Catalogue*, Pl. I, 5, 6, 7; Pl. IV, 57, 87; Pl. V, 90-93; Pl. VII, 171-7. The elephant on the Sātavāhana coins is usually with its trunk fully raised or half raised; only on some few coins found in Godavari and Krishna districts, we find it with its trunk hanging down, as on the present coins.

The Nāga symbol which occurs on the reverse of the coin No. 1 occurs on three of the types of Andhradeśa enumerated by Rapson on p. lxxviii-lxxix of his Introduction; Nos. 5, 23, 24. It is however associated with lion or *Nandipada* or *Chaitya* and not with Elephant.

The female figure which appears on the reverse of coins Nos. 2-4 is so far unknown to the Sātavāhana coinage. A male figure however appears on some Sātavāhana coins found in Mālwa; see Rapson's *Catalogue*, Pl. I, Nos. 2-3.

The coins are on the whole much poorer in execution than the Sātavāhana coins.

In the absence of any coin legends, it is difficult to suggest a definite attribution of these coins. Since the coins bear close resemblance to some of the issues of the Sātavāhanas, it is possible to suggest that they were issued by some of them. The Sātavāhanas are stated by the Purāṇas to have once penetrated to Pāṭalīputra; it is possible that their hitherto unknown coins of the present type, which closely resemble some of their Andhradeśa types, may have travelled in the wake of their armies in Southern Kośala and Eastern C. P.

The coins, however, appear to be more degenerated in type and execution than the Sātavāhana coins of the Andhradeśa. It is equally possible that they may have been issued after the downfall of the Sātavāhanas by local rulers in Southern Kośala, who may have tried to imitate the Sātavāhana types current in Andhradeśa. In the present state of our knowledge, the latter alternative appears to me to be more probable.

A NEW TYPE OF GUPTA COIN.

BY MR. P. J. CHINMULGUND, I. C. S., BOMBAY.

I have, in my collection, a Gupta coin of a type which has not, as far as I know, been published so far. It is a gold coin of Chandragupta II, Horseman type :

Chandragupta II Horseman Type, Gold.¹

Obv. King riding on fully caparisoned horse to r. Sword (lash ?) on his r. side. Crescent behind king's head. Circular legend,

Paramabhājavata-[Mahārājādhirāja śrī-Chandragu]ptaḥ

Rev. Lakshmī seated to l. on wicker stool with *pāśa* in r. hand ; left hand on the waist, holding lotus with a long stalk. No symbol. Crescent in front of the head of the goddess ; legend *Ajita-vikramaḥ*, partly blurred. Pl. III, 11.

The coin is of variety B of *B. M. C.* and very similar to *B. M. C.* Pl. X, No. 12. The novelty of it consists in its having a crescent on the reverse to the left of Lakshmī's head. This is the only coin, so far known, that has a crescent both on the obverse and the reverse.

Mr. P. L. Gupta has recently suggested that the crescent on Gupta coins might be a symbol of sovereignty. Dr. Altekar in the same place has said that the significance of the crescent is still a mystery². It appears to me that while it is perfectly possible that the origin of the crescent on Gupta coins lies in the letter O in the original Greek legend, the Gupta mint masters having once adopted it, looked on it as a crescent pure and simple, an Indian symbol, and put it on various coin types. Whether they looked upon it as a symbol of royalty or not, it is difficult to say in the present state of our knowledge.

Though not directly connected with this matter, I would make some suggestions on the significance of certain symbols found on the coins of Andhras, W. Ksatrapas etc. I suggest that the symbols, the Sun, the Moon, Mountain (*chaitya*) and River (wavy line) found on these coins are meant to represent perma-

1. A photograph of both the obverse and the reverse of this coin will be published in the next number in Pl. VI. 1. Pl. III 11 gives only a sketch of the reverse.

2. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol VIII, pp. 38-40.

nence of the power of the dynasty or king who issued these coins. Thus the presence of all the four symbols would represent *Dharāsindhvarkasomāvadhi*, the mountain standing for earth, Dharā; the river for water, and by an extension of the symbolism, for the sea. The presence of the sun and the moon alone would stand for *Yāvachchandrādīvākarau*; and of the moon and star for *Āchandratārakam*.

This idea of hoping for the permanence of a dynasty or for the permanence of a grant or a charter is quite common, as can be seen from the general use of such phrases as *Āchandratārakam* in grants of land etc. and the representation of the sun and the moon in inscriptions. It will also be clear, in view of this interpretation, that the seven dots found in conjunction with the moon, e.g. on the obverse of the coins of the Western Ksatrapas etc., are meant to represent a star, and not a formal representation of the sun,—the moon-star combination and the sun-moon combination standing for distinct phrases conveying permanence.

COINS DOUBTFULLY ASSIGNED TO QĀDIR SHĀH OF MALWĀ.

BY MR. M. K. THAKORE, B. A., LL. B.

Bombay Civil Service (Jdl), Nandurbar.

One of the two coins, which forms the subject of this paper, is in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and has been published by my esteemed friend Mr. C. R. Singhal in Vol. VI of this *Journal* at page 50, while the other is in my cabinet; **Pl. IV, 1.** The legend on the obverse is similar to that found on the coins of Mahmūd Shāh III of Gujarāt. Mr. Singhal has read the legend on the reverse as "Bahādur Shāh bin 'Adil Shāh Sultān" or "Qādir Shāh bin 'Adil Shāh Sultān". He has rejected the first reading, Bahādur Shāh, for the reasons mentioned by him, and has tentatively assigned the coin to Qādir Shāh of Mālwa (A.D. 1536-1542). It may, therefore, be permissible to submit for the consideration of scholars another suggestion which may supply a correct clue to the solution of this problem.

Unfortunately the coin in my cabinet also does not bear the full name of the king, though the lower part on its reverse is more legible than on the coin in the Prince of Wales Museum. The letter preceding what looks like *alif* appears to be *mīm*. It is, therefore, possible to read the name as Muḥammad Shāh. What looks like *alif* is the upper stroke of *dal*. This way of writing Muhammad is not unusual. I would refer in this behalf to coin No. 122 of Muḥammad Shāh II, Pl. 1, *P. W. M. C.* and to two coins in my cabinet; see **Pl. IV, 2-3.** The second possible reading is Mubarak Shāh, if what looks like *alif* is really that letter. *Kaf*, the last letter, is cut off. My submission therefore is that the legend on the reverse is:

السلطان محمد شاه بن عادل شاه

OR

السلطان مبارك شاه بن عادل شاه

I must, however, state that the second reading is to be preferred to the first. In the first case I submit that these coins are the issues of Muḥammad Shāh Fārūqī of Khāndesh (A. D. 1520-1535), who was invited by the nobles to ascend the throne of Gujarāt after the death of Bahādur Shāh, and in the second case they belong to Mubarak Shāh II of Khāndesh (A. D. 1535-1566). Both Muḥammad and Mubarak were the sons of 'Adil Khān

Fārūqī. It will be my endeavour to show that historically this view is better supported than the view expressed by Mr. Singhal.¹

The coins disclose that the father of the ruler was 'Adil Shāh. Mr. Singhal has observed that the name of 'Adil Shāh as being the father of Qādir Shāh of Mālwa is not to be traced in any historical book. I may, therefore, be permitted to point out that the name of the father of Mallū Khān, which was the birth-name of Qādir Shāh, has been given in both *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa* and *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī Firishṭa* in his history of Mālwa says:²

بعد ازان جنت اشیانی نصیر الدین محمد همایون بادشاه وقتیکه گجرات را مسخر ساخت و سلطان بهادر شاه گجراتی بجانب بندر دیب گریخت آنحضرت بشادی اباد مند و آمده خطبه بنام خود کرد و متعلقان خود سپرد بدان - دیب که در جای خود مذکور گشته چون باگه تشریف فرود ملوخان بن ملوخان که از غلامان خلیج و کبار امرای ایشان بود زر آورده بعد یک سال از تصرف لشکر چغتایی بر آورده خود را سلطان قادر نامید

Again, in dealing with the history of Mālwa under Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt, he says:³

صبح روز دیگر خود نیز عزم اجین نمود و بدریا خان مالوہی حکومت اجین ارزانی داشته بسارنگ پور متوجه گردید و سارنگ پور را به ملوخان بن ملوخان که در ایام سلطان مظفر از مندر رفته ملازم شده بود و در زمان پادشاه تھی شیرشاه سر خود را خطاب قادر شاهی داده خطبه و سکه آن دیار بنام خود ساخته بود چنانچه عنقریب شہنہ از احوال او مرقوم خواهد شد تفویض نمود

Briggs in his translation of the above passages has omitted to give the name of Mallū Khān's father.⁴

The author of *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* in his history of Mālwa under the heading "An account of Mallū Khān, Qādir Shāh" says: "When owing to the death of Sultān Bahādur, there was disorder in the country of Gujarāt, and the country of Mālwa remained without a ruler; at about that time His Majesty Jinnat Ashīānī turned the bridle of departure from Āgra towards the country of Bangāla. *Mallū Khān, son of Mallū Khān* gave himself, in concert with the *amirs* of Mālwa, the title of Qādir Shāh."⁵

1. I had sent my coin and written to Mr. Singhal expressing my view but he could not accept it, and is still of the opinion that the coins must be assigned to Qādir Shāh of Mālwa. With due respect to Mr. Singhal, I feel convinced that it is not possible to assign these coins to Qādir Shāh of Mālwa, while they can be attributed either to Muhammad Shāh or Mubārak Shāh of the Fārūqī dynasty. It is, therefore, after very careful consideration, though not without some hesitation, that I have finally submitted this paper for publication.

2. *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa*, text; Munshi Naval Kishore Press, Kanpur, A. D. 1884; page 270.

3. *Ibid.*: page 220.

4. *Firishṭa*, Briggs' Tr. Vol. IV pages 271 and 118.

5. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Tr. Brajendranath De, Vol. III. page 617. Italics are mine.

In his history of Gujarāt he says: "Sultān Bahādur conferred the government of Ujjain on Daryā Khān, who was one of the old *amirs* of Mālwa, and had formerly come as the ambassador to Sultān Bahādur, and advanced towards Sārangpūr. He bestowed Sārangpūr on *Mallū Khān, son of Mallū Khān*, who had in the time of Sultān Muzaffar gone away from Mandū; and had entered the service of..... and who in the reign of Shēr Khan had assumed the title of Qādir Shāh, and had the public prayers read and the coins struck in that country in his own name."¹

Again he says: "Silhadi's son fled from Ujjain, and went to Chitōr. Sultān Bahādur bestowed Ujjain on Daryā Khan Mandōwālī, and advanced to Rāīsīn. On the way he left Habib Khān at Āshta and *Mallū Khān, son of Mallū Khān*, at Sārangpūr, and went and besieged the fort of Rāīsīn."²

The above references show that Mallū Khān's father was also named Mallū Khān and not 'Adil Shāh. Strange though this may sound, it has been repeatedly so mentioned by more than one historian, and there appears to be no cogent reason to doubt this testimony from original sources.

'Adil Shāh appears to be the name of a very high personage,— a title or regnant designation which ordinarily a ruler would have assumed. There is no historical evidence which might induce us to believe that Qādir Shāh's father was such as could have assumed this name. On the other hand the above extracts from *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa* and *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* show that Mallū Khān's ancestors were slaves of the Khiljīs, elevated to the rank of *amirs*; and that Mallū Khān had left Mandū and taken up service under Muzaffar Shāh II of Gujarāt. These facts indicate that 'Adil Shāh could not have been the name of Mallū Khān's father.

It will be seen that coins are known to have been minted by Qādir Shāh of Mālwa. The late Mr. H. Nelson Wright was the first to bring to light eight copper coins of this ruler, which he published in his "Addenda to the Mālwa Coinage."³ He read the legend on those coins as under:—

Obverse.	Reverse.
السلطان	السلطان
قادر شاه	بن
بن	۹۲۵
شاه اعظم (?)	السلطان
مکتوب ۹۲۵	

1. *Ibid*, pages 357-358.

2. *Ibid*, page, 616.

3. *N. S.*, No. XI; articles 63, page, 316.

He observed : 'Above the ط of the lower السلطان is the ornament figured as No. 21 in the Catalogue of the Indian Museum, 1907, p. 261, and above the ط of the upper السلطان the ornament figured as No. 23 in the same plate. The words following شاه in the third line of the obverse are a difficulty. None of the coins give them very distinctly. After much consideration I am inclined to think they may be a blundered بن لطيف." These coins are not illustrated but the marks and the legend show that they are of Mālwa style.

In his paper "The Coinage of the Sultāns of Mālwa"¹ Mr. Nelson Wright published four more copper coins of Qādir Shāh struck only in the name of Maḥmūd Shāh III of Gujarāt. Three of these Nos. 90, 90a and 91 are round, while one, No. 92 is square in shape. Mr. Singhal has also recorded four coins of Qādir Shāh in the name of Maḥmūd III, Nos. 107 to 109 of his paper "On Certain Unpublished Coins of Sultāns of Mālwa".² These coins are round in shape. The coins published by Mr. H. Nelson Wright and by Mr. Singhal are of the year A. H. 945. The fabric, calligraphy and weight of these coins are identical with the coins of Mālwa.

Mr. H. Nelson Wright has observed in his paper that Maḥmūd III is stated to have granted Qādir Shāh the right to strike coins but none are known in his own name. Mr. Singhal however has published in his paper two coins, Nos. 106 and 106a, which he has attributed to Qādir Shāh in his own name. Both these coins are square and of Mālwa style.

Now, undoubtedly, the fabric and calligraphy of the coins under discussion are the same as the Gujarāt copper coins of Maḥmūd Shāh III. The legend on the obverse is similar and written in the same way as Maḥmūd's silver coins Nos. 607 to 612 and copper coins Nos. 711a to 716, *P.W.M.C.*. The weight of the coin published by Mr. Singhal is 132 and that of my coin 129.79 grs., that is nearly equal to coin No. 712, of *P.W.M.C.*, the denomination being of 18 units. It will therefore be seen that these coins are altogether different from the coins struck by Qādir Shāh in his own name, and in the name of Maḥmūd Shāh III. They are directly imitated from the Gujarāt coins of Maḥmūd Shāh III. H. Nelson Wright has remarked that the square coins were the rule, and not the exception in Mālwa, so much so, that even Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt and Ibrāhīm Lōdī of Delhi were not above following the local tradition. Hence

1. *The Numismatic Chronicle*. Fifth Series Vol. XI, pages 48-44 Pl. IV (V).

2. *N. S.* : No. XLVII ; Article 349.

when the Mālwa coins of Bahādur Shāh and Qādir Shāh in the name of Maḥmūd III and in his own name are in Mālwa style, it is exceedingly unlikely that Qādir Shāh, disregarding the local traditions would have issued some coins in Gujarāt style.

For the reasons mentioned above I submit that it is not possible to assign the coins under discussion to Qādir Shāh of Mālwa.

It has been suggested that what looks like *v* within السا on the obverse of my coin is the last numeral 7, of the year 947. I am unable to accept this suggestion. On the coin published by Mr. Singhal there is a dot in place of *v*. There is neither any dot nor any mark on the silver coins of Maḥmūd III of this type, namely, Nos. 607 to 612, in the *P.W.M.C.* The copper coin No. 711a on pl. VIII of *P.W.M.C.* shows a dot which is rather too big. On one silver coin of this type in my cabinet, **PI. IV, 4** there is a similar mark *v*. There are also two copper coins of this type in my cabinet, one of which has a small cross and the other a mark like crescent, as shown on **PI. IV, 5-6**. As a matter of fact on this type of coins of Maḥmūd III, the date appears at the lower end and not in the centre, as will be seen from coins Nos. 607, 711a, and 713 of *P.W.M.C.* and my coin **PI. IV, 5**. The illegible portion at the bottom of the coin published by Mr. Singhal is really the date, as there is no room for legend there. It, therefore, follows that what looks like *v* is not a unit of a date, since it cannot be read on either of the coins.

It will not be out of place to refer at this stage to four copper coins in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, which were at first doubtfully assigned by Mr. Singhal to Maḥmūd II of Gujarāt,¹ then to Naṣir Shāh of Kalpi² and lastly to Naṣir Shāh Fārūqī of Khāndesh.³ The reasons given by Mr. Singhal for abandoning his previous views and finally assigning those coins to Naṣir Shāh Fārūqī are that relations between the Fārūqī rulers and the Sultāns of Gujarāt were very intimate; that the former were always under the obligations of the latter for their good will and support, which they were getting from time to time; that the legend on the obverse of those coins very closely resembles that on the coins of Aḥmad Shāh I of Gujarāt, and was probably copied from those coins and that the weight, fabric and calligraphy are quite identical with the copper issues of Aḥmad Shāh. I submit that these very arguments apply to the coins under discussion with greater force, and support the view I am advancing. Hence, as

1. *N.S.*, Vol. XLII, article 244.

2. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. II, page 132.

3. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. VI, page 46.

observed by Mr. Singhal with regard to those copper coins of Naṣīr Shāh, I think that we must turn to the Fārūqī dynasty of Khāndesh, in order to study this problem.

There have been three rulers in the Fārūqī dynasty, bearing the name 'Adil Khān. The first of them, Mirān 'Adil Khān, ruled from A. H. 841 to 844 (A.D. 1437-1441), and was a contemporary of Ahmad Shāh I of Gujarāt. His son Mirān Mubārak I, had an uneventful reign of 17 years from A. H. 844 to 861 (A. D. 1441-1457). He was thus the contemporary of Muhammad Shāh II and Ahmad Shāh II of Gujarāt. The present coins, therefore, cannot be assigned to Mubārak Shah I. He was succeeded by 'Adil Khān II (A. H. 861-909=A. D. 1457-1503), who was a powerful king and was the contemporary of the great Maḥmūd Bēgdā of Gujarāt. He left no male child to inherit him and was succeeded by his younger brother Dāūd.

The third Sultān named 'Adil Khān (A. H. 916-926=A. D. 1510-1520) was married to the grand-daughter of Maḥmūd Bēgdā and was able to secure the throne through his influence¹. He was also a contemporary of his father-in-law Muzaffar Shāh II of Gujarāt and fought with distinction in the campaigns undertaken by him. It may be mentioned that it was during his reign that Muzaffar Shāh II struck coins from Burahānpur, the capital of Khāndesh².

This 'Adil Khān III had two sons, Muḥammad Khān and Mubārak Khān. Muḥammad Khān, entitled Mirān Muḥammad Shāh who succeeded 'Adil Khān, was the nephew of Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt and 'had been the constant companion and loyal associate of Bahādur during the whole of his reign and had for the past ten years participated in all great military expeditions conducted by the Sultān³.' Bahādur Shāh had honoured him with the title of Shāh⁴ and had nominated him his heir and successor. The author of *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* says: "They said that the late Sultan (Bahādur Shāh) had during his life appointed him his heir apparent, having one day seated him on the throne and ordered the nobles and ministers of the state to do him honour, and that they had all obeyed. The Sultan had taken the course to publish the wish and desire that after him the rule and the kingdom may descend to him".⁵ After the

1. *Firishta. Briggs' Tr.* Vol. IV. pages 303-304., *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī Tr.* Fazlullah, Page 76 onwards.

2. Coins Nos. 440 to 448 to 490a, *P. W. M. C.*

3. *History of Gujarāt*, by Khan Bahadur, M. S. Commissariat, page 388.

4. *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Tr.* Fazlullah, page 169.

5. *Ibid*, page 202.

death of Bahādur Shah, the nobles of Gujarāt invited Muḥammad Shāh to the throne of Gujarāt, but he died within a few weeks.

No coins of Muḥammad Shāh have upto now been found. The learned editor of the *Catalogue of the Coins of the Sultans of Gujarat in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay*, is of opinion that *Firishta's* reference to coins issued in the name of Muḥammad Shāh, is not so reliable, on the ground that both *Mirat-i-Sikandarī* and *Aḥmadī* say with one voice that, as soon as Muḥammad Shāh heard the sad news of his uncle Bahādur's death, he was so much grieved that he stopped talking to anybody and resigned his life a few days after the death of Sulṭān Bahādur.¹ According to him, therefore, no coins were struck by Muhammad Shāh because he died before he ascended the throne of Gujarāt. What *Firishta* says is: "The Guzerat officers, however, convening a meeting, resolved on inviting Meeran Mohamed Khan of Kandeish, nephew of Bahadur Shah, who was then in Mālwa, to ascend the throne, and without further hesitation, coins were struck and public prayers read in his name²." The author of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* also says: "The *amirs* of Gujarāt became perturbed on beholding this new disturbance, and took counsel with one another, about the choice of a *bādshāh*. As Sulṭān Bahādur had repeatedly expressed his intention of making Mirān Muammad Shāh, who was his nephew (sister's son), his heir, every one agreed to select him as the Sulṭān, and had the *khutba* read and the *sikka* struck in his absence. They sent swift messengers to bring him..Mirān Muḥammad Shāh, whom Sulṭān Bahādur had sent as far as Mālwa in pursuit of the Chaghtai army, died of natural causes, a month and a half after the *Khutba* had been read in his name³." It, therefore, appears that coins were struck, not by Muḥammad Shāh himself, but in his absence by the nobles, immediately on their selecting him as the successor of Bahādur Shāh. This does not appear to be surprizing, because Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā, who had returned to Gujarāt on hearing of the death of Bahādur Shāh, was conspiring to usurp the throne of Gujarāt. He also had the public prayer read in his own name at Div,⁴ In order to meet with this new menace, the nobles of Gujarāt seem to have adopted the effective measure of reading *khutba* and striking coins in the

1. *P. W. M. C.*, Note 3 (b) page XII.

2. *Firishta*, Briggs' Tr. Vol. IV, pages 142-143.
Italics are mine.

3. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Tr. Brajendranath De. Vol. III, pages 382-383.
Italics are mine.

4. *Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt*, pages 86-89.

name of Muḥammad Shāh, who was not only the nominee of Bahādur Shāh, but whom they had decided to place on the throne. The fact that Muḥammad Shāh died a few weeks after learning about the death of his uncle does not in any way affect the truth of this statement. On the other hand, looking to the political situation of the time, this statement must be accepted as correct.

Muḥammad Shāh was succeeded by his brother Mubārak. Firishta merely states that none of the children of Muḥammad Shāh were of an age to take the reign of government, and his brother Mubārak, hearing of his decease at Burhānpūr, immediately assumed the title of Shāh.¹ *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* gives more details. The nobles of Khāndesh who had placed the infant son of Muḥammad Shāh on the throne, had handed over Mubārak to a nobleman, Ibrat Khān, for safe custody for the night, but Mubārak won him over, and with his help took the palace. He then, "taking his nephew (Muḥammad Shāh's son) in his lap ascended the throne, and sent a message to the nobles that the regency of the kingdom during his nephew's minority pertained to him..... All of them submitted. That day passed thus. At night he slew his nephew and in the morning, issuing forth, he sat on the throne by himself. The nobles came and did him homage, and with folded arms stood each in his proper place. *They struck coins in the name of Mubārīk Shāh and his title of Khān became changed into that of Shāh*".²

After the death of Muḥammad Shāh the nobles of Gujarāt decided to place on the throne of Gujarāt Maḥmūd Shāh, the grandson of Muzaffar Shāh, who was kept in the fort of Biawal (Yaval, in Dist. East Khandesh). He was, therefore, summoned to Gujarāt. Firishta says: "*Meeran Moobarik who himself aspired to the throne of Guzerat*, and to which his brother had been so lately elevated, threw obstacles in the way of the enlargement of the Prince Mahmood; but the Guzerat officers resented his detention so warmly, that Meeran Moobarik Khan was compelled from motives of policy to permit Yektiar Khan to take charge of him, and he was accordingly crowned at Ahmadabad in the year 943"³.

In about A. H. 944, Daryā Khān who had taken Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh with him led an army against Imād-ul-Mulk, another powerful nobleman of Gujarāt, and defeated him. Imād-ul-Mulk sought shelter with Mubārak Shāh. The latter refused to give up Imād-ul-Mulk to Daryā Khān and gave

1. *Firishta, Briggs' Tr.* Vol. VI, page 813.

2. *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Tr.* Fazlullah, page 207.

3. *Firishta, Briggs' Tr.* Vol. IV page 313. Italics mine.

battle in which he was defeated. "Then the Sultan (Maḥmūd Shāh) went to Burhānpur and Imād-ul-Mulk fled and sought shelter with Kādir Shāh at Māndu, the ruler of Mālwa. The Sultan remained for some time at Burhānpur and eventually made peace, *stipulating that the public sermon should be read and the coins struck in his name.*"¹

It will, therefore, be seen that coins were struck by Mubārak Shāh. This fact is also borne out by the condition imposed upon him by Maḥmūd Shāh after the former's defeat, to strike coins in the name of the Sultān of Gujarat. The fact also gets corroboration from the claim of Mubārak to the throne of Gujarāt and his efforts to that end.

It can, therefore, be concluded that coins were struck in the name of Muḥammad Shāh by the nobles of Gujarāt. Muḥammad Shāh, however, died shortly afterwards and Maḥmūd Shāh III ascended the throne of Gujarāt. In Khāndesh, Muḥammad Shāh was succeeded by Mubārak Shāh who also struck coins in his own name. The present coins can, therefore, be assigned to Muḥammad Shāh and in that case the coins of Maḥmūd Shāh of this type must have been copied from these coins. They can also be assigned to Mubārak Shāh of Khāndesh.

As stated above, the name of the ruler on the coins is incomplete and is to be reconstructed, more or less by inference. The name may be Qādir Shāh, but as shown by me above the attribution of coins to Qādir Shāh of Mālwa cannot be justified. It is possible to read the name as Muḥammad Shāh or Mubārak Shāh, and I have shown that these coins can be assigned to either of them. But, as stated above the second name deserves preference and hence I submit that the coins should, for the present, be assigned to Mubārak Shāh II of Khāndesh.

DATE OF THE RESTORATION OF THE HOUSE OF ILYAS SHĀH

BY N. B. SANYAL, M. A., B. L.

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The *Riyāzū-s-Salātīn* presents the following account of the fall of the dynasty of Rājā Kāns and the restoration of the house of Ilyās Shāh to the sovereignty of Bengal :

REIGN OF AHMAD SHĀH, SON OF JALĀLU-D-DĪN.

"When Sultān Jalālu-d-dīn was laid in the grave, his son Ahmad Shāh, with the consent of the nobles and the generals of the army, ascended the throne, in succession to his father. As he was very peevish, oppressive and blood-thirsty, he shed blood for nothing, and used to cut open the bodies of pregnant women. When his oppressions reached the utmost limits, and the low and the high were exasperated to desperation by his tyranny, Shādi Khān and Nāsir Khān who were his two slaves and held the rank of nobles intrigued, and killed Ahmad Shāh; and this event occurred in 830 A. H. His reign lasted sixteen years, and according to another account, eighteen years.

REIGN OF NĀSIR KHĀN, THE SLAVE.

When the throne became vacant by the murder of Ahmad Shāh, Shādi Khān desired to put Nāsir Khān out of the way and to become himself the Administrator-General of the kingdom. Nāsir Khān, guessing his design, forestalled him, and slew Shādi Khān and boldly placing himself on the throne, commenced to enforce orders. The nobles and the Mulūk of Ahmad Shāh not submitting to him, slew him. His reign lasted seven days, and according to another account, half a day.

REIGN OF NĀSIR SHĀH.

When Nāsir Khān the slave in retribution for his misdeeds was killed, the nobles and the generals leaguering together, raised to the throne one of the grand-sons of Sultān Shamsu-d-dīn Bhangra who had capacity for this onerous charge, styling him Nāsir Shāh."¹

The fall of Ahmad Shāh marked the extinction of the dynasty of Rājā Kāns. After the usurpation and the usurper's overthrow which followed, the Ilyās Shāhi dynasty was

1. *Riyāzū-s-Salātīn*, trans., Maulvi Abdus Salam (Bib. Ind.) pp. 118-120.

restored under the rule of Nāṣiruddīn Maḥmūd Shāh I. In the account quoted above, the date of the assassination of Ahmad Shāh is given as 830 A. H. The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* gives also the same date for the event.¹

As the coinage of Ahmad Shāh's father, Sulṭān Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Shāh, continued till at least 835 A. H.,² the date of the death of Ahmad Shāh as given above cannot be held as correct.

According to the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Ahmad ruled for 16 years.³ According to the *Riyāz*, as quoted above, 'his reign lasted sixteen years, and according to another account, eighteen years'. So, if he followed his father to the throne in the year 835 A. H.,⁴ his reign according to this reckoning should be extended to either 851 or 853 A. H. On the contrary, it was found that the coinage of his successor Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh went back at least to the year 846 A. H.⁵ A doubt was thus raised if for the greater part of his reign Ahmad was not vigorously and successfully opposed by Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh.⁶ This, however, the Muhammadan histories do not say. In the account of the *Riyāz* quoted above, the successive course of events which led to the fall of Ahmad Shāh and the rise of Maḥmūd Shāh I to power, namely, (1) the assassination of Ahmad Shāh, (2) the usurpation of Nāṣir Shāh, the slave, (3) the usurper's overthrow, and (4) the installation of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh to the kingship of Bengal by the courtiers and the generals, is too distinctly and definitely narrated to be ignored. No suggestion is thrown in any of the Muhammadan histories about Maḥmūd's stepping to the throne through an opposition rule. It is also noteworthy in this connection that at least as early as in the year 846 A. H. Maḥmūd is seen to be claiming sovereignty over territories that lay almost at the gates of the city of Gaur.⁷ To reconcile therefore the apparent inconsistency, as noted above, recent historians have assigned to Ahmad Shāh a rule of 11 years, extending from 835 to 846 A. H. (1431-42 A. D.), and to his successor Maḥmūd Shāh I, 17 years, commencing in the year 846 A. H. and terminating in 864 A. H.

1. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, transl., B. De (Bib. Ind), Vol. III, pt. 1, p. 484.

2. *I. M. C.*, Vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 161-164. Coins No. 108 and 110 are of 834. Bhattasali : *Coins and Chronology*, p. 128 describes and illustrates a Coin of 835 H. the date on which is clear (Pl. LX. 5). The *B.M.C.* describes and illustrates a coin of the succeeding King Ahmad Shah, clearly dated 836 H. So, the *I. M. C.* Coin No. 104 of Jalauddin, on which the editor has read the date of 840 H must be dismissed as incorrectly read.

3. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, loc. cit., p. 484.

4. *I. M. C.*, Vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 161-164, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLII. pt. 1, 1873 pp. 266 and ff.

5. Blochmann, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLII, pt. 1, 1873. p. 269.

6. *Idem*, p. 268-269, R. D. Banerji, *Bāṅglār Itihāsa*, Vol. II, p. 184.

7. Sarkar, G. D., *J. P. A. S. B.*, NS. Vol. XIII, p. 161.

(1442-59 A. D.)¹. These authorities have thus fixed the date of the transition in the year 846 A. H.

Very recently, however, the cabinet of the Varendra Research Museum at Rajshahi has received a new coin of Nāṣiru-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh I, which bears a date in 841 A. H. This is as follows : Metal, Silver. Size, 1·125. Weight, 161·56 grains. A. H. 841.

Obverse—In double circle, with arabesques between,

ناصر الدنيا والدين
ابوالمجاهد
محمود شاه السلطان

No margin legible, except ۸۴۱

Reverse—In a circle

المؤيد
بنيابا الرحمن
خليفة الاله
بالعبادة و البرهان

Margin cut and illegible.

Pl. IV, 7

This fresh discovery has thus upset the arrangement which had tentatively been adopted in fixing the chronology of the two reigns. It puts back the commencement of Maḥmūd's reign by 5 years and necessarily implies a further reduction of the length of Ahmad's rule by the same period. The question of the actual date of the transition is thus presented anew. A re-examination of this problem necessitates a reconsideration of the chronology of the two reigns, for the settlement of which the main complication lies in the apparent conflict between the traditional and the numismatic evidence.

The existing Muhammadan histories refer to no date in connection with the reign of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh I. Regarding the duration of his reign, however, they record as follows :

Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī :

"The period of his reign was two years."²

Riyāṣu-s-Salātīn :

"Reigning thirty-two years over Bengal, he passed away like others before him from the world, and according to another account, his reign did not exceed twenty-seven years."³

1. Haig, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 267-68. 695 ; Stapleton, H. E., *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua*, pp. 189-90.

2. *Loc. cit.*, p. 484.

3. *Loc. cit.*, p. 120.

A date which can be fixed with any fair degree of accuracy in connection with Maḥmūd's reign is the date of his death. The latest inscription of his reign is dated the 28th Zil Hijjah, 863 A. H. or the 20th October, 1459 A. D.¹ The earliest date ascertained for his successor Ruknu-d-dīn Bārbak Shāh is 864 A. H.² It can therefore be accepted as almost certain that Maḥmūd Shāh died in the beginning of the year 864 A. H.

This date can thus be assumed as a well attested starting point to obtain a date for his accession to the throne which can be considered as satisfactory on the whole. The *Tabaqāt* assigns only 2 years to his reign. This is manifestly incorrect in view of the dates which have already been ascertained of his reign from his inscriptions and coins.³ If we then allow on the testimony of the first statement of the *Riyāz*, 32 years to his reign, we are brought to the year 831 A. H. for the commencement of his reign. This, however, cannot be accepted, because, as referred to above, the coinage of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Shāh extends to the year 835 A. H. These statements being therefore rejected as untenable, there remains only the second statement of the *Riyāz*, according to which 'his reign did not exceed 27 years.' This testimony of the *Riyāz* takes us to the year 836 A. H. as the first year of Maḥmūd's reign, and this is also the same year in which the only dated coin of Ahmad Shāh yet known was struck.¹ This reckoning thus yields a date for the beginning of Maḥmūd's reign which does not conflict at least with the numismatic and the epigraphic data which we at present possess.

If, therefore, this testimony of the *Riyāz* be correct, it follows then that the rule of the house of Rājā Kāns terminated in the year 836 A. H. The grounds in favour of the rejection of the traditional account of the duration of Ahmad's reign as recorded in the *Tabaqāt* and in the *Riyāz* have already been cited above, the very short duration of his tyrannical rule is indicated also by the extreme paucity of his coins, of which only a solitary dated specimen has been known up-to-date, and also by the absence of any epigraphic record of his reign.³ Could this be possible if his reign was really so long as the *Tabaqāt* or the *Riyāz* states? In fact, the inaccuracy of their statements in this respect is being more and more deeply impressed in the light of fresh discoveries of the earlier coinage of Maḥmūd's reign, necessitating further reduction

1 Blochmann, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLI, Pt. 1, 1872, p. 108.

2 Wright, *I. M. C.*, Vol. II, pt. 2, p. 167, No. 185.

3 Sarkar, G. D., *J. P. A. S. B.*, NS, Vol. XIII, p. 151, Stapleton, *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua*, p. 176; *I. M. C.*, vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 164-66.

of the duration of Ahmad's reign to narrower limits. If, therefore, the testimony of the *Riyāz* which assigns 27 years to Maḥmūd's rule be correct, the duration of Ahmad's rule could not be more than 2 years, which time, as referred to above, the *Tabaqāt* erroneously attributes to the reign of his successor Maḥmūd.

Unluckily, we do not possess at present any more historical data which can throw any decisive light on the chronology of Ahmad's reign. Till further evidence is therefore forthcoming, the date of the fall of the house of Rājā Kāns and the restoration of the dynasty of Ilyās Shāh to the sovereignty of Bengal may reasonably be fixed in the year 836 A. H., and, the chronology of the reigns in this connection may be settled as shown below. It remains also to be pointed out in this connection that the *Cambridge History of India* makes Nāṣir the slave and Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, the first Sulṭān of the house of Ilyās (restored), one and the same person⁴. This is however contrary to all the authorities⁵.

SULTANS OF BENGAL

Chronology

A. H.		A. D.
835	Accession of Shamsu-d-dīn Ahmad Shāh.	1431
836	Assassination of Shamsu-d-dīn Ahmad Shāh.	1432
	Usurpation of Nāṣir Khān, the slave. Murder of Nāṣir Khān, the slave.	
836	Accession of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh I.	1432
864	Death of Nāṣiruddīn Maḥmūd Shāh I.	1459

1. *British Museum Catalogue of Indian Coins, Muhammadan states: 1885*: Lane-poole P. 86.

2. The *B. M. C. Catalogues* two coins of Ahmad Shah one dated 836 H. and the other undated. I understand, there are two undated coins of Ahmad Shah in the cabinet of the Dacca Museum. Vide D. M. Annual Report for 1939-40. P. 11. A massive six-domed mosque at Muazzampur, near the ruins of Sonargaon, Dt. Dacca, was erected during the reign of Ahmad Shah. The date of the inscription is gone. See Anlad Hasan's *Antiquities of Dacca*, p. 54. *N K B*.

3. Sir W. Haig, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 267.

4. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, transl., B. De. (Bib. Ind), p. 484, n. 5.

SOME DATA ON THE CURRENCY OF THE PESHTVA TIMES.¹

By N. G. CHAPEKAR, B.A., LL.B., BADLAPUR

It occurred to me that the account books still available in Mahārāshtra would prove a fruitful source of the authentic history relating to the Peshwa times. With this in mind I began collecting and examining the books, which came in large numbers. There are scions of ancient families in Mahārāshtra, who have still carefully preserved their valuable account books. I am particularly grateful to the Khasgiwale family of Poona, the Subhedar family of Kalyan, Dixit-Batwardhan family of Nasik, Chiplunkar family of Poona and Vaidya family of Wai. Chiplunkars' account books had been procured by the Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal of Poona. Much material is obtainable in these books respecting matters, religious, social, economic, political and genealogical. Here, however, we are concerned only with the media of exchange then prevalent. It may be observed that these account books furnish valuable data for the student of currency, as we have hardly any official data to throw light on the subject. In the absence of a numismatic history of the Peshwa times, the account books furnish good reliable material for a study of the currency of that period.

At the outset it must be stated that in the times of the Peshwas, coinage was not a monopoly, either private or governmental. Not a few people were apparently licensed to mint coins, which naturally varied in their weight, purity and types from place to place. No wonder then that there was a plethora of coins of various sorts. Even in a single town various kinds of coins were in circulation. Obviously these were exchanged at a rate which varied according to the metal used in the coins. Generally, silver rupees were in circulation, though gold coins like *Mohars* and *Putals* were not unknown. *Battā* was the Marathi equivalent of the rate of exchange. Those who dealt in exchange business were designated as Naiks, provided they were Brahmans. Others were called shroffs.

The following are the names of Rupees that I came across in the account books I studied:—

1. Ālamgīrī (आलमगीरी), (2) Añkusi (अंकुशी), (3) Arkāt

1. The article is translated from the original article in Marathi written by Mr. Chapekar for this Journal.

(आर्कोट), (4) Ārkāt-ganjīkoṭ (आर्कोटगंजीकोट), (5) Ārkāt-phul-chadī (आरकाटफूलचढी), (6) Aṭīche (अटीचे), (7) Baḍodī (बडोदी), (8) Bāgalkoṭī (बागलकोटी), (9) Bahuti (बहुति), (10) Bājār-chalanī (बाजार चलनी), (11) Bāvadī (बावडी), (12) Bhaḍochī (भडोची), (13) Bhāṭvadī (भाटवडी), (14) Bhuṇḍe (भुंडे), (15) Belāpuri (बेलपुरी), (16) Chāndvad (चोंदवड), (17) Chatarsingī (चतरसिंगी), (18) Chinchvad (चिंचवड), (19) Dāṇe-chalanī (दाणेचलनी), (20) Daulatābādī (दौलताबादी), (21) Delhi-sikkā (देहली-सिक्का), (22) Ekbanduki (एकबन्दुकि), (23) Gajāpuri (गजापुरी), (24) Hālī-sikkā (हालिसिक्का), (25) Hāpis-chalanī (हापिस-चलनी), (26) Hukerī (हुकेरी), (27) Itāv (इटाव), (28) Kalyāṇchāl miṭhe, (कल्याणचाल मिठे), (29) Kāśī-sikkā (काशी-सिक्का), (30) Konkan-chalanī chinchvad, (कोंकणचलनी चिंचवड), (31) Mahamadshāhī (महमदशाही), (32) Malhārshāhī (मल्हारशाही), (33) Malkāpuri (मलकापुरी), (34) Mirjī (मिरजी), (35) Miṭe (मिटे), (36) Nāgāche (नागाचे), (37) Nīlkaṇṭhī (नीलवंठी), (38) Panālī (पनाली), (39) Pañchmel (पँचमेल), (40) Panhālī (पन्हाली), (41) Pethchalanī (पेटचलनी), (42) Pharaśī (फरशी), (43) Potechāl (पोतेचाल), (44) Puṇe-chalanī (पुणेचलनी), (45) Rahimatpurī (रहिमतपुरी), (46) Sāhū-sikkā (शाहूसिक्का), (47) Sarkār-chalanī (सरकार चलनी), (48) Sarolī (सरोली), (49) Sipri-sikkā, (सिपरि सिक्का), (50) Sūrati (सुरती), (51) Talegāvi (तलेगावी), (52) Tris'ālī (त्रिशूली), (53) Turyāche (तुर्याचे), (54) Wāī-sikkā (वार्डिसिक्का), (55) Wasāīchāl chandvad (वसईचाल चंदवड).

I must not omit to state that most of the account books I consulted belonged to the latter part of Peshwāi.

Unfortunately traditional information about many of the aforesaid coins is nil and no documents are available, which would throw any light on them. We are mostly left to guess for ourselves. For instance, Gaḍīchā Rupāyā, Timbāche Potechāl, Pettchā Rupāyā, are terms absolutely unintelligible to the present generation. All these coins began to be melted since the time they ceased to be legal tender; hence correct information about them began to become scarce in the course of time.

It will be seen that many coins have received their names

from the place of their mint ; some are denominated from the figure inscribed on them ; a few are known from the name of the rulers who coined them first ; some names are significant ; e.g. '*Mithe*' means nice, good. *Bazar-chalanī* means current in the bazar ; similarly 'sanctioned by the Government' may be the meaning of *Sarkār chalanī*. *Dāne-chalanī* probably signified 'current in Dānā-bazar or grain market.'

The expression Wasaichāl rupee was very likely restricted the rupees current in the town of Bassein in the Thana District and possibly to the neighbouring region.

Bazar-chalanī and *Peth-chalanī* may have been synonyms ; but it will be unwarrantable to identify Poone-Chalanī with *Pune Sikkā*. I found *Pune Sikkā* coin mentioned in the account book of Mr. Jog of Bhiwandi in the Thana district.

What is *Potechāl* ? It most probably means 'acceptable to the Treasury'. From the examination of the various entries in the account books I am led to believe that *Potechāl* did not denote any specified coin. The term was used with reference to all sorts of coins, which were of undiminished weight and did not suffer from over-circulation. At times the word *Sarkārī* (Governmental) was used as a prefix to *Potechāl* or *Potechalanī*. There is not enough material to make the definite statement that the expressions *Sarkārī*, *Potechalanī* and *Potechāl* were identical ; for it seems from the Peshwa diary that the Peshwa Government at one time disallowed private minting and established their own mints—one at Dharwar and another at Nāsik. *Sarkārī Potechāl* may, therefore, mean coins issued from Government mints to the exclusion of those minted otherwise, though tenderable in Government treasuries. This inference will be correct, if we know positively that the adjective *Sarkārī* was never applied to the word *Potechāl* before the starting of the Government mints at Nasik and Dharwar. *Kore Pharasī* and *Hālī Sikkā* have been described as *Potechāl*. This corroborates the statement that no single type of coinage bore the name of *Potechāl*. It seems that the Peshwa Government had fixed the proportion of fine metal in the coin and the coin agreeing with it was *Potechāl*.

A *Chhāpī rupayā* is another insoluble riddle. Literally *chhāpī* means stamped or impressed. But all the coins bore an impression. So the bare use of the word *chhāpī* would be meaningless. It is just possible that the rapid circulation would make the impressions faint. The people therefore must have been renewing the impressions from time to time. The following are the expressions which I noticed in the account books respecting the matter under consideration :—

- (1) 75 Rs. *Chinchwad Chhāpī*.

- (2) $\frac{1}{2}$ anna as expenses of making *chhāpī* into *kore* (new).
 (3) One anna as *Baṭṭā* for making one *Wai Sikkā* rupee into a *Chhāpī* (rupee).

The first of the above expressions offers no difficulty. It means Rs. 75 of Chinchwad mint-impression.

The second statement presents some difficulty. Does it mean that the original impression, which had been effaced or become blurred, was, therefore, renovated ?

The third statement baffles solution. The word *Sikkā* itself means impression. At present there is no material to justify a distinction between *Sikkā* and *Chhāp*. We have further no evidence to say that the word *Chhāpī* denoted any particular type of coinage. It is possible to argue that the third statement is nothing more than a mere paraphrase of the second.

Chinchwad rupees have been variously described ; i. e.

Rs. 400 *Chinchwad-Konkan-Chalanī*.

Rs. 50 *Chinchwad-Bazār-Chalanī*.

Rs. 100 *Chinchwad Peṭh Chalanī*.

Rs. 40 *Chinchwad Puṇyāche* (of Poona).

Rs. 40 *Chinchwad Chhāpī Sulākhi* (with a hole bored in the coin).

It seems that the same mint issued so many varieties of one coin, but what were their distinguishing mark we do not know. Possibly a distinction was made between *Bazār* and *Peṭh*. Certainly the two words are not synonyms. Therefore, the *Bazār-chalanī-rupāyā* must be different from *Peṭh-chulanī*.

Owing to the multiplicity of rupees, exchange transactions were frequent. It never occurred to the then Government that a single type of currency throughout the territories they governed would facilitate trade. There was no standard weight. Exchange simply meant bringing all sorts of coins to a common measure.

The following are the rates of exchange for different coins:

Name	Rate of exchange
<i>Malkāpuri-Chinchwad</i>	25 P. C.
<i>Mirajī-Rahīmaturī</i>	25 "
<i>Pharshi-Malkāpurī</i>	25 "
<i>Arkaṭ-Suratī</i>	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
<i>Sikkā-Potechāl</i>	31 "
<i>Trishulī-Nāgāche</i>	12 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
<i>Sikkā-Chāndwad</i>	5 "
<i>Bhaṭodī-Chinchwad</i>	1 "
<i>Belāpurī-Chāndwad</i>	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ "

<i>Chāndwad-Śāhuśikkā</i>	37	„
<i>Hāli Sikkā-Chāndwad</i>	8½	„
<i>Kore Phuraśi-Chānwad</i>	6½	„

There seems to be ambiguity with respect to almost every species of coinage. For instance, the word *Śikkā* is used quite vaguely enough. It means impression; but when used singly it often denotes coinage of the Nizam Government, which is popularly known as *Hāli Śikkā*. In the papers of Chiplunkars there is an entry entitled *Śikkā* coins comprising rupees of different denominations such as *Hāli*, *Chāndwad*, *Pañchmel*, *Alamgīrī*, *Malkāpurī*, and *Malhārshāhī*. This means that the word *Sikkā* was applied to every impressed coin.

We do not know what was exactly understood by '*Aīche rupaye*'—an expression that confronts us while examining old account books. At one place Rs. 25000 have been described as *Aīche-Mahamudshāhī*; another entry of Rs. 38,500 is particularised as *Aīche-June* (old).

There is an entry of three annas representing expenses of making one Bombay rupee and three *Bhātwaḍī* rupees into *Chalanī* (current). The entry is of the year 1788 A. D. Does this mean that the coins were repolished or restandardised after examination at the mint?

One passage in the account book refers to the procuring of *Arkāt* rupees for distribution at Pandharpur; this shows that the rupees of the Arkāt mint enjoyed high reputation even in Mahārāshṭra.

Gawāliyar, *Ganjikot*, *Ārakāt*, *Malkāpurī*, *Hukerī*, *Mirajī* are the names of some of the rupees which were current in Peshwa times. Evidently these names were derived from the places where the coins were minted. But there are expressions such as *Mirajī*, *Hukerī*, *Gawāliyar*, *Ganjikot*, *Ārakāt-Ganjikot*, etc. What do these signify? We have to remain content with mere surmises for the present; and I think *Mirajī-Hukerī* means a *Hukerī* coin minted at Miraj; likewise with *Ārakāt-Ganjikot*, and so on. This conjecture is partially borne out by an entry in the account papers of Chiplunkars. The entry is:—50 *Belāpurī* rupees of the *Malhārī-Sikka*. The latter was a rupee coined by one Malhār Rao Raste, and the rupees of his brand were minted at Belāpur.

Three more entries deserve scrutiny. They are all from Vaidyas' papers:—

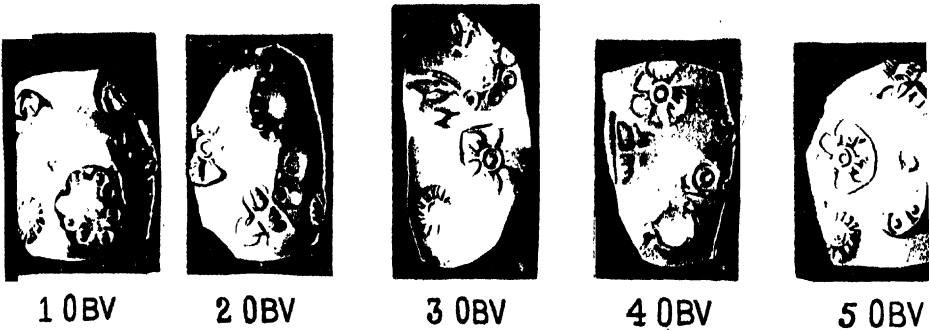
- (1) 12-8-0 *Rahīmatpurī* rupees were converted into *Chāndwad* rupees, through a shroff, who received Rs. 3-2-0

by way of *baṭṭā* ; the rate being 4 annas per rupee. So, it came to Rs. 9-6-0. These had to be paid into Government Treasury. But Government again charged *baṭṭā* at the rate of 5 P. C. So the sum that was eventually credited to the payer was Rs. 8-14-6 only.

- (2) The second entry is to the same effect though of a different month.
- (3) The third entry relates to *Sāhu Sikkā* rupees (3-6-0), being converted to *Chāndwaḍ* at the specified rate of *baṭṭā* ; Government also charged on their own account one anna and six pies, which is also called *baṭṭā*.

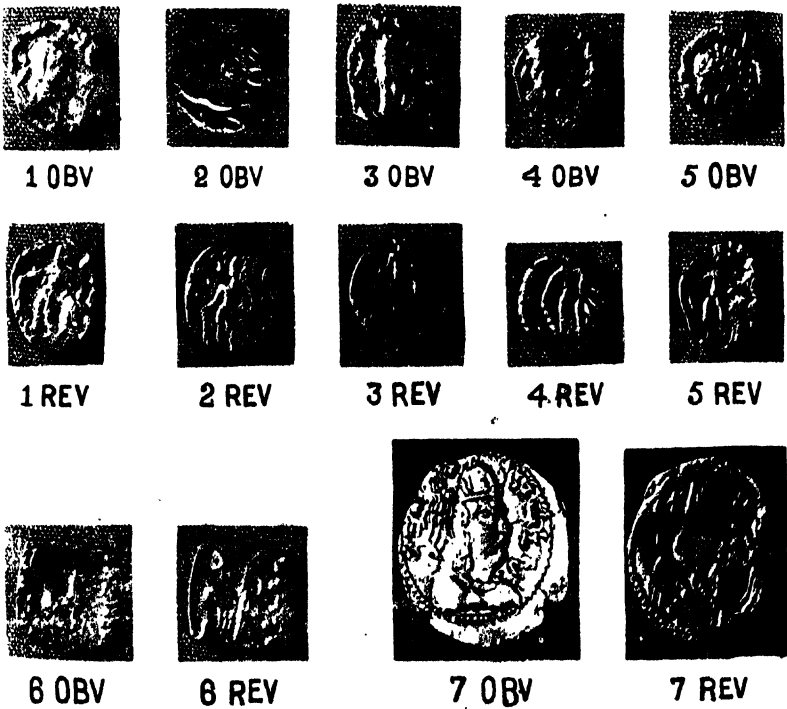
Here we are not quite sure as to the necessity of *baṭṭā* being charged by Government. Moreover, in all the three instances the *Chāndwaḍ* coin seems to be the medium. What purpose the *Chāndwaḍ* currency served is more than what we can surmise.

More precise and substantial numismatic data are expected from an extensive and deeper study of different account books, and I earnestly invite the attention of those who are interested in the subject to this neglected source of history.

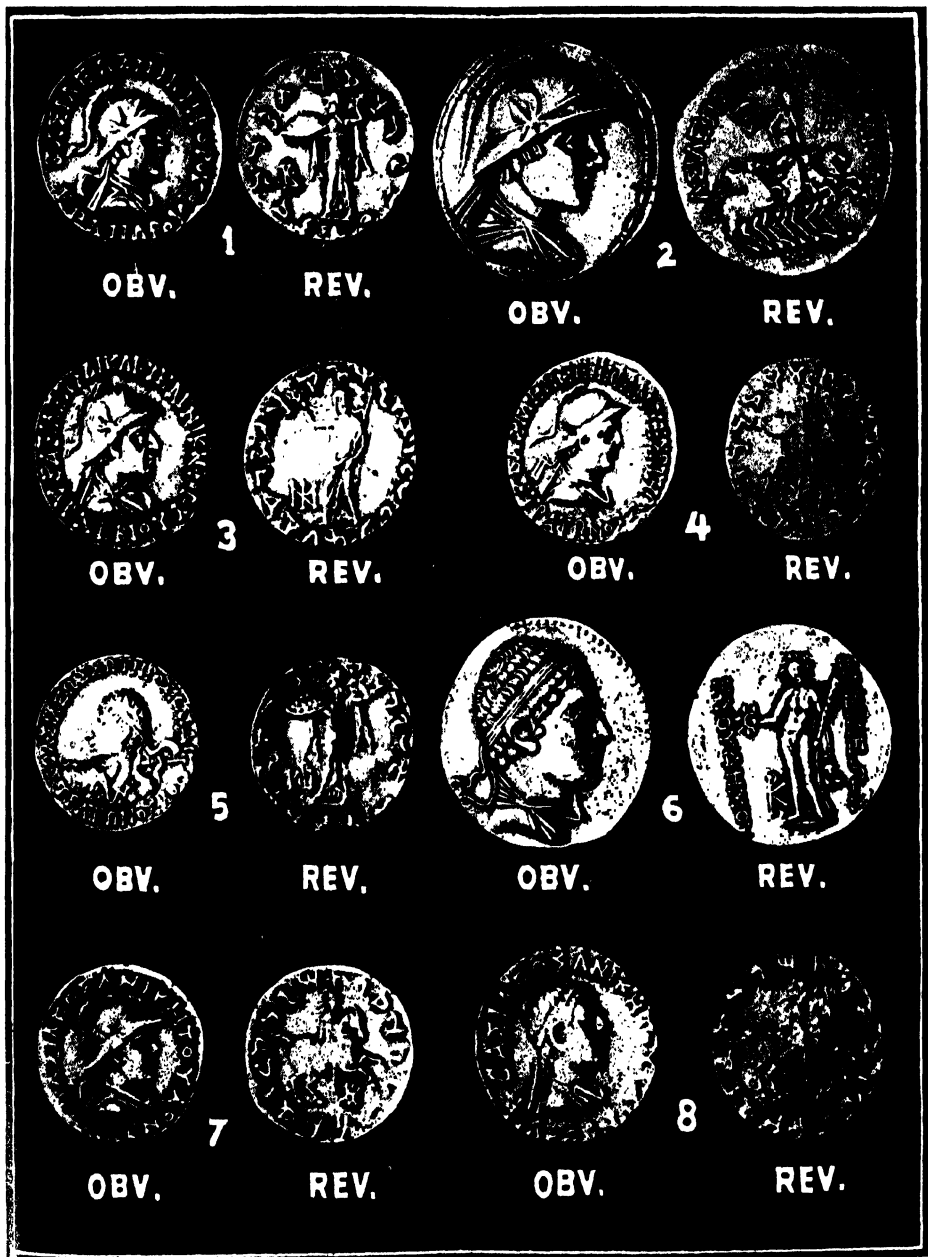


A NEW VARIETY OF PUNCH-MARKED COINS

B



SOME NEW HERMAIOS KADPHISES COINS



SOME INTERESTING INDO-BACTRIAN COINS



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



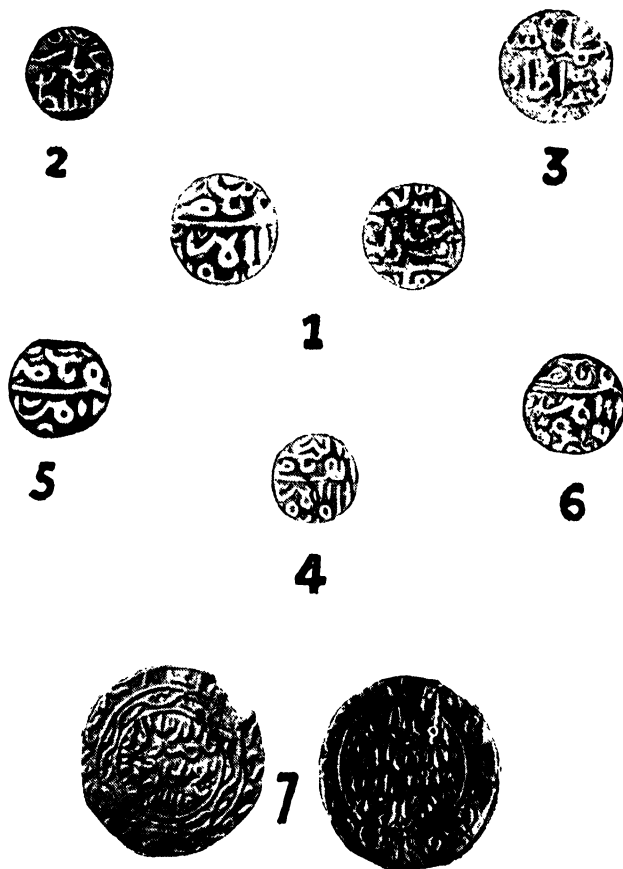
9



10



11



COINS OF QADIR SHĀH (?) OF MALWA AND
NASIRUDDIN MAHMUD SHAH OF BENGAL.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS¹

BY COL. H. H. SRI BRIJENDRA SAWAI MAHARAJADHIRAJA
SRI BRIJENDRA SINGHI BAHADUR BAHADURJUNG OF
BHARATPUR.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It gives me great pleasure to inaugurate this session of the All-India Numismatic Conference. The work which the Numismatic Society of India has done in piecing together the scattered threads of Indian history is well known. Indeed, but for the untiring efforts of this organisation, several important facts of our history would never have been unearthed to this day. In the beginning, English scholars and administrators took the leading part in the work of the Society. But Indians soon came forward to take the main burden of the work and helped materially in furthering the cause of numismatic studies. I am glad to see that we have at present a large number of numismatists in the country, of whose work India can well be proud.

The world of Numismatics to me is almost a fairy realm, where a small piece of copper can unlock some secret door of knowledge and open a vast vista of new and important information. It is your privilege to revel in this magic world and to drink deep of its high romance. But of course there is also the other side of the picture. To me, however, it actually came in the garb of a fairy episode. One morning I heard that a large copper pot of old gold coins had been unearthed near Nagla Chella in my State. This Nagla Chella is a small village, some seven miles south-east of Bayana, and is surrounded by hills. I had lately been there on a small shooting expedition, and it certainly gave me the most pleasant surprise to hear that it was the shoot that had brought about the discovery of these coins. For, it was in their quest for empty cartridges that three children had suddenly lighted upon the edge of the pot, showing through the earth. Thus, on the 23rd February, 1946, by chance, the discovery of 1821 gold Gupta coins was made. I was delighted to learn that the hoard of the Gupta coins was not only the biggest, but was also unique from several points of view. It excited world wide interest and the authorities of the British Museum approached me with the request to permit

(1) Delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India held in Bombay on the 26th of December, 1947.

them to prepare a catalogue of the hoard. I thought over the matter and decided to entrust the work to an Indian, and so chose for the work your President and the Editor of your Journal, who is a recognized authority on the subject. It would perhaps interest you to know that all these coins have been classified, and I have now commissioned Dr. Altekar with the task of preparing the catalogue. I hope to give you the printed volume of the catalogue before your next session. As I am fully conscious of the unique nature of this priceless hoard, I have decided that the volume should be published in a manner in consonance with its rarity. My Government has decided to sanction all the necessary funds for this purpose. I consider it my privilege to be able to place before the world of scholars a work on Gupta History and Numismatics, which, I hope, will long remain indispensable to the students of ancient India, and will reveal the glory and greatness of our motherland.

I do not propose to take more of your time. Before I close, however, I have a few suggestions to make. The work of this Society is indeed magnificent, and its record of research glorious. But a very great deal still remains to be done. India will soon have its own new currency. But we do not yet know what will be the type of our new coins. Our present coins are extremely inartistic and prosaic, compared to our ancient coins. It is high time that the Government should pay serious attention to the problem of coin types and appoint a committee of experts to look into the question to recommend suitable types of coin devices for the coinage of Free India. It would be desirable for this Conference if it chalks out an organized plan of numismatic research on a large scale. Also, in my opinion, it is the duty of this Conference not only to organize research but also to disseminate information about it among the people. For this purpose, the publication of a journal in Hindi and other Indian languages is very essential. This undertaking would also help to make the subject of numismatics popular. I hope however, that the solid and concrete work of this organization would, before long, compel the attention of the Government and States, and enable it to realize its ambitious schemes. I hope that the subject of Numismatics will receive wider attention all over India. I have instructed the Bharatpur History and Archæological department to contribute Rs. 5,000/- in the first instance and an annual donation of Rs. 1,000/- to the Numismatic Society. I hope that it will be of some help to your cause.

It is with great pleasure that I declare this Conference open,

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS¹

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., LL.B, D.LITT.
HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY
AND CULTURE, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

Your Highness Shri Brajendra Sawai Brajendra Singhji Bahadur, Dr. M. M. Pandurangasharma Kane, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Your continued kindness to and confidence in me has necessitated this year also a presidential address from me on the occasion of the 37th Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India. I shall be soon referring to the progress of the Society during the last year, but before I do so, I have to refer to the loss that the Society has suffered at the cruel hand of death, the leveller.

SIR RICHARD BURN

Sir Richard Burn was one of the few Civil Servants, who had devoted themselves heart and soul to the studies of numismatics. Numerous articles of his on different branches of numismatics had begun to appear in the Numismatic Supplements of the Asiatic Society of Bengal even before the inception of our Society. They embrace a very large sphere of Indian Numismatics, from the period of the Guptas to that of the coins of the Modern Indian States. His paper on the Mughal Mint Towns paved the way for subsequent research in that difficult subject. His reviews of Numismatic researches in the issues of Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology were masterly and illuminating. His interest in Numismatics continued down to his death; his paper on Coinage bearing the names of Indian Queens, which he had contributed to the Hodi-wala Number of our Journal, was written when he was 75. He was a tower of strength to Society and was its President for the years 1916, 1917, and 1919.

DR. M. H. KRISHNA

Dr. M. H. Krishna, the Director of Archaeology of Mysore, passed away hardly a week ago. In him we have lost one of the ablest scholars of South Indian Numismatics. His contributions on this topic in the different volumes of the Mysore Archaeological Survey Reports will long remain indispensable to the learned world.

1. Delivered at the annual meeting of the Numismatic Society of India in Bombay on 27-12-1947.

PUBLICATIONS

During the year under review, two numbers of the Journal were published, Vol. VIII, parts I and II. We are still in arrears, but not more so than the Journals of most of the other Societies. Kings Yugamagha Bhīmasena, Tijyavega, Prakāśaśiva Sebaka and Kauśikīputra Sātakarṇi were heralded for the first time in the historical world by our Journal during the last 12 months. Among other important discoveries of the period may be mentioned the Gadhia coins with Horseman reverse and the portrait coin of Khaliph Al Muqtadir of Baghdad.

PUBLICATIONS UNDER ACTIVE PREPARATION.

Let me now refer to our impending publications. There is a pressing need for a detailed and critical bibliography of Indian Numismatics. Articles on this subject have appeared in different journals during the last 125 years and it becomes difficult for a student to get himself properly posted in the particular branch in which he wants to specialise. Our able and enthusiastic Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Singhal, has come forward to meet this long felt want and has already completed Part I of the Bibliography, dealing with the ancient Indian period. The Bibliography that he had published 19 years ago has long become out of stock and out of date also. That bibliography however gave merely the names of the authors, the titles of their papers and the Journal numbers where they were published. The new bibliography that he has prepared not only gives this information, but also contains a brief, intelligent and critical summary of each paper. I had the pleasure to read the typescript of this work and have great pleasure to testify to the great skill and ability which Mr. Singhal has shown in doing this rather tedious but nonetheless very useful and necessary work. The bibliography will be soon sent to the press, and published as soon as the great presiding deities over press and paper condescend to help us in our cause.

Another member of our society, Mr. P. L. Gupta has nearly completed his corpus on Gupta coins. I had the pleasure to read the Ms. of this work also and feel that its publication will meet a long felt want.

STANDARD WORK OF REFERENCE ON
INDIAN NUMISMATICS

It was in 1944 that the Society decided to undertake a Standard Work of Reference on Indian Numismatics in three volumes, which would for all practical purposes dispense with

the necessity of referring to out-of-date catalogues and unprocurable journals, present a succinct consolidated account of the research work done and make its own contribution to it. Vol. I of this work was entrusted to me during my absence in the Annual Meeting held at Madras. For a time I was not inclined to address myself to this work, but when I discovered myself to be in the Presidential *gaddi* of the Society, I felt that the scheme had to be actively prosecuted, if the numismatic studies in the country were not to come to a standstill on account of want of reference works. I am glad to report to you that out of the 25 chapters of the work, 14 were ready last June. The work would have neared its completion by this time, had not Col. His Highness Sri Brajendra Singhji of Bharatpur, whom we have the pleasure to have in our midst today, had interfered with its progress by requesting me to undertake the classification and cataloguing of the unique Bayana hoard of 1821 gold Gupta coins. The Catalogue of this hoard will go to the press next July, leaving me free to prosecute the work connected with the First Volume of the Standard Work of Reference. I have every hope that this work will be ready for the press by April 1949.

The work is expected to extend over 900 pages of royal size and we intend to illustrate it by 200 plates, giving the important types and varieties of every king, guild and republic that flourished in India from prehistoric times to c. 1300 A. D. Its 200 plates will illustrate about 5,000 coins.

COST OF THE WORK

The plates will necessitate photographs of a number of coins, casts and photographs published in a number of books and journals. Photographing will have to be done separately in the case of a number of coins illustrated in rare journals and I am afraid that the bill for photographing alone will be not less than Rs. 6,000. This is of course a small amount, when we remember that 5,000 coins have to be included in the plates. The block making charges for two hundred plates of the Royal size will be about Rs. 10,000. Printing of 200 plates and 900 pages will cost not less than Rs. 10,000 and the honorarium to contributors will be about Rs. 9000. The whole scheme of the first volume will thus cost the Society about Rs. 35,000. This is but a small sum for a standard work of reference which would dispense with the necessity of referring to journals and catalogues.

FINANCES OF THE SOCIETY

This brings us to a consideration of the financial position of the Society. When I assumed the Editorship eight years

ago, I discovered that the income of the Society was not sufficient even to pay the printing charges of its Journal. We were gradually successful in inducing a number of provincial governments and states to sanction to us small recurring annual grants. Bombay, the U. P. and the Punjab were first to come to our assistance and Hyderabad followed in their wake soon. During the last 12 months, I am glad to report to you that the governments of Bihar, Orissa, Baroda, Madras and Jaipur have responded to our call. Just now H. H. the Maharajasaheb of Bharatpur has announced his princely donations. I regret to state that we have not yet concluded our negotiations with the Government of India. Our Imperial or Union Government spends thousands of rupees every year for publishing inscriptions, but not a single pice for publishing coins. By editing the Journal, the Society is really doing the work of the Archæological department, which should have started a Numismatica Indica as a companion Journal for its Epigraphia Indica long long ago. Ours is the only Journal for Numismatics in the country, and I have every hope that the Government of India will recognise the force of our arguments and sanction to us a substantial recurring grant for the usual activities of the Society.

FINANCING OF THE STANDARD WORK OF REFERENCE

We have been carefully husbanding our resources since we began to get some recurring grants with a view to promote new scheme of publications. We have now constituted a Special Publications Fund consisting of our savings of Rs. 10,000, which will constitute the nucleus of the amount necessary for our First Volume, which will cost us not less than Rs. 35,000. I am sure that the Union, Provincial and States Governments and public institutions and generous donors will vie with one another by giving us the needed funds, as our work approaches its completion by April 1949. We have already received some small grants. The U. P. Government has sanctioned us a grant of Rs. 1,500 and Sir Ratan Tata Trust of Bombay a grant of 1,000. The non-recurring grant of Rs. 5000 just now announced by the Maharajasaheb of Bharatpur, will also be earmarked for this work. We hope that the noble example of His Highness will be emulated by other governments and institutions. There are a number of schemes of publications in the learned world, which are not taking a concrete shape with the expected rapidity. I was wondering whether I should announce our scheme at this stage. But we are confident that our work will reach its completion according to the plan; its announcement had become overdue since more than half of it was ready for the press.

THE DISCOVERIES OF THE YEAR : BAYANA HOARD

Let me now refer to the important numismatic discoveries of the last twelve months. The most important among them is that of the Bayana hoard of 1821 gold Gupta coins¹ in Bharatpur state, a brief account of which was given in the last presidential address. The hoard was however much more important and sensational than what I had thought it to be from the reports I had heard about it last December. The coins actually recovered from the hoard are 1821, a number probably greater than the number of all the Gupta coins existing in the different cabinets of the museums and private collectors in all the countries of the world put together. When the Society drew the attention of the Maharajasahab of Bharatpur to the unique nature of this discovery, he immediately decided to take all possible steps to get the hoard, published in a manner that would redound to the credit and prestige of his government and bring glory to Indian scholarship. He was kind enough to invite me twice to his capital to classify the coins and to take notes about them for the preparation of their catalogue. A large number of assistants were placed at my disposal to cleanse, measure and weigh the coins, to make their moulds, to take their photographs, to draw their symbols and to record their legends. Prof. K. C. Sharma, the State Superintendent of Archaeology, was of immense help in organising the entire work; but for his assistance, the work could not have made the rapid progress made so far. I have selected 450 coins for illustration in the catalogue, a number twice larger than that of the gold coins illustrated in the British Museum Catalogue. The Director General of Archaeology was good enough to place the services of his department at our disposal for photographing these coins. The catalogue is now nearly half complete and we hope to send it to the press before the end of July 1948.

WHEN WAS THE BAYANA HOARD BURIED ?

Kramāditya (Skandagupta) represented by a single coin, is the last Gupta ruler of the hoard and it is therefore clear that the hoard was buried in c. 455 A. D. when the Gupta empire was shaken to its foundation by the Huna invasion. This great catastrophe made life and property unsafe at Bayana, and the unknown owner of this treasure, then worth about Rs. twelve lakhs, buried it in a field and fled away as a refugee somewhere to Madhyadeśa. It appears that he was killed or

1. 12 of these coins were in the British Museum and 12 in Mysore at the time when I examined the hoard in October 1947. They could not be included in the classification and enumeration of the different types given in the present address.

could not return to Bayana, and his treasure lay hidden and undisturbed till the chance digging of village urchins led to its discovery on 23rd of February 1948.

ABSENCE OF PRE-GUPTA COINS

The hoard consists of Gupta gold coins only. We have only nine coins of the first Gupta emperor Chandragupta I, and this is natural, for the hoard was buried about 125 years after his death. It is noteworthy that the hoard does not contain a single gold coin of the later Kushāṇas, which were current in the Bayana area before the advent of the Guptas. The gold coins of the later Kushāṇas are heavily adulterated, and it appears that people therefore did not prefer to keep them in their hoards.

COINS OF CHANDRAGUPTA I, AND SAMUDRAGUPTA

The number of the coins of Chandragupta, 9, is small only when compared to the coins of the other kings represented in this hoard. It may be however pointed out that the number of coins of this ruler in the British Museum is also only 9, that in the Indian Museum is only 6 and that in the Lucknow Museum is 4. The coins of this ruler in the present hoard present no striking peculiarities.

The next ruler Samudragupta is represented by as many as 180 coins. There are 47 coins of this ruler in the British Museum, 29 in the Indian Museum and 38 in the Lucknow Museum. Our impression that the Standard type is the most popular type of this ruler is confirmed by this hoard, for out of his 180 coins, 143 are of the Standard type. The British Museum has 17, the Indian Museum 19 and the Lucknow Museum 26 coins of this type. Coins with Samudra under the arm 136, while those with Samudragupta are only 7. This would tend to show that the real personal name of the emperor was Samudra; *gupta* was added as an appendix or surname.

The Bayana hoard has led to the discovery of a new variety of the Standard type quite dissimilar in fabric from those known so far. Coins of this fabric are small in size, neat in execution and usually give most of the medial vowels in the legend.

It may be added that on not a single coin of any type of the coins of Samudragupta do we find in this hoard the legend Vikrama. As may be known to some of you, a coin of Samudragupta of the Standard type with the *biruda* Vikrama was discovered in the Bamnala hoard recently. It seems very probable that this is due to the mistake of the mint-master in

using the obverse die of the preceding reign along with a reverse die of that of Chandragupta II, the new king.

The Bayana Hoard contains only eight coins of the Battle-axe type of Samudragupta; there are 9 coins of this type in the British Museum, one in the Indian Museum and 3 in the Lucknow Museum. Most of these coins are worn out and they present no new varieties.

Tiger-slayer type is the rarest one of Samudragupta; there are only two coins in the British and Lucknow Museums, and none in the Indian Museum. Our new hoard also contains only two coins, but they are much more beautiful and better preserved than those of the British or Lucknow Museum. The muscular body of the king, his determined attitude, and the ferocious appearance of the animal are all very successfully portrayed.

There are three coins of the Archer type in the Bayana hoard; the Indian and the British Museum have four coins each of this type and the Lucknow Museum has only 1. The word *Avaniśo* can now be clearly assumed to figure in one of the legends, because we can see its clear traces on one of the coins of this hoard.

The hoard contains two coins of the Lyrist type of the larger variety and four of the smaller variety. The British Museum and the Indian Museum have five and two, and two and one coin respectively of these varieties. The Lucknow Museum has only one coin of this type of the larger variety. The Bamnala hoard, which may be presumed to consist of the coins issued from a Malwa mint, contains the coins of the small variety only of this type. In our hoard, the number of coins of the smaller variety is twice that of the larger. The evidence of the Bamnala and the Bayana hoards thus tends to show that the coins of the larger variety were issued at the capital, as is suggested by the eastern variety of the letter *ha* to be seen on them. They were not much current in outlying provinces. The coins of the smaller type were apparently the issues of provincial mints manned by inferior artists. Hence they are seen to be preponderating in the Bamnala and the Bayana hoards, both collected by millionaires living in outlying provinces.

The Bayana hoard contains a beautiful collection of 20 Aśvamedha coins. There are only seven coins of his type in the British Museum, two in the Indian Museum and five in the Lucknow Museum. The legend contains the ungrammatical form *viṣṭvā*, which can be distinctly seen on a number of the coins. The legend had been originally read as *Rājādhirājah prithivīm viṣṭvā divam jayatyaprativāryavīryah*

by Mr. Allan. Later on a new coin purchased by the Lucknow Museum showed faint traces of the letters *va*, *ja* and *ma* at the end, and so the legend was restored by Dr. Venis as *divam jayatyārhitavājimedhah*, in the light of the epigraphical description of Samudragupta as *chirotsannāśvamedhāhartuh*. The conjectural emendation is now confirmed by four of our coins, where the word *vājimedha* is crystal clear. On some of our coins the legend begins at the hind foot of the horse; this is a new variation. None of the horses is caparisoned as is the case with the horse on some of the coins of Kumāragupta I. We may now presume that Samudragupta did not prefer to show the caparisoned horse on his *Aśvamedha* coins. Otherwise at least some coins of that variety would have been found in this hoard.

NO RĀMAGUPTA COINS IN THE HOARD

The present speaker, who is responsible for unearthing the existence of the now famous king Rāmagupta, the elder brother of Chandragupta II, has to admit that the Bayana hoard contains not a single coin of that ruler. This circumstance seems to go against the historicity of Rāmagupta. A hoard which contains the coins of all the Gupta kings from Chandragupta I to Skandagupta in so large numbers should have got at least some coins of Rāmagupta, if he was really a historical king. It is possible to argue even now that since about 200 to 300 coins of the present hoard were melted down before it was recovered, it is not impossible that all the coins of Rāmagupta, which by the way could not have been many as he had a short reign, may have been included in the lot melted down. This is quite possible but not very likely. I think that the hoard tends to show that there was no such king as Rāmagupta known in contemporary times, as the elder brother of Chandragupta II. My faith in the historicity of the plot of the *Devichandraguptam* is, however, not shaken by the absence of the coins of Rāmagupta in the present hoard. I am now inclined to hold that Kāchagupta of the coins is identical with Rāmagupta of the literary tradition. How Kācha can be changed into Rāma by careless scribes has already been pointed out by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. I hope to discuss the various arguments for identifying Kāchagupta with Rāmagupta in a paper to be read this afternoon. [This paper will be printed later in this Journal.]

Kāchagupta, whom I take to be the eldest son of Samudragupta, and the elder brother of Chandragupta II, is represented in the hoard by 16 coins as against 7 in the British Museum, 3 in the Indian Museum and four in the Lucknow Museum. 15 of these are of the usual type, but the 16th

reveals a new variety where the symbol on the reverse is at the top and not in the centre and the goddess is holding *pāśa* instead of the foreign cornucopiae. The king also is seen wearing a *dhōti* on this variety instead of the usual trousers. This new variety shows that Kācha did not confine himself only to one type in his short reign and had authorised at least a second type, where a conscious effort was made at Indianisation both on the obverse and reverse.

COINS OF CHANDRAGUPTA II : ARCHER TYPE.

Chandragupta II is represented by 972 coins in the hoard. His coins are thus more than the coins of all his successors and predecessors put together, which are only 849. This circumstance would suggest that the Gupta empire was at the zenith of its prosperity during the reign of this emperor. Out of 972 coins, as many as 753 are of the Archer type,¹ which must thus be taken to be the most popular type of this emperor. Samudragupta had hardly issued more than a dozen coins of this type.

Coins of the Archer type were thus no doubt issued as mass product, but it should not be supposed that there was a dead uniformity in them. The creative vein was most characteristic of the Gupta art and it was ever attempting to invent new and interesting variations within the framework of the main type. Out of 753 coins of the Archer type, 40 have the throned goddess on the reverse and the remaining 713 have the Lakshmi seated on lotus. It is obvious that Lakshmi seated on throne with the Roman cornucopiae in her hand was soon discarded. Cornucopiae was first replaced by the lotus, and soon the Kushāṇa throne motif gave place to the lotus, which is the time-honoured seat of the Goddess of Fortune and Prosperity. One cannot sufficiently admire the ingenuity of the Gupta mint masters in introducing pleasing variety in the main type. The name of the king Chandra is written sometimes under his left arm, sometimes between the bow and the bowstring and sometimes outside the string. Sometimes the bow is with string inside and sometimes with string outside. In some cases it is held at the top and in some by the middle at the back. On some coins the bow is held in the right hand and the arrow in the left; on others the position is reversed. Now the *Garudadhvaja* is on the right and then on the left. In several cases the king's head is adorned with different varieties of beautiful crowns; but very often he is bare headed with curly hair falling down like a wig on the neck.

1. British Museum has 89, the Indian Museum and the Lucknow Museum have each 28 coins of this type.

The Archer type of the Bayana hoard contains a new variety where the king is seen holding a Kaśā (hunter) by his side. The latter consists of a small wooden handle and a leather thong tied to it by a knot. Among other new varieties of this type may be mentioned one coin where the reverse legend Vikrama is replaced by Chandragupta and another where the name Chandra does not occur even on the obverse.

OTHER TYPES OF CHANDRAGUPTA II.

The search for variety is to be seen also in the Horseman and the Chhatra types of this ruler. In the former type, the king is sometimes without any weapons; sometimes he has a sword, sometimes a bow, now held in the right and then in the left hand. In the Chhatra type, variety was difficult on the obverse. So it is attempted on the reverse, where the goddess is sometimes standing on a low stool, sometimes on a mat; sometimes she is merely standing, sometimes walking and on one coin she is seen double marching also. The coins of the Chhatra type are 74; the British and the Indian Museums have six each and the Lucknow Museum has only one.

The Bayana hoard contains 82 coins of the Horseman type as against 12 of the British Museum, 5 of the Indian Museum and 11 of the Lucknow Museum.

The Bayana hoard contains three coins of the *Paryāṅka* (couch) type of Chandragupta II. There are only two coins of this type in the British Museum, 1 in the Indian Museum and 1 in the Lucknow Museum. The mystery of the legend *Rūpākṛitī* occurring on the unique coin in the Indian Museum continues unsolved. Our hoard contains no coin with this legend or any of its variations.

The Bayana hoard contains 39 coins of the Lion Slayer type as against 13 of the British Museum, 10 of the Indian Museum and 12 of the Lucknow Museum. Coins of this type are undoubtedly among the best artistic gems of the Gupta art. It is impossible to describe their beauty in words; it can be realised only by personal and direct inspection. Among the Lion-slayer coins, 19 show the Lion-combatant type, 19 the Lion-trampler type and only one the Lion-retreating type. It is clear that the Gupta mint-masters did not like to show the lion escaping from the deadly combat with their emperor. We have very few coins of this variety found so far.

CHAKRAVIKRAMA TYPE.

Chakravikrama type is the most priceless and unique gem of this hoard, there being only one coin of the type. Chandra-

gupta was a staunch devotee of Vishṇu, and this type gives a concrete shape to the beautiful conception of the deity, manifesting himself before the emperor, holding mace in one hand and offering some *prasāda* to him which he is accepting with the right hand. Vishṇu is distinguished from the king by giving him a double and ornamental halo, the king having only a single and simple one. The attribution of this coin to Chandragupta II depends on its reverse legend *Chakravikrama*, the last word of which unmistakably points to that ruler, since it was his peculiar and special epithet. *Paramabhāgavata* was a special title first taken by Chandragupta II; the Mehrauli pillar inscription shows how he had erected a *Vishṇudhvaja* on the Vishṇupada hill in the Eastern Punjab. The public of that age probably attributed the sensational victories of their emperor over the Saka rulers of Western India and the North Western Punjab to the special boon received from Vishṇu, and the mint-masters decided to give a concrete expression to this idea by representing Vishṇu as manifesting himself before the emperor in his corporeal form in order to confer the boon of invincibility on him.

COINS OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I.

The hoard contains only 612 coins of Kumāragupta I as against 973 of his father. Though relatively smaller in number, they show greater variety in types. His coin types are now seen to be fourteen in number and they are nearly equal to the coin types of all his predecessors put together. The Archer type was fairly popular with Kumāragupta I; the hoard contains 183 coins of this type as against 11 in the British Museum, 16 in the Indian Museum and 4 in the Lucknow Museum. The hoard enables us to complete one legend as *Jayati Mahītalām Kumāraguptaḥ sudhanvī*, but the other legend beginning with *Guneśha* still remains uncompleted.

It is curious to note that there are hardly any metrical legends on the coins of Chandragupta Vikramāditya, who is traditionally known to be a great lover of poetry, if not himself a great poet. The coins of Kumāragupta however supply us a number of beautiful metrical lines. We get several of them on his Horseman type, which is represented by 302 coins in this hoard, as against 15 in the British Museum and 13 in the Indian Museum. So far we knew only two complete legends, *Guptakulāmalachandro Mahendrakarmājito jayati* and *Guptakulavyomaśaśī jayatyajeyojitamahendraḥ*. Both these legends compare the greatness of the king with that of Indra, king of gods, and describe him as the moon in the firmament of the Gupta royal family. The hoard enables us to complete the third incomplete legend as *Prithvītalambaraśaśī Kumāragupto*

jayatyajitah; the poet here imagines the surface of the earth to be another sky in which the emperor shines as the pleasant moon, but none the less invincible to the enemies. A fourth legend describes the king as Indra among the kings of the earth, *Prithvītalesvarendrah Kumāragupto jayatyajitah*. On a solitary coin we find a new legend *Jayati nriporibhirajitah*.

The hoard contains 50 coins of the Lion-Slayer type, as against 12 in the British Museum, 2 in the Indian Museum, and 1 in the Lucknow Museum. The mystery of the incomplete legend beginning with *sākshādiva* continues unsolved; we have got several coins of that type in the hoard, but they are all completely blurred. A new legend has come to light ending with *narendro divam jayati*, which may be completed as *Kshīti-patirajito vijayī simhanarendro divam jayati*, 'The victorious invincible ruler, a lion among kings, wins heaven as well.' The hoard discloses a new legend, beginning with *Guṇeśa* but it cannot be completed as most of the coins are very much blurred.

The Tiger-slayer type is represented in the hoard by 36 coins as against 15 in the British Museum, 9 in the Indian Museum and 1 in the Lucknow Museum. They are artistically extremely beautiful, but present no new varieties.

RARE TYPES OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I

It may be presumed that since Kumāragupta I was named after Kumāra, the generalissimo of the gods, the Kumāra type showing the divine commander-in-chief riding his mount peacock, should have been extremely popular in the reign. The hoard however contains only 13 coins of this type as against 9 in the British Museum, 5 in the Indian Museum and 2 in the Lucknow Museum. The paucity of this type is really difficult to understand.

Only two coins of the *Aśvamedha* type of this emperor were known so far, and they are in the British Museum across the four seas. On these coins the horse is caparisoned and the obverse legend quite incomplete; they were being attributed to Kumāragupta on account of the reverse legend *Aśvamedha-mahendraḥ*. Our hoard now shows that Kumāragupta I had issued some coins of the *aśvamedha* type with uncapparisoned horse as well, as had been done by his illustrious grand-father Samudragupta. Further they clearly give the name of the issuer on the obverse as Kumāragupta and the legend can be completed as *Devo jītaśatruḥ Kumāraguptodhirājā*.

The Swordman type of this ruler was so far known by two specimens in the British and one each in the Indian and

the Lucknow Museums. The present hoard contains as many as ten coins of this type.

The Elephant rider type was so far represented by a single coin in the Indian Museum. The name of the king was illegible and the coins were conjecturally attributed to Kumāragupta I on account of their weight and style. Three coins of this type in the present hoard are much better preserved than the one known so far; they enable us not only to definitely attribute this type to Kumāragupta I, but also to read the legend completely; it is found to be a metrical line, *Kṣhataripu Kumāragupto rājā trātā jayatyamiśam*. The reverse inscription could not be read so far; we now find it to be *Śrīmahendra-gajah*, the elephant of Kumāragupta, alias Mahendra. The emperor is obviously seeking to immortalise on his coins his favourite elephant.

The Elephant-rider Lion-slayer type was so far known from a single specimen which was once offered for sale to the Lucknow Museum, but which now remains untraced; only a cast of it could be published by Dr. Hiranand Sastri. The Bayana hoard contains three beautiful specimens of this type, the reverse of which describes the emperor's favourite elephant as *Simhanihantā Mahendragajah*, the Elephant of the emperor Mahendra, which is the destroyer of the lion. The obverse shows the emperor riding his favourite elephant, marching furiously to right, and about to trample under its fore foot the lion, which however is seen cleverly anticipating this move by trying to bite the hind leg by its jaw, which is widely opened out for the purpose. The emperor is also attacking the lion by his sword, while the attendant behind is holding the imperial umbrella over him. Great indeed is the artistic skill shown in portraying the fury of the mighty elephant, the cleverness of the supple lion and the determination of the agile emperor. The legend has not been preserved well; but it seems to have been the same as that on the Elephant-rider type, but ends with *jayati ripūn*.

NOT PRATĀPA BUT APRATIGHA TYPE

The hoard contains as many as eight coins of the so-called Pratāpa type of Kumāragupta I, but the mystery surrounding this type is only partially solved by them. Mr. Allan thought that the legend on the reverse was Śrīpratāpa and so called the coin as of the Pratāpa type. The coins of the present hoard show that Mr. Allan's reading is no longer tenable; the reverse legend can be either *Apratigha* or *Apraṇṭya*. The latter is an ungrammatical form for the classical Sanskrit, though it can be a regular one in the Vedic idiom. I prefer to read the

legend as *Apratigha*. *Pratigha* means anger or hindrance; the expression *sarvatrāpratighaḥ* is common in the *Mahābhārata* and describes the power of a Chakravartin as invincible everywhere. *Apratighaḥ*, as the description of the emperor Kumāragupta, may be compared to the epithet *Apratirathaḥ* by which his grandfather is described on his Archer type. It is also possible that we can take the word *pratigha* in the sense of anger; *apratigha* then may mean one who does not lose his temper.

If the motif on the obverse of this type becomes clear, we can choose between these two possible interpretations. On the obverse side we see the male figure, apparently of a monk, standing unperturbed, with hands folded on his chest and two persons, one certainly a female and the other probably a male, arguing with him with violent gesticulations. The monk figure in the centre is expressly described as Kumāragupta; are we to suppose that this Gupta emperor became a Buddhist monk towards the end of his life and no argumentations could perturb his conviction? Or are both the side figures females, and do we have here a representation of the temptation of the Buddha by the daughters of Māra? The figure on the left, however, appears to be holding *Garuḍadhvaṇa* in its hand; it may be that of an attendant, holding a shield on his chest, which otherwise looks like the female breasts. No confident interpretation can be suggested till we read the long obverse legend. It has so far defied my efforts. I have brought with me enlarged photographs of this legend, and I invite fellow numismatists and epigraphists to try their hands at its decipherment.

NEW TYPES OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I

The Chhatra, the Lyrist, the King and the Queen and the Rhinoceros slayer types of Kumāragupta discovered in this hoard are absolutely unique. The Chhatra type was common in the preceding reign, and it is but natural that Kumāragupta should have continued it during his own. There are however only two specimens of this type in the hoard. The Lyrist type, showing the emperor playing on the lute and perhaps while away his time in the long and weary summer evenings of Pāṭalīputra, seated on the terrace of his palace with bare upper body, is an imitation of this type originally introduced by his grandfather, who claimed to be a musician of rare attainments. Perhaps Kumāragupta I also had cultivated music as his hobby, and is therefore shown playing on the lute on his coins. The hoard contains only two coins of this type.

In the King and the Queen type, we find the king offering a bunch of flowers to the queen standing before him. This type is a copy of the well known type of Chandragupta I, where the name of the king and the queen are both given by their side. Here also there are traces of inscriptions on the obverse, which must have given the names of Their Majesties. It is very much to be regretted that they should have been completely blurred. The name of the Crowned Queen of Kumāragupta is still unknown to us and the later Gupta history would be much better understood, could we but know it. The hoard contains only one coin of this type and it is blurred.

The Rhinoceros-slayer type, represented by four very beautiful specimens in the hoard, is again unique. So far we had Lion-slayer and Tiger-slayer types; now we have by their side the Rhinoceros-slayer type. Rhinoceros is now extinct in India, but this type shows that it was not unknown in the Gangetic plain in the 4th and the 5th centuries A. D. In this type we see the king riding a caparisoned horse, wearing a buttoned coat and trousers, and leaning forward to attack the rhinoceros by the sword. Suddenly confronted by the rhinoceros, the horse raises its head slightly frightened. The rhinoceros bravely stands at bay, turning back its head to attack the king. The animal is beautifully engraved, its single horn on the head, left eye, two ears, circular spots on the body being all very artistically reproduced. It is but natural that the legend on this beautiful artistic type should not be in prose. It is not only metrical but highly poetical also. The king is attacking the rhinoceros by the sword or *khaḍga*, which Sanskrit word also means a rhinoceros. The unknown poetic author of the legend could not help making a pun on the word *khaḍga* and describes the emperor as *Bhartā Khaḍgatrātā Kumāragupto jayataniśam*, 'ever victorious is the lord Kumāragupta who is *khaḍgatrātā*, i. e. a protector by the sword (*khaḍgena trātā*) from the rhinoceros (*khaḍgebhyas-trātā*)

IDENTITY OF KRAMĀDITYA

Kramāditya is the last ruler represented in the hoard; we have a single coin of his of the Chhatra type. Unfortunately the obverse legend on the coin is not full and does not disclose the personal name of the issuer; we can read only *Vijitāvantra*. Kramāditya was an epithet of Skandagupta, the successor of Kumāragupta, but Ghaṭotkacha, a brother of Skandagupta, who was ruling as the governor of Malwa during his father's reign, very probably had also taken this epithet, if the attribution of a unique coin of the Archer type bearing the name Ghaṭo to that prince is correct. If we attribute the solitary coin of Kramāditya of our hoard to Ghaṭotkachagupta of

Malwa, it would show that during the turmoil that followed the death of Kumāragupta and the Hūṇa invasion, Ghaṭot-kachagupta assumed independence in Malwa and began to issue coins in his own name. It is however more probable that the coin was issued by Skandagupta Kramāditya, whose silver coins have the legend beginning with *Vijitāvaniravanipatiḥ*. If this alternative is correct, and if the hoard contained really one coin of this ruler, we shall have to suppose that the Hūṇa invasion took place early in the reign of Kumāragupta, when he had just started issuing coins. If however we assume that among about 300 coins that were melted down, the majority was those of Kramāditya Skandagupta, then the inference will be that the Hūṇas penetrated to Bharatpur towards the end of Skandagupta's reign in a second attempt in that direction. The problem can be solved only by the discovery of further evidence.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am conscious that I have detained you rather long in describing the unique features of the Bayana hoard, but it is probably the discovery of the century and I am not sure that the curiosity of the experts amongst you is fully satisfied by my short remarks. The latter can get their full satisfaction in our evening session, when, thanks to the courtesy and the kindness of the Maharajasaheb of Bharatpur, we shall be able to show you all the representative coins of this hoard. Enlarged photographs of the *Apratigha* type will also be shown and my epigraphist friends can try their hand in unravelling the legend. A paper on the rare and new types of the hoard will be published in the *Journal* in due course.

NEW PUNCH-MARKED COINS.

Let me now draw your attention to other discoveries made in the year. Punch-marked coins continue to be found in large numbers. I have recently purchased a hoard of 316 punch-marked coins found in the North Western Province; it mostly consists of the types prevalent during the Mauryan rule. Dr. V. S. Agrawala of the Central Asian Museum reports the discovery of another hoard from the same province found in the village Darora in Dir State. The hoard consists of 585 coins, of which 60 belong to the intermediate period and the rest to the later or the Mauryan age. They have all five symbols and weigh 32 *ratīs*. 17 coins have three human figures as three of their five symbols, and on one coin we find three human figures counterstruck as the reverse mark. On one coin serpent figures as one of the symbols, which is rather rare.

Mr. K. P. Rode reports the aquisition of a punch-marked coin by the Nagpur Museum having owl as one of its symbols. So far this bird was not known to be figuring on the punch marked coins.

A student of mine could recover four coins from a hoard of silver punch-marked coins found in Ghazipur district; they belong to that rare and very thin variety, to which I drew your attention in my last presidential address, and which was published in the last number of the Journal. Dr. Agrawala reports the purchase of two more of the cup-shaped variety of the Kosala punch-marked coins.

INDO-GREEK AND INDO-SCYTHIAN COINS

In the realm of the Indo-Greek numismatics, I have to report the aquisition by Dewan Bahadur R. K. Jalan of Patna of a rare didrachm of Nikias, which is the fourth of its type to be recovered so far. Mr. Kahla reports the aquisition of a Scythian imitation coin of Heliokles at Taxila. So far these barbarous imitations of the Greek coins were known to be current outside India in Bactria and Afghanistan; this coin shows that some of them were current in India also.

Uptil now only one coin of Maues with the device Bow in Bowcase was known; I have recently purchased a second specimen of this variety from Rawalpindi. The coin is very important, because it clearly shows that early in his career this Scythian ruler was a feudatory of Mithradates the Great and did not dare to assume the imperial title, King of Kings, Basileos Basileon, which he did only after the death of his suzerain.

GUPTA AND POST-GUPTA COINS.

Bhāratākālābhavan of Benares has aquired a unique coin of Chandragupta II of the Standard type.¹ So far it was believed that only Samudragupta had issued coins of this type. The type was extremely popular with Samudragupta, and it was difficult to imagine that Chandragupta II had issued no coins in it. The present coin shows that Chandragupta II also issued coins of this type; but they seem to have been rather rare. The Bayana hoard for instance contains no coins of Chandragupta of this type.

Mr. K. P. Rode reports the aquisition of a coin of King Jagadeva of the Paramāra Dynasty. So far the coins of this dynasty were not known at all; the discovery of this coin leads us to entertain the hope that we may one day find the

1. A paper on this coin appears later in this number.

coins of the famous rulers of this dynasty like Bhoja and Sindhurāja.

Mr. P. D. Krishnamurti reports the discovery of a new type of coin of the Chola ruler Rājarāja. Its peculiarity lies in the obverse having a standing human figure facing the seated king.

MEDIEVAL COINS.

Major Tarapore, our enthusiastic member from Hyderabad Deccan, reports the discovery of a unique gold Tankah of Sultan Ruknuddin Ibrahim of Delhi. So far only copper issues of this ruler were known; the present coin would show that during his short and troubled reign, he took care to issue some gold coins as well. His paper on this coin appears later in this number.

The above survey of the year will show that numismatics is still full of important potentialities; it is quite possible for the twentieth century to be rewarded with discoveries, that would have thrilled even the numismatic giants of the nineteenth century like Wilson, Princep and Cunningham. What is necessary is an intelligent and continuous search for old coins at promising places. We have to make even the ordinary man in the street numismatically minded; if we succeed in doing so, hundreds of coins that go to the melting pot every year to the great loss of history, would be saved from their doom.

ARCHAEOLOGY AS A CONCURRENT SUBJECT

It is desirable that provincial governments also should have their own archaeological departments; I am glad to report to you that the U. P. Government is about to organise one of its own. It is impossible for the Union Government's Archaeological Department to do full justice to many and complicated problems of Indian Archaeology. Local interest can be intensified only by the creation of provincial archaeological departments. Curiously enough so far there has been a strange antipathy between the archaeological department and numismatics. I trust that the Provincial archaeological departments will engage the services of at least two numismatists to further the cause of studies in Numismatics.

DESIGNS FOR THE NEW COINAGE

We are now entering the stage of full freedom and it would be desirable if our Union Government bestows some thought on coin types and devices suitable to Indian heritages and tradition. I have great pleasure in supporting the sugges-

tion of His Highness the Maharaja of Bharatpur that the Government should appoint a committee to examine the problem and suggest artistic and national devices suggestive of India's achievements in the past.

NUMISMATIC BOOKS IN INDIAN LANGUAGES

Education will soon be imparted in the mother tongue in all the universities of India. Our great Indian languages have to rise equal to the occasion and produce a literature that can come up to the University and research standards. It has to be regretfully admitted that there is hardly any literature on Numismatics worth the name in most of the Indian vernaculars. The Society will be glad to place its services at the disposal of the different governments if they desire to get authoritative books written on Numismatics in its different branches. The subject being technical, books can be written only with the help of substantial state subsidies. The Society will be glad to publish versions in Indian Languages of its forthcoming books on Bibliography of Indian Numismatics. Standard Work of Reference on Indian Numismatics in any provincial language, whose government will be willing to bear the cost. As no further expenditure will be necessary for photographing and blockmaking, the Indian languages versions will not cost much.

THE TITLE 'DEVAPUTRA' ON KUYULA KARA KADPHISES' COINS.

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The title 'Devaputra' is often found as an attributive epithet of the Kanishka group of kings in their Brāhmī and Kharoshthi inscriptions. It does not occur, however, in any of their coin-legends, for the obvious reason that almost all of these are written in Greek script, and most in a language which is neither Greek nor Prakrit. Do we then find its use in any other series of Kushāna coins? Cunningham thought that he could read it on only two of the copper coins which bore the name of Kuyula Kara Kaphsa. These are of the usual 'Bull and Bactrian camel' type series attributed to Kuyula Kara Kadphises, where the obverse Greek legend is corrupt and illegible, the Prakrit legend written in Kharoshthi on the other side being, though fragmentary, partially legible. From a study of several such coins, the legend on the reverse may be deciphered as *Maharajasa rajadirajasa* (or *Maharaja rajadirajasa*) *K(u)y(u)la Kara Kapasa* (or *Kaphsasa*), as has been done by Whitehead. Cunningham suggested different readings in the case of 20 coins of this series, which he described in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Ser. III, Vol. XII (1892, pp. 66-7, pl. iv, figs. 9-12), the variants being *Maharayasa rayarayasa devaputrasa Kuyula Kara Kaphsasa* (2 specimens), *Kuyula Kara Kapasa maharayasa rayarayasa* or *Maharajasa mahatasa Kushana Kuyula Kaphsasa* (5 specimens), and *Maharajasa rajatirajasa Kuyula Kaphasa* (10 specimens). The four representative coins, which are reproduced by him to illustrate the various readings are, however, very poorly preserved, and not one single coin among them helps us to test any one of the above legends. Coins similar to the above in all respects are in the collections of many of the Museums in India and outside, and Gardner, Whitehead and Smith have all described them in their respective coin-catalogues. Gardner places them in his *Catalogue* (p. 112, pl. XXIII) in between the coins of Zeionises and Sanabares in the Indo-Parthian section, and remarks that 'the British Museum specimens are not sufficiently well-preserved to enable us to give any certain readings'; he, however, reads many stray Kharoshthi letters, and on two coins, part of the legends as *Maharajasa* or *Maharayasa rayatirayasa*.¹

1. *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, p. 112; Gardner refers to Cunningham's earlier attempts to decipher these legends in *J. A. S. B.*, 1854, pp. 695, 698, and to Von Sallet's views in *Zeitschrift f. Num.*, 1879, 369-70.

Smith diffidently suggests readings such as *Kushana Kuyula Kara Kaphsasa*, *Maharayasa rayatirayasa*, *Kara maharayasa mahatasa*, none of which is complete, referring to the four variants of Cunningham. The partially preserved legends read by Whitehead have already been noticed. I studied the Punjab and Indian Museum coins of this group, and could not improve upon the suggestions of Whitehead and Smith.

It is thus apparent from the above facts that though the name of the king and a few of his principal epithets can be read on one or other of the different groups of coins of this series, it is on two specimens only that Cunningham could read '*Devaputra*'; but the word cannot be read from the one reproduced by him. His reading of the title in question on the above two coins is apparently wrong, and it is clear that it was never used as an attributive epithet of the king on any of these coins, or on any other series of the Kushāna coins. This is also the finding of Mr. Allan 'who has re-examined the coins on which Cunningham had read the title', and who has authorised F. W. Thomas to assert that it never appears on any of the coins of the Kushanas, its reading on a coin of Kujula Kara Kaphsa being an error.'¹ The title has all along been equated with the one, 'Son of Heaven', used by the Chinese emperors. But Thomas has recently suggested that it is thoroughly Indian in character, and it was current only as a complimentary epithet 'among the Indian subjects of the Kushānas and therefore with its Indian meaning' (*B. C. Law Volume*, Pt. II, p. 308). The Indian Devaputras were a class of beings belonging to the Deva world, but not sufficiently distinct or limited in number to be included in the closed list of Thirtythree'. The Pāli Jātaka commentary (III, p. 261, 1. 12) sometimes identifies the terms 'Deva' and 'Devaputra' (*devo cha nāma devaputto*). The divine character is thus emphasised by the use of the latter term, and its association with the Kushāna kings could not have preceded the period of Wema Kadphises. It was this monarch who undoubtedly introduced the characteristic signs of divinity in the delineation of the royal portrait, which were afterwards copied by his successors on their money. The 'royal bust rising from the clouds', 'flames issuing from the king's shoulders', 'his august head shown inside a frame', all these divine and honorific traits are found on his coins for the first time. Drouin observes, 'On the beautiful gold pieces of Hvima Kadpisa or Kadphises II the shoulders of the king are surrounded by luminous rays or flames, and his bust appears to issue from the clouds, like the

1. *B. C. Law Volume*, Pt. II, p. 307. Cunningham's error in his reading of the legend had been evident to me long before I read Thomas' learned article on 'Devaputra'.

gods of Greece, who envelope themselves with clouds to descend upon the earth. All these are the characteristics of deification or of apotheosis¹. The word *īśvara* in the compound *śarvalogaiśvara*, a part of the legend *Maharajasa rajadirajasa śarvalogaiśvarasa mahiśvarasa Vima Kathphīśasa tradura* appearing on most of his coins, probably has a pun in it, for it seems that he tries to describe himself as the lord of all his people (or all the worlds) not only in the temporal sense of the term but also in its spiritual sense. Thus, '*Devaputra*' could very well have been used with the name of this early Kushāna emperor for the first time, and not with that of any other monarch of this race, who preceded him.² It is presumable, however, that neither he nor any other Kushāna king did use it on his coins, the reason probably being, as has been suggested by Thomas, that it was never, at any rate in early times, adopted by the Kushānas as an official title. Jayaswal seems to be right in identifying Vama Takshama of the pedestal inscription of one of the Mat statues with Wema Kadphises; the inscription records the construction of a temple (*devakula*), a garden (*ārāma*), a tank (*pushkariṇī*) and a well (*udīpāna*) in honour of Mahārāja rājadirāja devaputra Kushānaputra Shāhi Vama takshama.³ The correctness of Jayaswal's suggestion seems to be borne out by the fact that Vakanapati Huma..... (Huma....., the chief of Vakana - ? modern Wakhan), who was probably the donor of the record, described the Shāhi Vamatakhama, the Kushāna scion, the great king, the king of kings, as *devaputra*, and most likely enshrined the statue of his imperial overlord in the *devakula* to which further endowments of a garden, a tank and a well were made. The heaviness and other general features of the Mat statue in question have a great deal of affinity with the figure of Wema Kadphises appearing on his coins. This line of reasoning would justify us also in identifying the unnamed Mahārāja rājadirāja devaputra Kushāna of the Taxila silver scroll with the great Kushāna emperor Wema Kadphises.⁴

1. Translation from the *Revue Numismatique*, IVme Ser., Tome V, 1901, p. 155; *Indian Antiquary*, 1908, p. 427.

2. There can be very little doubt now that Kujula Kara Kadphises preceded Wema; the identity of the former with Kujula Kadphises Kiu-tsin-kio of the Chinese texts, is almost certain.

3. B. N. Puri thinks that Shāhi Vamatakhsha (he omits *m* apparently clear in the inscription) was the first ruler of a later Kushāna dynasty, that of the Kushānaputras, to which Vashishka, Kanishka II and Kanishka III belonged. These four kings ruled according to him from c. 268 A. D. to c. 382 A. D.; *Indian Culture*, Vol. VIII, pp. 193-6.

4. Thomas thinks, 'that the designation *devaputra* was not applied to any Kushāna king prior to Ohandana Kanishka; and it would follow that the Maharaja rajadiraja devaputra Khushana of the Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription was Kanishka' (*ibid*, p. 312). But I have shown above that the inscription and the epithet might as well have been associated with the name of Wema Kadphises.

It follows from what has been said above that no distinction need be made between Kujula Kara Kadphises and Kujula Kadphises, as Rapson seems to have done.¹ If these two be not identical, Kadaphes has also to be separated from them, and we shall have to presume that three separate Kushāna chiefs preceded Wema, which will be an untenable supposition.² But the Chinese evidence is so explicit in this matter that Yen-kao-tchen immediately succeeded his octogenerian father Kiu-tsiu-kio, that hardly any doubt exists there about the identity of all the three. Whitehead, on the basis of this very reasonable assumption, has differentiated between four separate Prākṛit forms of the name of the first Kushāna chief, viz., 'Kasa (ordinary Kadphises I coins), Kaphsa (on the ordinary Kadaphes coins), Kadapha on these Buddha coins, and Kau on the Macedonian soldier type of Kadphises I'.³ Another interesting point to be noted in this connection is the peculiar symbol usually designated as *Nandipāda*, 'bull's footmark', found very often over the back of the bull on the 'Bull: Bactrian camel' type coins of Kujula Kara Kadphises; it proves that Wema borrowed it from him. Does this also suggest that the first Kushāna chief was a Śaiva and not a Buddhist, as has been surmised on the basis of the so-called Buddha figure on some Kadaphes coins, and the epithet *dharmathita* or *sachadharma-thita* occurring in some of the coin-legends of Kadphises I? The *dharma* or *satyadharma* may as well refer to Māheśvara or Pāsupata creed which was adopted by his successor, and the seated figure in question may more reasonably be identified as Śiva.⁴

1. *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 582, f. n. 1.

2. Numismatic convention as well as other reasons would preclude any one of them coming after Wema.

3. *P. M. O. I.*, p. 182, f. n.

4. *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 125, f. n. 2:—'The seated figure on the coins of Kadaphes may stand for Śiva; the head seems to bear on it a *krobylos* (*jāṭimukuta*), but the object in the raised right hand is not distinct' it may be Vajra one of the attributes of Śiva on the Kushāna coins. A. K. Coomaraswamy was the first to question the identification of the figure as Buddha in 'Origin of the Buddha Image' (*Boston Museum Fine Arts Bulletin*, No. 27).

COINS OF THE ŚIBI REPUBLIC

BY ROSHANLAL SAMAR, B. A., LL. B., ADVOCATE, UDAIPUR.

The ruins of Nāgarī lie to the north-east of Chittor at a distance of seven miles. It was once known as Majhimikā Nāgarī and was a flourishing city of the Śibi people. On its site now stands a small village, known as Nāgarī, included in the Jagir of Rao of Bedla, a first class nobleman of Udaipur State. It seems that the old city was situated on both the banks of Berach River and the traces of a strong bridge are still visible. I was told by the village folk, when I visited that place, that excavation work was undertaken by the Government of India and the site of the ancient temple of Śiva was unearthed, whereon stands a small modern temple of Śiva built by the villagers. The Śibi people inhabited the Punjab when Alexander the great had invaded India. Perhaps the rise of the Maurya Empire forced them to leave their sweet home for the less attractive lands of Rajputana.

Two types of Śibi coins have been reported so far. On the obverse of the first type, there is the circular legend *Śibijanapadasa* (beginning at VII), enclosing two symbols. Of these the left one is a bold *svastika* with a taurine at each end of the arm, while the right one is a tree without any railing (Pl. V, 1-3). The symbols can be seen on Pl. V, 2-3 and the legend can be completed from the three coins illustrated; *Śibijana* occurs on Pl. V, 1 *bijanapa* on Pl. V, 2 and *napadasa* on Pl. V, 3. On the reverse there is a hill surmounted with *Nandipada*. Below the hill there is a zigzag line, probably denoting a river. The weight of No. 1, is 86 grains, of No. 2, 76 grains, of No. 3, 68 grains. Their diameters are .6" x .7", .6" x .7" and .7" respectively, the first two coins being more oval than circular in size. The reverse of all is too obliterated to be illustrated.

This type seems to be the earliest type of Śibi coins as indicated by the palaeography. The medial *i* in *śi* and *bi* is marked with a simple vertical line on *śa* and *ba*¹. Perhaps this type of coins was issued prior to the time of the Śibi people settling down at Majhimikā or soon after their doing so.

Another type of coins which have been so often picked up from Nāgarī after rains, when the upper layer of earth is washed away by water, is inscribed with the longer legend *Majhimikāya Śibijanapadasa*. Otherwise it retains most of the

[1. This is not a very cogent argument. The character of the medial *i* often differs with the form of the letter to which it is attached. *Editor.*]

features of the earlier type. On the obverse of these coins the tree rises from a small circle and there is the *svastika* and the hill ; the *Nandīpada* and the river on the reverse have been engraved in a fine manner (Pl. I, 4-5). The characters of the legend look more modern and the medial *i* begins to be denoted by a curved line. I am illustrating two coins of this type. The tree on them is obliterated, but the legend can be almost completely made up from its fragments on each. On Pl. V, 4, beginning at VIII, we have *Majhamikāya*, and on Pl. V, 5, we have *Sibijana* from VI onwards in addition to some of the earlier letters. The size and weight of the coin Pl. V, 4, are .7" and 81 grains respectively and of the coin, Pl. V, 5 is .6"x. .7" and 76 grains respectively; the latter coin is oval.

In 1940 I came across quite a unique type, which I am here illustrating ; Pl. V, 6. The new coin is a small round piece, the diameter being .55" and weight about 35 grains. On the obverse the legend, which begins at IX, runs as *Sibijanapadasa* ; it is in early Brāhmī characters, much older than that on the coins with the legend *Majhmikāya Sibijanapadasa*. The peculiarity of this coin is that the well known symbols usually found on the obverse of Śibi coins, i. e., the tree and the *svastika*, have been separated. The tree rising from a small circle has been retained on the obverse and the *svastika* on the reverse has taken the place of Hill surmounted with *Nandīpada*, which are the usual symbols on the reverse of Śibi coins. To each arm of the *Svastika* is attached a 'ma' of old Brāhmī character.

EDITOR'S NOTE

Mr. Samar has undoubtedly done good service to the cause of numismatics by publishing his coins in the *Journal*. Not that the Śibi coins were unknown or unpublished. Prinsep had published them in his *Essays*, Pl. VII, 2-3 ; he had however given only the drawings. In *C. A. S. R.*, Vol. XIV, Pl. XXXI, 13-13 Cunningham had published two more Śibi coins ; his photographs however were imperfect and contained only three or four legible letters. The same is the case with the coins illustrated in *B. M. C. Coins of Ancient India*, Pl. XLIV, 13-14.

Coins of Class I above illustrated in Pl. V, 1-3 now enable us among themselves to read distinctly the entire legend *Sibijanapadasa*. Their symbols are also fairly distinct. Coins of Class II were illustrated by Prinsep ; but his drawings did not show the important word *Majhmikāya*. So far we could see only the drawings of the important legend of this type in Cunningham's *Report* and the *British Museum Catalogue*. Our Pl. V, 4-5 give us almost the whole of the legend *Majhmikāya Sibijanapadasa*. The symbols on the reverse are also clear, though the tree on the obverse has been blurred.

Mr. Allan had once hesitated to attribute these coins to the Śibis because the middle stroke in the letter śi was not clear; it can be distinctly seen on coins No. 1, 5 and 6 in our Plate.

Like the earlier published coins of this republic, the present coins were also found near Chitor; there can be no doubt that it was the capital of the Śibis by about the 2nd century B. C.

The Śibis however originally hailed from the Punjab; their antiquity seems to go back to the Vedic age. Śibi Auśīnaras is the author of one of the hymns of the R̥gveda, viz., X, 119; it is likely that the Śivas, who are mentioned in the R̥gveda, may be identical with the Śibis, though we cannot be sure on the point.

Śivapura mentioned by Pāṇini IV, 2,2 is probably identical with Śibipura mentioned in the Shorkot inscription *E. I.*, XVI p. 15. This would suggest that Jhang area in the Punjab was once the home of the Śibis. This conclusion is confirmed by the data of Greek historians, who place the Śibis at the junction of the Hydraotes and the Akesines and to the north of the Oxudraki (Kshudrakas) and the Mālavas. This tends to show that the Śibis were occupying the area between Multan and Lahore; and it is precisely in this area that Jhang is situated.

It is however not unlikely that the Śibis may have been in the occupation of further districts in the east. The reverse type of our coins *Pl. V*, 4-5 shows a close resemblance to the reverse of the coins of the Kuṇindas; both have a six arched hill, surmounted by a *Nandipada* and standing on a wavy line or river. *Svastika* also occurs on the Kuṇinda coins, though in its simplest form. According to the epic tradition, Śibi's younger brother Nṛiga was the progenitor of the Yaudheyas, who were the neighbours of the Kuṇindas and occupying the south-eastern Punjab and north-western U. P. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* places the Śivas or the Śibis in the Madhyadeśa along with the Kurus, the Pañchālas and the Vatsas. It would therefore appear that before their migration to Rajputana, the Śibis were occupying not only central and south-western Punjab but were in touch with and perhaps occupying some territory further east also.

It is quite likely that as suggested by Mr. Samar, the coins Nos. 1-3 of our plate were the predecessors of coins Nos. 4-5. The superior artistic execution of the latter along with their longer legend would support the view. But the difference cannot be of more than a few decades, because the palaeography of both is almost identical.

The coins may be attributed to the first half of the 2nd century B. C. when Mādhyamikā was an important and flourishing city. It had been besieged by the Greeks at about this time, as testified to by the famous statement in the *Patañjala Mahābhāṣya*, *Arunad yavano Mādhyamikām*.

CLAY DABBERS AS WEIGHTS IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY D. B. DISKALKAR, M. A., INDORE

It is well known that dabber-like round clay objects, superimposed with a flat knob which looks like a small handle, are found in excavations of some Mauryan sites. Such clay dabbers with hemispherical base¹ are found also in the excavations at Kasrawad in the Indore State in Central India. Some of these are ornamented with beautiful geometrical designs on the shoulders. From the discovery of inscribed potsherds and punch-marked coins found in the same excavations assignable to the 3rd or 2nd century B. C., these dabbers also can be assigned to the same period. Dabbers of a different shape, both made of clay and stone, with flat base and tapering upward, are also found in some excavations of the same period, e. g., at Bhita, Rairh and Sambhar.²

It is supposed that these dabbers were potters' mallets used for tapping the surface of earthen jars on their removal from the wheel. But this supposition seems to be doubtful, as I think that thin and small wooden bats could very well have been used for the purpose in those days as at present. Secondly, there is no reason why only potters' dabbers should be found in the precincts of the Buddhist establishments and no instruments of other artisans. Thirdly, stone objects exactly resembling the clay dabbers of the second form mentioned above, have also been found in the excavations of ancient sites,³ which could not have been used but for weights. Fourthly, the clay dabbers found in the Kasrawad excavations, quite uniform in shape, are of regularly graded sizes and weights. The weights of the well preserved dabbers are $1\frac{1}{4}$, $2\frac{1}{2}$, 5, 6, 9, 15, $17\frac{1}{2}$, 25, $32\frac{1}{2}$, 35, $47\frac{1}{2}$, 50 and 35 tolas. Some of these dabbers appear to be duplicate weights. Thus three of them weigh six tolas each, two, $12\frac{1}{2}$ tolas each, three 35 tolas each, two $47\frac{1}{2}$ tolas each and two 50 tolas each. This shows that there was some ratio in the weights. When we know that mallets are generally used by potters for tapping the surface of big jars and not of small objects like bowls etc., where was the necessity of such very small dabbers? In fact, the clay weights, some of which are of the form of a dabber and pinnacles, discovered in the

1. Only one of these has a flat base.

2. *Excavations at Sambar* Pl. XIII-b, A. S. Gwalior, 1938-39 pl. XX-c; *Excavations at Rairh* Pl. XI-20

3. *Excavations at Rairh*, Pl. XI-20.

Ujjain excavations, are still smaller in size and weight. It is also known that small clay objects, square and rectangular in shape and regularly graded in sizes and weights, were found in a large number in the excavations at Mohenjo daro. That they must have been used as different weights is generally admitted. Can it not therefore be supposed that these dabber-like clay objects like those found at Kasrawad were used as weights in ancient India, for weighing vegetables, etc. ?

It may be mentioned here that two extremely small and exactly dabber-like soapstone objects were found in the Kasrawad excavations. They measure .4" only and weigh 12 grs. and 10 grs. respectively. As they have no holes at the handle, they could not have been used as ear-pendants. But, if they were not used in ear lobes as ornaments like the gold nails or pearl pins in those days, they might have been used as very small weights for weighing small and valuable objects like pearls and jewellery, just as the bigger clay dabbers were used for weighing heavy objects and the stone dabbers or stone balls with a flat base like those found in the Kasrawad excavations were used for weighing still heavier objects. As it was almost impossible to make clay dabbers of such an extremely small size and weight, stone dabbers might have been used for the purpose.

SYMBOLS ON THE COPPER BAND IN THE PATNA MUSEUM.

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR.

While digging for the foundation of the building of the Imperial Bank of India, Patna branch, a copper band was discovered along with a number of Mauryan period antiquities. It bore several marks punched upon it. Dr. Banerji Sastri examined them and came to the conclusion that most of these marks could be seen on the punch-marked coins hailing from Taxila.¹ He however did not identify these marks but merely published a photograph of the band. Later on Mr. Walsh wrote a paper in which he maintained that out of the 22 marks of the band only two occurred on the punch-marked coins.² He illustrated his paper by a drawing of each of the marks and a glance at them was quite sufficient to convince any body that his contention was correct. In Vol. VI, pp. 5-8, of this *Journal*, Mr. Paramesvarilal Gupta reverted to the topic, gave a comparative table of each of the 22 marks as given by Prof. Banerji-Sastri and Mr. Walsh, and published along with them ordinary and blackened estampage of each mark, which tended to show that the marks were quite different from the drawings of Mr. Walsh. Mr. Walsh was good enough to send me a rejoinder with his drawings, tending to show that the views of Messrs. Banerji-Sastri and Gupta were wrong and his own theory correct. As the original band was available at Patna for examination, I thought that it would be best to request different scholars to examine it independently. Mr. Shere, the curator of the Patna Museum, agreed to my request and sent me fresh drawings of the symbols along with a mould of the band. His conclusion seemed to agree more with that of Mr. Gupta than with that of Mr. Walsh. Later on I myself took the opportunity of examining the marks on the original band at the time of the History Congress and Numismatic Conference in Christmas 1946 and my colleague Dr. Agrawala also did the same two days later but independently of me. Each one of us made his own notes and the present paper embodies our conclusions arrived independently from the examination of the original band. Generally speaking we found that the estampages were correct and the drawings of Mr. Walsh were unreliable. Mr. Walsh had not the advantage of seeing the

1. *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1938, pp. 85-88

2. *Ibid.*, 1939, pp. 1-5,

original band and it is but natural that his symbols should not be accurate. The surface of the band is not properly dressed and there are some indistinct lines and chisel marks near the symbols in some cases. But the examination of the band leaves no doubt as to what most of the symbols were intended to stand for. I now proceed to describe them. A copy of this paper was sent to Mr. Walsh for his observations. He was good enough to send his views, some of which are included in this paper.

For the sake of ready reference I am reproducing the plate that accompanied Mr. Gupta's paper (Pl. VI) and the references here are to the numbers in that plate.

No. 1 is clearly a *svastika* with rounded arms as shown in the blackened estampage. The photograph is indistinct and Mr. Walsh's drawing gives only the four ends of the symbol mutually disconnected.

No. 2 is a Taurine with an arrow head by its side. The photograph is slightly indistinct; the estampage and blackened estampage give its correct idea. Mr. Walsh's drawing is incorrect.

No. 3 is distinctly an Arrow-head. It can be made out in the photograph but is shown quite distinctly in the estampage and the blackened estampage. In Mr. Walsh's drawing, one can detect its upper and lower limb, with two unnecessary lines by its side. In the photograph a portion of the knob of the taurine looks whiter owing to its high relief.

No. 4. Here the estampages of Mr. Gupta are incorrect. Dr. Agrawala thinks that the sign is indistinct and looks like an inverted *mudgara* or chessman. Mr. Shere and myself think that the photograph is nearest the truth. The left hand portion of Mr. Walsh's drawing gives faithfully a part of the symbol, but the detached marks on its right are misleading. I think that the mark is Asokan *ma*, as can be seen from the photograph. The estampage of Mr. Gupta gives the impression of a cross probably due to a depression on the band at this place.

No. 5 is a *chakra* with six spokes, its outer rim not distinguished from the surrounding area. Dr. Agrawala, Mr. Shere and myself agree in holding that the estampage given by Mr. Gupta is correct. Mr. Walsh's drawing gives a wrong idea. The photograph is slightly indistinct.

No. 6. We three have found that the blackened estampage gives the most correct idea of the original mark. There is nothing like Mr. Walsh's drawing on the original. Dr. Agrawala sees

a dot also between the two transverse lines of the symbol ; it can be seen in the ordinary but not in the blackened estampage. I, however, failed to notice it on the band. The photograph here is indistinct.

No. 7. Messrs. Shere and Agrawala think that the mark is indistinct. Dr. Agrawala thinks that the transverse lines of the symbol to be distinctly seen in the photograph are subsequent accretions, the vertical portion alone being the original symbol. I hold that in this case the estampages of Mr. Gupta are misleading. The mark is indistinct, but resembles an arrow-head very closely. The photograph is here nearest the original. In Mr. Walsh's drawing one can see the top of the arrow-head ; its other elements are not in the original.

No. 8. We three hold that this mark is indistinct. Transverse lines seen in the photograph were probably not intended to form part of the symbol ; they appear like subsequent accretions. The photograph is nearer the original mark than either of the estampages. Mr. Walsh's drawing is altogether incorrect.

No. 9. We three agree that the estampages are correct. The photograph also shows the two arms of the cross, but portions of them appear white owing to the high relief. Mr. Walsh's drawing is incorrect. We agree with Mr. Walsh in holding that it would not be correct to describe the mark as a hollow cross, as was done by Mr. Gupta. The dot in the upper right quadrant to be seen in the photograph is probably due to a depression.

No. 10. Dr. Agrawala and myself agree in holding that the mark consists of three circles surmounted by a crescent. But Mr. Shere is unable to see the latter. The estampages give a correct idea of the symbol according to us two. In the photograph the crescent has come out indistinctly. In Mr. Walsh's drawing one can detect the lower three circles and part of the crescent. Two of the dotted circles in it are superfluous. Mr. Gupta has correctly described this mark, but his label Crescent on the Hill is misleading. Mr. Walsh has drawn attention to this point in his note.

No. 11. We three hold that the blackened estampage is most faithful to the original. I think that the photograph is showing the chisel marks on the sides of the original symbol. The mark appears to stand for a post in railing. Outlines of the railing can be seen in a disconnected manner in Mr. Walsh's drawing, as also those of the post.

No. 12. Dr. Agrawala and myself agree in holding that the symbol is a taurine as shown by the estampages and the photograph. There are some extra chisel marks on its side. Mr. Walsh's drawing shows the outlines of the symbol in a disconnected manner along with the chisel marks on its sides.

No. 13 is a cross surmounted by a globe, its arm being shorter than the lower side. Dr. Agrawala and myself agree on this point. The estampages are correct, the photograph is slightly indistinct ; Mr. Walsh's drawing has two superfluous lines by the side of the lower limb of the cross. Mr. Walsh had originally thought this to be a homo-sign, but he has recently informed me that he no longer holds that view.

No. 14 is a human figure in rough outlines. Here the photograph, the estampages and the drawing of Mr. Walsh all agree.

No. 22 in the plate is No. 15 of Mr. Walsh. Dr. Agrawala and myself agree in holding that this is no symbol at all ; the cross-like impression has come on the band owing to its subsequent folding. We do not think that there is any symbol punched between the human figure, No. 14 above, and the tree symbols following, No. 15.

Mr. Walsh has recently informed me that he also recognised this to be a mark of folding. But as it was shown in Dr. Banerji-Sastri's photograph, he had to record it in the description of the band ; he thought it best to differentiate it by showing it in dotted lines in order to distinguish it from genuine marks.

After this symbol there is a pin hole which has come out in the photograph of the band published in the *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1938, Pl. I.

No. 15 is definitely a tree symbol according to myself and Dr. Agrawala. I noticed chisel marks by the side of the tree and some protrusions on its trunk. The photograph is slightly indistinct owing to high lights. Mr. Walsh's drawing also shows the outlines of the tree with chisel marks by its side.

No. 16 is the same as No. 6 above. The photograph shows the transverse chisel marks. The blackened estampage gives the clearest idea of the original. Mr. Walsh's drawing is incorrect.

No. 17 shown as peacock on a three arched *chaitya* in Mr. Gupta's estampages does not exist in the original. It is too close to Nos. 16 and 18 to be a separate symbol. There

is corrosion on the band which gives the false impression of a peacock on the hill. The original band shows no clear punched symbol; the corrosion and depression naturally give the impression of a symbol in the photograph and the estampage. Mr. Walsh has pointed out that he has not shown this symbol at all. Mr. Gupta is incorrect in equating the symbol No. 17 col. VIII with this mark.

No. 18. The punch has made two holes in the original symbol and so the outlines are indistinct. I think that what appears as the hanging lower part of the symbol in the estampage is only a depression and not a part of the symbol. The photograph in my opinion is nearest to the original symbol. Mr. Walsh's drawing is incorrect. (No. 17 col. VIII and not No. 18). It has to be noted here, as pointed out by Mr. Walsh in his recent note that symbols Nos. 18, 19, 20, and 21 of Mr. Gupta correspond with Nos. 17, 18, 19 and 20 of Mr. Walsh in column VIII and not with Nos. 18, 19, 20 and 21 as shown in Mr. Gupta's plate, reproduced with this paper.

No. 19 is an Arrow-head according to both myself and Dr. Agrawala. The latter noticed a deep folding by its side, which seems to have escaped my attention, as I have not referred to it in my notes. Photograph and estampages are all correct; Mr. Walsh's drawing is unreliable; it is No. 18 of col. VIII and not No. 19 as stated by Mr. Gupta.

No. 20 shows the outline of a tree or a crude human figure according to Dr. Agrawala and myself. The photograph is rather indistinct but the estampages give a clear picture of the symbol. Mr. Walsh's drawing (No. 19, col. VIII and not No. 20 as given by Mr. Gupta) is incorrect.

No. 21. The blackened estampage is nearest the truth according to myself and Dr. Agrawala. The symbol is a double taurine based upon a circle in between. Mr. Walsh's drawing (No. 20, col. VIII and not No. 21 as stated by Mr. Gupta) gives perhaps the central circle.

After this mark there is the last hole on the band, about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch from the last symbol. The band has in all four hole marks, one on the left end, the second after the second symbol, the third after the 14th symbol and the fourth after the 21st.

The mark shown as No. 21 of Mr. Walsh's drawing by Mr. Gupta is a small mark under the bolt hole of the band, which held the two ends of the band together. Mr. Gupta has not included it among his marks.

A NEW SILVER COIN OF GAUTAMĪPUTRA

(*A fresh examination*)

MR. P. J. CHINMULGUND, I. C. S., BOMBAY.

In a recent issue of this Journal Dr. Altekar has published a new and unique silver coin of a Sātavāhana king.¹ It has on the obverse a six-arched hill with dots in each arch, on a platform; a wavy line below and Brāhmī inscription: *Rāṇo Gotamī...* On the reverse there is Ujjain symbol with a pellet in each orb. As the inscription is not complete on the flan, it would appear that the coin could have been issued by either Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, the vanquisher of Nahapāṇa, or by Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi. Dr. Altekar has suggested that the coin was very probably issued by the latter king. His grounds for this conclusion may be summarised as follows: Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi contented himself by merely restamping the coins of Nahapāṇa and is not known to have issued any independent silver coinage of his own. The hill device on the restamped coins on Nahapāṇa has three arches and not six. Rapson has concluded that the change from a three arched *chaitya* (hill) to a six-arched one probably took place in the reign of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi.

Now, the great Jogaltembhi hoard, consisting of over 13,000 silver coins of which over 9,000 were coins of Nahapāṇa restruck by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, and the rest of Nahapāṇa, has been fully discussed by Rev. H. R. Scott.² It is clear from that paper that the Chaitya device used for restamping by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi consists among others of both three-arched and six-arched varieties.³ Both the varieties are with and without dots in the arches, and without crescent at the top. Plate IV accompanying that paper illustrates all these varieties. I have also a coin of this type which I describe below :

Obverse : Six-arched hill with a dot in each arch. Fragmentary inscription.....(*Putā*) *sasi* (*ra*).....
Trace of Nahapāṇa's head.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with a pellet in each orb. Traces of arrow below. Pl. VII. 2.

1 J. N. S. I. Vol. VIII, pp. 111-118, pl. VII, 5.

2 J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. 22, pp. 223-244, pl. I-IV.

3 *Ibid* p. 241.

This coin is perforated. As the majority of perforated coins in the Jogaltembhi hoard were of Gautamīputra's¹, it is possible that this coin might have also come from that hoard, although I got it from a Bombay dealer.

The coin described by Dr. Altekar thus is identical in type with some of the types employed by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi to restamp Nahapāṇa's coins, and it may be safely concluded that it was issued by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.

As regards Rapson's conclusion regarding the change of type from three-arched to six-arched *chaitya* (hill), it may be pointed out that he is referring, not to silver coins, but to lead coins of fabric A found in Andhradeśa, the Kistna and Godavari Districts.²

There is, however, one remote possibility that may be mentioned. It is possible that the coin published by Dr. Altekar is actually a Nahapāṇa's coin restruck by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. If a badly worn coin of Nahapāṇa were stamped rather heavily, no trace of the original may be visible. Rev. Scott says, "In very many cases the counterstamp is such as to completely obliterate the inscriptions and symbols of Nahapāṇa".³ Four such coins (obverse) are illustrated by him in plate I accompanying his paper. As the photograph of Dr. Altekar's coin is not quite clear, it is not possible to say with any degree of certainty whether this coin is also of this kind. Personally I am inclined to think that Dr. Altekar's coin is an original issue and not a coin of Nahapāṇa restruck by Gautamīputra.

Barring the very unlikely possibility mentioned above, then, it may be concluded that :—

- (I) The coin published by Dr. Altekar is a coin of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.
- (II) Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi not only restamped the coins of Nahapāṇa but issued his own silver currency also.
- (III) So far as our present knowledge goes two Sātavāhana kings had their own silver currency,—Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi.

1 *Ibid* p. 224.

2 Rapson, *B. M. C. Andhras*, etc, p. lxx, lxxii.

3 *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 238.

DR. ALTEKAR'S REPLY.

I am very much thankful to Mr. Chinmulgund for this paper attempting to prove that the coin under discussion was issued not by Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi but by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. Sātavāhana coinage is still shrouded in so much obscurity that a thorough discussion of each new type is an urgent necessity. I am therefore particularly grateful to Mr. Chinmulgund for drawing our attention to the fact that the six-arched *chaitya* was already used by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi for restamping some of the coins of Nahapāṇa and we need not therefore assume, merely by the presence of such a *chaitya* on the coin under discussion, that it was issued by Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi.

I had stated in my paper, 'It appears very probable that the present coin was also issued by the same ruler (i.e. Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi) and we may safely complete its legend *Raño gotamīputasa Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇisa*'. Mr. Chinmulgund's arguments have not induced me to change my conclusion. It is clear that the six-arched *chaitya* was used by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, but the point at issue is whether he had issued any silver coins stamped with it. I still think that the reply to the question is in the negative.

The contents of the Jogalthembi hoard tend to disprove the theory of Mr. Chinmulgund. This hoard was a big one; it contained as many as 13,250 coins. But it consisted wholly of the coins of Nahapāṇa and of the coins of Nahapāṇa restruck by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. It does not contain any silver coins of Rudradāman I or of any of his successors. The hoard therefore was buried before the rise of that ruler and the cause of its burial can be easily surmised. Rudradāman wrested back northern Mahārāshṭra from Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's successor and the present hoard was buried obviously during the commotion of conquest at the time of Rudradāman's invasion, when life and property became unsafe at Nasik and induced its rich people to bury their hoards and fly for safety. Now if Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi had issued any silver coins of the type published by me, they should have been current in his reign and in the Nasik region, which was accustomed to the use of the silver currency during the Śaka rule. A banker who had collected in his hoard about 13,250 coins current in his life is not likely to have failed to get at least some specimens of Gautamīputra's silver currency, were it really current in Nasik after its annexation. If

Gautamīputra had decided to issue his own independent silver currency, he would have started the work in right earnest with a view to drive out the currency of the foreigner. The hoard of a rich banker of Nasik buried soon after that king's death could hardly have failed to include at least some specimens of the new currency. As a matter of fact, being new, the new currency might have become more common. But as matters stand, this immense hoard of several thousand coins contained *not a single silver coin* of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi issued independently. Does it not tend to show that Gautamīputra did not issue any independent silver currency of his own? The large preponderance of the restruck coins in the hoard tends to show that the new Government was content with recalling the currency of the vanquished king and restamping it with the symbols of the conqueror.

There is another circumstance going against Mr. Chinmulgund's view. The conquest of Nasik took place not much before the 18th year of the reign of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and he appears to have died soon after his 24th regnal year. There was probably not much time left for him to think of the issue of an independent silver currency, which had not been issued by any of his predecessors. Had he issued currency in the white metal, it is not unlikely that his immediate successor Vāsisthīputra Puṣumāvi should have issued at least some coins in its imitation. As it is, we have not so far found any of them.

All things considered, I am still inclined to stick to my view that the coin published by me is most probably an issue of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi. I have re-examined it and do not find any traces of restriking upon it. The possibility of the coin being a restruck coin of Nahapāna is thus excluded.

THIRTY-ONE SILVER COINS OF VĪRA-KĒRALA.¹

BY N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M. A.

Superintendent of Epigraphy, Ootumund.

In April 1945, Dr. A. Aiyappan, Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras, sent for examination to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, thirty-one silver coins he had received from the Collector of Tinnevely. At the time of sending them to the Government Epigraphist for India, Dr. Aiyappan had recognised that the coins were of the same description as No. 11 in Plate V of Rapson's *Indian Coins*, where, however, only the reading of the legend on the reverse had been given. He therefore requested the Government Epigraphist for India to decipher the legend on the obverse which had been left unread by Rapson. Dr. Chhabra very kindly entrusted me with the task. I succeeded in reading the obverse by scrutinising some of the well-preserved specimens, and in June of the same year I communicated the result of my examination to Dr. Aiyappan. I could not rest content with merely deciphering the inscription on the obverse of the coins. I considered it necessary to make a fuller study of the type and try to attribute it to a particular king. I therefore requested Dr. Aiyappan to permit me to publish an article on the coins, so that greater attention of the scholars might be drawn to their importance. He not only very kindly acceded to my request but also asked me to prepare a paper on them to be read at a meeting of the Archæological Society. Accordingly I have embodied my observations on the coins in this short paper, which is now being published in this *Journal*.

Dr. Aiyappan has informed me that these coins, which are now deposited in the Government Museum, Madras, were found as a treasure trove at Vaigaikulam village in the Sankarankoil Taluk of the Tinnevely District on the 25th May, 1944. The coins, which are in a very good state of preservation, are made of silver. They are nearly round in shape and on both sides the device and the legend are struck by a double die. All round the edge on either side of the coin are to be seen dots, as on many similar ancient types found in various parts of India. The measurement and the weight of the coins have been kindly annotated for me by Dr. Aiyappan. He reports

¹ 1. Paper read at the meeting of the Archæological Society of South India on 15th November 1947.

that their size varies from 1·7 c. m. to 1·9 c. m. and weight from 33·8 to 36·3 grains.

As already observed, a coin of this type has been published by Rapson in *Indian Coins* (Plate V, No. 11), where he has given the weight as 36·3 grains. He has not however described the symbols on the coin, though he has read the legend on the reverse as *Śrī-Vīrakṛaśya*. It is inscribed in two lines in Nāgarī characters, which are of about the 11th or 12th century after Christ. Between the two lines of the inscription there is a symbol of a crocodile or *makara* moving from right to left with its mouth wide open. Now let us examine the obverse. As on the reverse the legend, which is also in Nāgarī character, is in two lines. This legend, as I have pointed out above, has not been read by Rapson. The first line reads *Śrī-Gaṇḍa* and the second *raṁkuśaśya*. The inscription would thus be *Śrī-Gaṇḍa raṁkuśaśya*. Before proceeding further, I must mention that the late Dr. M. H. Krishna, the learned Director of Archaeology in Mysore, who has published a coin of this type,¹ has read this inscription as *Śrī-Gajāṅkuśaśya*. It may be observed here that he calls the side which contains this legend as the reverse. But his reading cannot be accepted for the following reasons. In the first place, the legend consists of seven syllables on all the coins where it is fully struck or preserved. If the reading *Śrī-Gajāṅkuśaśya* be accepted, the presence of a seventh syllable cannot be accounted for. Secondly, there is neither a sign of a long medial *ā* nor of an *anusvāra* attached to the third syllable of the first line. Dr. Krishna also admits the absence of the *anusvāra* by supplying the corresponding *anunāsika* in brackets. If this syllable is taken to be short *ja* (without the sign of medial *ā* or the *anusvāra*), the legend would be *Gajakuśaśya*, which yields no sense. But it is not possible to take this syllable as *ja* for it bears no resemblance to the Nāgarī *ja* prevailing in any part of India. Though the letter resembles to some extent the Grantha form of *ja*, it is difficult to postulate that only for this letter the Grantha symbol was used, while for all the other letters in the legends on both the sides of the coin Nāgarī characters were employed. Moreover, it can be clearly seen that this syllable is a conjunct consonant, and as such it can only be read as *ṇḍa*. Thirdly, there are four syllables in the second line which could not be the case if the legend were *Śrī-Gajāṅkuśaśya*. Fourthly on all the coins on which the first syllable of the second line

1. *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1934*, page 69, Plate XVIII No. 44

is preserved, it can be read without a shadow of doubt as *rami*.

In this connection it is interesting to observe that Dr. Krishna has stated in his remarks on the coin published by him that on a card with the coin in the British Museum, London,—apparently the same coin as the one published by Rapson—the late Dr. Fleet appears to have read this legend as *Śrī-Gandankuśaśya*. It is gratifying to note that this eminent epigraphist was inclined to regard the second syllable of the first line of the inscription as a conjunct consonant and not as *ja*. The dental *nda* which is reported to be this scholar's reading of the *akshara* is perhaps to be explained by supposing that either he omitted to affix the diacritical marks to the syllable, which would make it the cerebral *nda*, or that his reading has not been correctly quoted in the *Mysore Archaeological Report*. It may be pertinently asked why both Dr. Fleet and Dr. Krishna have been able to see only six syllables in the legend, while I take them to be seven. The answer is simple. Apparently the coins which they examined did not show the first syllable in the second line viz., *rami*. This surmise is borne out by the illustrations of the coins found in Rapson's work and in the *Mysore Archaeological Report* issued by Dr. Krishna. It may be noted, however, that in the plate containing the reproduction of the coin in the former of these two publications, traces of the syllable *rami*, are partly and faintly visible. I might state here that another large hoard of silver coins bearing the same legends and devices which were found in the year 1934-5 at Pandalgudi in the Ramnad District and the photographs of which have been examined by me, also reveals not only the presence of seven syllables in the legend on the obverse but also that the first *akshara* of the second line is *rami*. Their photo-negatives are now preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.¹ Dr. Fleet's reading of this legend, it is needless to point out, thus confirms the correctness of my reading. On the obverse of the coin also there is a device between the two lines of the Nāgarī legend. Rapson has not described it. Dr. Krishna says that it is a beetle. But after a minute examination of the symbol both on the coins under discussion and also on those found at Pandalgudi, I am inclined to take it as a *kumbha* or *kaluśa* with leaves of mango or some other evergreen hanging down from its mouth and probably a cocoanut placed in the centre at its top.

1. Nos. 1386 to 1389 of the list: App. D. of the *An. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1934-5.

Thus my final description of the coin¹ is as follows :—

Obverse : Nāgarī legend	Symbol
1. Śrī-Gaṇḍa-	<i>kumbha</i> or <i>kalāśa</i>
2. raṁkuśasya	between the two lines of the legend.
Reverse : Nāgarī legend	Symbol
1. Śrī-Vīra-	Crocodile or <i>makara</i> , facing proper right, open mouthed and in moving posture between the two lines of the legend.
2. kēralasya	

PI. VII, 4-5.

Having finished the description of the coins, let me now try to identify the ruler who issued them. The legends on both the sides afford a clue. There can be no doubt that both *Śrī-Vīrakēralasya* and *Śrī-Gaṇḍaramkuśasya* denote either the name or title of the royal personage who was responsible for striking these coins. It is well known that Kērala is the name of the Malayalam country and therefore Vīra-Kērala might well be the *biruda* of any ruler of that part of India. But it must be noted that Vīra-Kērala was the name and not *biruda* of some rulers of this region. So it is likely that one of them, who had that name, issued these coins. If we could find a Vīra-Kērala who was also known as Gaṇḍaramkuśa i. e., 'elephant-goad to the heroes', the identification would be very easy. This *biruda* or surname seems to be unique. *Gaṇḍarāditya* and *Gaṇḍara-gaṇḍa* are well-known *birudās* in the Chōla and Chālukya families, but I have not met with Gaṇḍaramkuśa anywhere else, though another variant of it in Kannaḍa viz., *Kaṭigal-āṇkuśa* is an appellation applied to certain chiefs of the Kannaḍa country. So this *biruda* is of no help to us in determining the identity of the king who issued the coins. We must now look for other means of identification. As already observed, the coins are assignable on palæographic grounds to the 11th or 12th century A. D., and therefore we must try to find a Vīra-Kērala who ruled during this period. The earliest reference that we have to a Vīra-Kērala is found in an inscription of the 29th year of the reign of the Chōla king Rājādhirāja (= A. D. 1046), where the former is stated to have been seized in a battle and was trampled down by the latter's furious elephant Attivāraṇa.² No doubt the date of this

1. I have followed Rapson in indicating the sides of the coin as obverse and reverse, and not Dr. M. H. Krishna who reversed the order.

2. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, pp. 51 ff.

record, and consequently that of Vira-Kērala mentioned in it, falls within the period to which our coins belong. But we know nothing more about this ruler from any other source and therefore we have no means of ascertaining whether he could be the person who issued the coins. One point however which has to be considered here is whether this Vira-Kērala was an independent ruler, who could strike coins in his own name. According to Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, the veteran South-Indian Epigraphist,¹ "During the entire period of the Chōla supremacy in Southern India which ranged from the time of Rājarāja I and ended with the reign of Vīrarājendra and of his able Chālukya-Chōla successor Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I, the rulers of the Pāṇḍya and Kērala dominions appear not to have been left undisputed lords of their own territory and to have had no real power. Accordingly, the part played by them is too insignificant to take any note. The existence of the inscriptions of Rājarāja I, Rājendra-Chōla I, Rājādhirāja I, Vīrarājendra and Kulōttuṅga I in the Kērala dominion is sufficient proof that their over-lordship was well recognised in that quarter. This same fact also accounts for the absence of *Vēṇāḍu* records from the Kollam year 160 to 300 (=985-1125 A. D.) It is thus almost certain that Vira-Kērala, who was the contemporary of Rājādhirāja I, did not probably enjoy sovereign powers to be able to issue coins. He is not therefore likely to be the Vira-Kērala, whose name appears on our coins. The next *Vēṇāḍu* king who had the name Vira-Kērala is Vira-Kēralavarman, who reigned about 80 years after the Vira-Kērala figuring in Rājādhirāja's inscription. His only stone record, which is dated Kollam 302 (=A. D. 1127), has been found at Chōlapuram near Nagercoil². About this ruler Mr. Subrahmanya Ayyar says that *Vēṇāḍu* kings emerge out of this oblivion, which has been referred to above (i. e., domination of the Chōlas), in Kollam 302 with Vira-Kēralavarman. It is therefore possible that he was responsible for issuing the coins under discussion here. Let us see, however, whether there was any other ruler named Kēralavarman in the period under discussion i. e., 11th and 12th centuries. After Vira-Kēralavarman noticed above, there was a king called Kōḍai Kēralavarman, whose inscriptions range in date from Kollam 320 to 326 (=A. D. 1145 to 1151). It is not certain whether he was the immediate successor of Vira-Kēralavarman, for no inscriptions dated between Kollam 302 to 320 have yet been discussed. Though this chief is called Kēralavarman, he was not Vira-Kērala but Kōḍai-

1. *An. Rep. of the Trav. Arch. Department* for 1920-21, p. 54.

2. *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 17.

Kēralavarman. It is therefore very doubtful if the coins could be attributed to him with any degree of certainty. We have now exhausted all the Vira-Kēralas of the 11th and 12th centuries. As there is generally not much perceptible difference in palaeography within a quarter of a century, we may also see if there were any Vira-Kēralas a little before the commencement of the 11th century and a little after the close of the 12th century. That there was no king of the name of Vira-Kērala or who had that *biruda* before A. D. 1125-26, we have already seen. Coming to the 13th century, Vira-Rāman-Kēralavarman, who was also called Vira-Dēvadarān-Kēralavarman, is known from inscriptions to have ruled from Kollam 384 to 390 (= A. D. 1209 to 1215). His successor was Vira-Ravi-Kēralavarman, otherwise known as Vira-Kēralavarman; his dates range from Kollam 392 to 412 i.e., from A. D. 1217 to 1237. The entire period of the former's reign and the first 9 years of that of the latter are well within the limit I have set for consideration. It is to be noted, however, that while Vira-Rāman-Kēralavarman is nowhere mentioned simply as Vira-Kēralavarman i.e., without the addition of the name Rāman or Dēvadarān, his successor Vira-Ravi-Kēralavarman is called by the plain appellation of Kēralavarman, which is the one found on the coins. Though it is not impossible that either of these two might be the person who struck the coins, it is more probable that it was Ravi-Kērala who was responsible for minting them. But as neither of them is credited with any outstanding achievement, it is doubtful if the present coins could be attributed to any one of them. Here I might be asked why it is that I have failed to take account of the most famous and the most powerful of the Vira-Kēralas, namely, Ravivarman-Kulaśekhara who had the titles Jayasinha-Vira-Kerala, Saṅgrāmadhīra, Dakṣiṇa-Bhōja etc. The reason for this omission is obvious; the initial year of his reign is A. D. 1299,—almost the beginning of the 14th century. As a matter of fact there were many more Vira-Kēralas after him.

We have thus examined the factors pertinent to our enquiry in the case of all the rulers who had the name or title, Vira-Kērala or Kērala, viz.,

1. Vira-Kērala of 1046 A. D.
 2. Vira-Kērala of 1127 A. D.
 3. Kōdai Kērala who reigned from 1145 to 1151 A. D.
 4. Vira-Rāman-Kērala (1209 to 1237 A. D.)
 5. Vira-Ravi-Kērala or Vira-Kērala (1217 to 1237 A. D.)
- Of these No. 1 was not an independent ruler and therefore he

may be left out of consideration. No. 3 is also not quite likely to be the ruler who struck the coins, because he is not actually a Vira-Kērala. Nos. 4 and 5 reigned in the 13th century, but palæographic considerations would point more to a date in the 11th and 12th centuries if not a little earlier. The only Vira-Kērala now left is No. 2. There are more reasons than one which would favour the attribution of these coins to this king with greater probability than to any other. In the first place his reign falls within the period indicated by the palæography of the coins. Secondly, as pointed out above, he regained independence by shaking off the yoke of the Chōla overlordship, retrieving the fortunes of his country which had fallen into the hands of his enemies for over a century. It is therefore very likely that in order to commemorate this great event, he issued a new coinage, in accordance with the age-long practice obtaining among the royal families of India.

Now let us consider the devices on the coins. The symbol on the obverse, as we have seen, is a *kumbha* or *kalaśa*. What does this signify? From the time of the R̥gveda up to the present day the *purnakumbha* is considered to be an auspicious symbol indicating fullness, joy and prosperity among the Hindus, and the same is the case also among the Jains and the Buddhists. During rituals and religious ceremonies of an auspicious nature the *kalaśa* is even today set up and worshipped in all Hindu houses. It is common knowledge that it is largely employed in sculpture, architecture and paintings as a decorative design. There are innumerable references to it in Vedic as well as classical Sanskrit literature. The emblem is also found on some early coins and on the seals of some copper plate grants. It is possible that it has the same significance even on the coins of Vira-Kērala. The representation of the crocodile on the reverse may indicate that the ruler had a command over a large tract of coastland and was the lord of a sea-faring people. I may be permitted, however, to suggest an alternative interpretation of these symbols. One of them, the *kumbha* or the *makara* may stand for the *rāśi* or the zodiacal sign in which the king was born. It is a common practice among the kings of Kērala to be named after the asterism in which they are born. Even today the kings of Travancore are called after the *nakshatra* of their birth. As it is not easy to represent any particular asterism on a coin, the *rāśi* to which the *nakshatra* belonged, might have been depicted. Similarly the device on the other side may indicate the solar month in which the king ascended the throne or the month in which he issued the coin, as these months take the names of the twelve Zodiacal signs. Of the five rulers noted above, the star of birth of

only one, namely Vīra-Rāman-Kēralavarman, is known and that is Śravaṇa, which belongs to *makara-rāśi*. But as it is not definitely known which of the two devices on the coin represents the natal star of the king, I would not venture merely on this basis, to attribute the coins to him. Future discoveries alone must show the correctness or otherwise of my theory.¹

1. I am much obliged to Mr. M. Venkataramayya for some references and suggestions.

ANCIENT AND MEDIAEVAL COINS OF ORISSA.

BY ADRIS BANERJI, M. A., NALANDA MUSEUM.

Primitive man had no need of currency. On the whole Palaeolithic man lived a far more simpler life than his Neolithic successor, and it became more complex with his Aneolithic and Chalcolithic descendants. In Neolithic times the isolated existence of families came to an end ; more or less settled communities grew up. The influence of agriculture and the art of domestication of animals brought about a profound change. They engendered community life in villages. With the villages came division of labour ; a man who was good at chipping flints found himself to be tool-maker of the party. To some was delegated the task to sew the hides in order to cover the bodies, some went to hunting, some to plough the fields. This division of labour brought in barter.

But barter was merely a makeshift arrangement, whose disadvantages became apparent with the growth of population. "However narrow the limits of a district, however small the population of a village, those mutual wants by which the necessities of exchange were conditioned are bound to make themselves felt at different times and seasons ; the odds are all against the tailor being down at heel at the exact moment when the shoemaker was out at elbow¹." So early man had to find a commodity which could easily be exchanged to meet his needs ; and that substance was metal.²

Exactly when value first came to be attached to gold we do not know. Nevertheless Mr. C. Seltmann seems to be correct in thinking that mankind first learnt to value, next to weigh and last of all to stamp metal ; or in other words, evolved from barter a metallic currency, abandoned mere currency for money and then mere money for coinage.³

PUNCH-MARKED COINS

The earliest of Indian coins are known as Punch-Marked Coins. In the early years of this century, the general belief was that they were issued by guilds and bankers. A mass of

1. G. Macdonald—*The Evolution of Coinage*, (Cambridge Mannuals of Science & Literature). Cambridge, 1916. pp. i-2.

2. [Cow or some other cattle as a means of exchange was an intermediate stage, amply attested to by the Vedic literature. A.S.A.]

3. C. Seltman—*Greek Coins* (Methuens Handbook of Archaeology), London, 1988. p. 1.

evidence since garnered, literary as well as archæological, has proved that it was a currency if not a coinage. The labours of Spooner, D. R. Bhandarkar and R. D. Banerji and later on of Walsh, and Durgaprasad have not been in vain. What is more, it is now recognized that those are not all of the same age and as in Bairat in Jaipur State, they were replaced by Greek coins in some areas. They were stamped with several dies and hence the name. Ancient Orissa was not unfamiliar with this currency, for a find of 500 of these silver coins was reported in 1940 from Bamanghati sub-division of the Mayurbhanj State. These are being studied by a scholar. Nothing is known at present about the particular class or classes represented in this hoard.

GUPTA COINS

A unique find of three gold coins of the Archer type of Chandragupta II was made in 1939, at Bhanupur, on the left bank of the Son river, in the Mayurbhanj State.¹ In 1944-45, a hoard of Gupta gold coins was reported from Panchpir (Khiching area) subdivision of the Mayurbhanj state of which only one Archer type could be recovered.² The discovery of the Gupta coins, though rare, may tend to show Gupta influence over Orissa.

SO-CALLED PURI KUSHĀNA COINS

The next series of historical coins from Orissa are commonly designated the 'Puri-Kushāna Coins'. Formerly they were taken to be temple tokens.³ But the subsequent evidence made the theory untenable.

FINDS—The first recorded find of the so-called Puri-Kushāna coins was made in the Ganjam district in 1858. They were found four miles west of Purushottampur close to the modern village of Pandya where the remains of an extensive but now deserted town, surrounded by the ruins of a lofty wall, was reported.⁴

The second find was made in the Puri District of the present province of Orissa in 1893. It consisted of 548 coins of copper found buried in a small jar, 2' below the surface,

1. *J. N. S. I*, vol. II, p. 125.

2. I owe this information to Mr. P. Acharya, B.Sc.

3. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 13.

4. *The Madras Journal of Literature & Sciences*, Ed. by Committee of Madras Literary Society and auxiliary Asiatic Society, 1858, pp. 75-78. Cf. also *Ind. Cult.* vol. III, p. 726.

while excavating earthworks at the Gurbat Salt Factory at Manikratna.¹

On 31st May 1917, 363 coins were discovered on the northern slope of Rakha hills in the district of Singhbhum. They were found buried at a depth of 1' below the surface and three of them were lying exposed to the view. No mould was discovered; nor any evidence of the existence of a mint was found. According to the information supplied by Mr. C. Olden, then Superintendent of the Cape Copper Company Ltd., Rakha Hill Mines; an old road runs past the place of find in close proximity of a river, within a quarter mile of ancient copper workings and surrounded by copper slag heaps. It is possible that the mint might have been erected near the spot.²

Nine hundred and ten copper coins of the so-called Purī-Kushāna type were sent by the Collector, Balasore, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1912, and were deposited in the Indian Museum by the latter.³

In 1923 another hoard of the same type of coins in association with copper issues of Kanishka and Huvishka was found at Bhanjajakia in the Panchpir sub-division of the Mayurbhanj State.⁴

The late Mr. R. D. Banerji refers to a hoard of 282 coins, then recently discovered in Mayurbhanj state. Of these 170 were so-called Purī-Kushāna coins and 112 of Imperial Great Kushānas. It is not clear from his account where it was found.⁵

Mr. P. Acharya refers to the find of 'Purī-Kushāna' coins during the excavations of Virātgarh, at Khiching, in association with imperial Kushāna coins. Some of them were 'double pieces'.

In May 1939, 105 'Purī-Kushāna' coins were found in a brass pot at Nuagaon, 3 miles east of Joshipur, and nearly 3 miles west of Bhanjajakia in Mayurbhanj State.

The same authority reports having collected few of these coins found at Sitabinjhi, in Keonjhar State.⁶

TECHNIQUE—The publication of Prof. Birbal Sahni's monumental labours on Technique of manufacture of early

1. *P.A.S.B.*, 1895, p. 63.

2. *J.L.O.R.S.*, vol. v, pp. 73-4.

3. *A. R., A. S. I.*, 1924-25, p. 130.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 132

5. R. D. Banerji *History of Orissa*, vol. i, Calcutta, 1930, pp. 111-15.

6. *J. N. S. I.*, vol. 11, p. 124.

Indian coins, has made further studies easier. Greater observation and collection of data will undoubtedly help to garner a mass of evidence to supplement this *magnum opus*. I therefore cannot check the temptation of making few observations on this point. The Viratgarh find possessed many twin coins which, 'when broken would turn into two single coins'. According to Mr. Acharya, many of the coins found at Bhañjakia, Khiching, and Nuagaon, contained frills of the molten metal from the edges of the mould.¹ The method of casting might not have differed from that of the Yaudheya coins described by Dr. Birbal Sahni in his Memoir.

TYPES—Mr. Elliot's account does not help us much in determining the types of the coins found by him. Dr. Hoernle, however, definitely tells us that the coins found in the hoard could be divided into two broad groups, die struck 47 and cast 501. Both these groups were again sub-divided into five sub-groups according to the variety of their types.² According to Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, all the coins of the Rakha Mines Find, belong, with the exception of one coin, to Class III of Hoernle. But two different varieties of this class were noticed. The first, where the clothing of the figure of the god on the reverse, bears some resemblance to that of Kushāṇa coins; and the second, as in other coins not illustrated, in which, the figure on the reverse is wearing a coat, similar to that of the King on the obverse. In regard to the boot also there were two varieties, namely with boots shorter and turned up, and with the boots shown at much greater length and horizontally.³ One coin of the Rakha Hill Mines find was of surpassing interest. Hitherto all the so-called Purī-Kushāṇa coins bore no legend, but this particular coin had a legend on the obverse. Three cones had taken the place of the Kushāṇa king and below them was the word *ṭaṅkā*.⁴ According to late Mr. R. D. Banerji the letter *Ka* is still without the acute angle which is the characteristic of this letter from the 7th century. From this he opined that, these *ṭaṅkā* coins were issued before the middle of the 7th century A. D., possibly in the sixth century.⁵

The Balasore hoard on the other hand included 63 coins with the legend *ṭaṅkā* inscribed on them. In this group Pandit Binodbehari Bidyabinod distinguished four different types,

1. *Ibid.* p. 124.

2. These types have been already discussed by R. D. Banerji in his *History of Orissa*, but they are briefly described here at the instance of Dr. Altekar to make the paper self-contained.

3. *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. v, p. 76.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 83-4.

according to the position of the crescent and the sun and the attitude of the figures. The Bhañjakia hoard contained two coins with the legend *ṭanka*.¹

OBSERVATIONS—Except these stray notices few have so far attempted to assess these hoards critically. Some of these have been distributed and the whole lot of them cannot be examined, yet they have raised questions which now require to be thoroughly examined. Only two scholars have so far made creditable attempts,—late R. D. Banerji in his *History of Orissa* and Mr. S.K. Bose in the *Indian Culture*. Yet their investigations have far from solved the problems they have raised. The first and foremost question in numismatology is the denominations and fractions, which can only be settled either by re-examination of the hoards or by a study of fresh finds. The weight of the coins of the Rakha Mines find vary from 39.33 to 87.10 grains, while the coins found in the Puri district vary from 106 to 211 grains.² Mr. P. Acharya, probably with good justification says that the Khiching find contained full, half and quarter coins, but greater elucidation of this point will be very interesting.³

The find of these coins, in association with the copper issues of the Imperial Kushānas also raises a very important point. They seem to have been contemporary with these imperial issues, if they had not supplemented them. The find of coins of Kanishka and Huvishka, along with these coins, seems to corroborate this theory. Indeed the diffusion of the coins of Kanishka, and his immediate successors is great. Little is known of the fact, that hundreds of uncharted ruined sites, in the Basti district of the United Provinces, yield such coins, and I saw a number of these in possession of Pandit Amarnath Shukla, a pioneer of archæological researches in this frontier district of India. Gold and silver may be carried to most distant lands, due to extensive commercial intercourse, but the find of copper coins raises the presumption of their use in the locality. In 1940, in the bazars of Mathura, I found that coins of Gwalior and Bharatpur are extensively used, which will not be the case in Calcutta, Benares or Bombay. The contiguity of the territories is the only explanation. The silver coins of the great Kushānas have been found in East Bengal;⁴ therefore the occurrence of copper coins in Orissa need not surprise us. But what is interesting is their occurrence at such widely separated places as Ganjam, Barabhum, Puri, Singhbhum, Mayurbhanj, and

1. *A. R.*, *A. S. I.*, 1924-25, pp. 130-32.

2. *J. B. O. R. S.*, vol. v, p. 77; and *P.A.S.B.*, 1896 p. 65.

3. *J. N. S. I.* vol. II, p. 124.

4. *J. P. A. S. B.*, vol. xxviii, (NS), pp. 18ff.

Balasore. In the first instance they prove, that the hypothesis that these were temple tokens must now be given up. They were current in the ancient provinces of Suhma, Odra, Kalinga and Utkala.¹ Secondly, they indicate that they were not issued by any minor local dynasty of Orissa, but by a line of monarchs who had some claim to paramountcy. But history at present is not aware of any such dynasty.

The late R. D. Banerji propounded the theory that it is quite possible that when northern and southern Bihar were annexed to the empire of the great Kushāṇas, Orissa and the eastern seaboard as far as the Rishikulya and the Languliya rivers were also conquered.² Dr. A. S. Altekar in a letter to me has very rightly pointed out that this theory requires to be re-examined. Dr. S. K. Bose has in great detail examined the question of occurrence of the coins of the great Kushāṇas, with the so-called Purī-Kushāṇa coins; and there is no need to go into the question.³ But the point whether these were imitation of Kushāṇa coins struck in Orissa or whether they were actually coined in Kushāṇa mints will remain a matter of controversy. The very few coins I was privileged to examine, seemed to suggest that they were not Kushāṇa imitations. Then I had not seen the coins found in Basti district, and I now feel confident that they are the real Kushāṇa issues, which like the imperial Guptas, were imitated for a long time in early mediæval Orissa and were supplanted by the *tanḱā* coins.

Paucity of materials, as far as Orissan numismatics is concerned, is bewildering. Very few treasure-trove finds have been recorded, and described; and as far as spade is concerned, Orissa is still a *terra incognita* to the Indian archaeologists.³ This, it is true, does not prove that materials do not exist, but no interest seems to have been taken except by a few pioneers, even regarding Muhammadan coins. It is to be hoped that the newly established Kalinga Research Society will be able to rouse popular interest.

FANAMS

Balpur is a little hamlet on the left bank of the Mahanadi in the Bilaspur district of the Central Province. According to Mr. L. P. Pandeya many Buddhist coins (?) and those of Hindu dynasties found there prove that it was a place of importance in the Mahākośala country. Two gold and one silver coins were described by Mr. Pandeya, having been found on 2nd

1. *A. R., A. S. I.*, 1924-25, p. 132.

2. *History of Orissa*, vol. i, p. 115.

3. *Indi. Culi.*, vol. iii, pp. 726ff.

August, 1925.¹ Mr. Pandeya's description is very unsystematic, he having forgotten to distinguish between 'obverse' and 'reverse.' According to Mr. Pandeya one side contained the letters *sa* and *ra* very distinctly. Below them was an animal figure, probably that of a lion. The coins are believed to be of the 9th or the 10th century A. D. and were supposed to have been issued by the Kesari dynasty of Orissa and Kośala. The other side has probably lines with dots. But Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal does not agree with this view.²

In 1896 the late Dr. Hultzsch described four gold coins of four distinct varieties.

- I. Obverse:—A recumbent bull facing proper left, with a conch in front and crescent above.

Reverse:—(In two lines) *Sa (ṁvat)*.

- II. Obverse:—Bull as in No. I. but accompanied by a crescent only.

Reverse:—*Sa (ṁvat)* 4.

- III. Obverse:—Bull as in No. I with a *liṅgam* in front and a crescent above.

Reverse:—*Sa(mvat)* 7.

- IV. Obverse;—Bull facing proper right with the Sun (?) in front and crescent above.³

Reverse:—*Sa (ṁvat)* 5

According to Dr. Hultzsch these four coins were obtained by Mr. Fawcett, probably from the Ganjam district and are to be assigned to the Gaṅga dynasty whose crest was the Bull. He was also inclined to the view that they were issued by Anantavarman Chōḍa-Gaṅga.

In November, 1896, 42 coins were received by the late Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle. Of these 22 were Bahmani coins and 20 other gold pieces. In the latter group, 18 coins had small gold loops attached to them, by which they were threaded to a piece of string forming probably a small necklace.⁴ The coins were thin and their average weight being from 6.5 to 8

1. *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, vol. iii, pp. 181-2.

2. I agree with the Rai Bahadur and consider the ascription to be very fanciful.

3. *IA.* vol. xxv, p. 822, nos. 30-33 and plate.

4. This habit is even now prevalent amongst high class Indian ladies, who make necklace of guineas.

grains. These 18 coins and two pieces from Dhenkanal were locally called *Hoons*.

The obverses of all these coins were alike. They have the figure of a recumbent Bull to the right, with the conch shell in front and another symbol of varying form to the right. Only in one specimen, no. 28, the Bull was turned to the left. The reverse is also similar, with the exception of one specimen. The usual type is a kind of irregular oblong quadrangle between two distinct symbols. Below the quadrangle are one or two numerals, and above it, a short legend of three *aksharas*. The legend in the majority of cases was very much defaced, though Dr. Hultzsch was of opinion that in most cases it may have never existed at all. The rest were not very distinct and could be tentatively read as *Srī-Gaṅga*. There were figures under the Bull, giving the following numbers:—3, 4, 8, 9, 13, 19, 31, 33, 34, and 44. Of these 3 occurs on one specimen, four on three, 13 and 19 on one each, 31 on six, 33 on three, 34 on two and 44 on one. The single exception of a reverse type referred to above is that, on this particular coin the oblong was wanting, the legend *Srī-Gaṅga* is in rather large type and the figure 44 enclosed between two upright strokes takes up the whole reverse.

Nos. 25-26 were considered to be ornamental pieces, though they may have been struck from the same coin die. On the obverse side no. 26 has a rosette, while no. 25 has a Garuḍa figure standing to the left. The reverse of both the pieces are blank. Dr. Hultzsch took the oblong to be *Sa*, an abbreviation of the word *samvat*, and thought that numbers probably signified years. But he ascribed all the coins to Anantavarman Choḍa-Gaṅga.¹

That these coins were issued by the Gaṅga kings of Kalinga, there cannot be any doubt. But both Dr. Hultzsch and Dr. Hoernle seem to have gone too far in ascribing all these coins to Anantavarman Choḍa-Gaṅga, whereas it is not certain whether they were issued by the early or the later Gaṅgas of Kalinga. These series of dates on the coins described by Dr. Hoernle with every justification, may have been issued by the early Gaṅga kings, whose dates are now well known and not by Choḍa-Gaṅga alone.

According to Mr. R. Subba Rao, the Gaṅga and Kadamba gold coins are at present called *varige-parikahe*, which means brinjal seeds, as they look like them, and *pūjā-chinhams*, which means symbols of worship, as they were used in the worship of gods and Brahmins. They are generally found after heavy rains, at old historical places, like Kalinga-paṭṭanam, Mukha-

1. J. A. S. B., 1897, pt. i, pp. 144-45.

liṅgam, Dantapuram etc. They are also called *Gaṅga-fanams* or *Matsya fanams* according to the device they bear. About 29 Gaṅga and Kadamba gold coins were described by the same scholar. But unfortunately, he forgot to describe separately the Gaṅga and Kadamba issues and the plate accompanying his contribution was so badly produced that it is very difficult to check his descriptions.¹

In the coin cabinets of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, there is a fine specimen of the so-called Gajapati pagoda.²

Observe :—Elephant standing to the right; symbol or character in front.

Reverse :—An arabesque design.

The coin is ascribed to Kapilendra by the late R. D. Banerji.

MUSLIM PERIOD COINS

Most of the Muslim coins discussed below have already been published and the present writer was unable to ascertain whether additional materials do not exist in private hands, with two exceptions. First of these is Mr. P. Acharya, State Archaeologist, Mayurbhanj, who stated that several late Mughal coins and those of East India Company are in the State Museum. Secondly comes Mr. P. C. Rath, B. Ed., Superintendent of Archaeology, Patna State, who has also supplied me similar information. I have to thank Dr. A. S. Altekar for drawing my attention to the last named gentleman. It is high time that these coins should be examined and results published, even if they do not possess any intrinsic value. The earliest Muslim coin attributable to any part of Orissa, is one of Ikhtyār-ud-din (Mughis-ud-din) Yuzbak, who governed Bengal from 644 A. H. = 1246 A.D. This coin was first noticed by Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle, who noted that the coin weighed 171 grains of silver; Mint: Lakhnāuti; issued in the month of Ramzan 653 A. H. (= 1255 A. D.). This money was said to be derived from the land revenue of Badan and Nawadiya, which were identified with Burdwan and Nadiya. The coin is now kept in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.³ The reading of the marginal legend on the reverse was challenged by the late R. D. Banerji who proposed to read it as ARZ-BARDAN

1. *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, vol. v, pp. 249-50.

2. V. A. Smith—*Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, vol. i, p. 318, pl. xxx, no. 18, cf. also *History of Orissa*, vol. i, p. 304. I have considerable doubts about the term 'arabesque.'

3. *J.A.S.B.*, 1881, pt. i. p. 61; H. N. Wright—*Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, vol. ii, pt. ii, p. 246, no. 6. Oxford, 1907.

and Nudiya and identified it with Bardhan Kuti in north Bengal.¹ But later in life he changed his opinion and decided to read it as Armardan or ARZ-MARDAN and identified it with Umardan in Orissa.² We find the following information in the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri*. "The following year, however, Malik Yuzbak asked assistance from the court of Delhi, then marched an army from Lakhnāuṭi into the territory of Umardan, and unexpectedly reached the Rae's (Rae of Jajnagar) capital, which city (town) they style Umurdaṇ. The Rae of that place retired before Malik Yuzbak and the whole of the Rae's family.³In his opinion Arz-Bardan was to be identified with Amardan or Umardan. Orissa was finally subdued by Sulaiman Karrani, but no coins of this prince or his son Daud Khan issued from any mint in Orissa have so far been found.

The coins found at Parimalagiri in the Patna State, are a class by themselves. They were not found in a hoard, but in a small pot, by digging a hole and further by excavations. They are all of gold. and have been ascribed to Chauhan King Rāmadeva (c. 1212-1271 A. D.). All the coins were of same type and weighed from 7.37 to 7.42 grains.

Obverse:—In the centre Lion, in front of which is a conch.
Above the lion wheel or *chakra*, to the left of which is a pair of snakes.

Reverse:—Legend *Srī Rāma* (1st line)

Patana (2nd line)

The third line gives dates in numerals.⁴

The characters of the legend belong to c. 13th. century.

Orissa was annexed to the Mughal empire in the reign of Akbar 982 A. H.=1574 A. D. For a time, Orissa was given to Daud Khan, to be held as a fefee of the emperor, but the former soon revolted with the result that Orissa became a part of Mughal dominions. It is possible that coins were issued in Akbar's name from some city in Orissa but no specimen has been brought to our notice. The earliest coin of the Mughals struck at Kaṭak (Sic. Cuttak) belongs to Jāhāngir's reign, dated in 1036 H., and is now in possession of Mr. H. Nelson Wright.⁵ The ancient city of Kaṭak was

1. *J. & P. A. S. B.* (N. S.), vol. ix, p. 288.

2. *Hist. of Orissa*, vol. i, p. 266.

3. H. G. Raverty-*Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, Vol. ii (transl) p. 768, note 4.

4. *J. N. S. I*, v. pp. 61-4

5. *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, vol III Introduction, p. lviii.

known in these days as Kaṭak-Bānāras. The coin cabinets of the Indian Museum have the following coins issued from Kaṭak.

Shāhjehan.....1 (No. 960).

Aurangzeb.....6 (Nos. 1099, 1102, 1379-82).

Farrukh-Siyar.....1 (No. 1931).

In 1751 A. D., Orissa was ceded to the Marathas, but for the next six years, coins continued to be struck in the name of the titular Mughal emperor Ahamad Shah. To this period belongs the strange series of coins issued from Kaṭak now in the Indian Museum.¹ Some coins with their mint at Kaṭak are also kept in the Lahore Museum, now in Pakistan.²

Prof. A. S. Altekar suggested to me that enquiry should be made as to whether any other mint existed in Orissa during Mughal times. So far we do not know of any other mint. But we cannot dogmatically assert that no other mints existed. It may be that other mint towns may come to light, if the coins in private collections become available for study. The object of the present paper is to rouse popular interest in this neglected branch of Indian Archæology. Let me hope that it will induce private collectors to come forward with their coins for examination and publication, which will considerably help the progress of knowledge.

1. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. lviii Nos. 2111-12, 2114-84.

2. Whitehead-*Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol. III Oxford. 1914. Introduction, p. xcv.

A UNIQUE GOLD TANKAH OF RUKNUDDIN IBRAHIM I, SULTAN OF DELHI.

BY MAJOR P. S. TARAPORE, HYDERABAD DN.

Metal. Gold.

Wt. 167.97 grs. Size 1.15"

Mint. Delhi. Date 695 A. H.

Obverse.

Reverse.

In double square within circle,

السلطان الاعظم
ركن الدين، والدين
ابراهيم شاه
السلطان بن

السلطان الاعظم
جلال الدين، والدين
نوروز شاه ناصر
امير المؤمنين

Margin

ضرب هذه الفضة بحضرت دهلي
في سنة خمس و ثمانين وستمائة

Pl. VIII A, 1

This is the only gold tankah of this Khalji Sultan of Delhi that has been discovered. Owing to his short regime his coins are extremely rare and so far only two silver tankahs, and a few billon and copper coins, are known¹.

1. Vide, *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi* by H. Nelson Wright, page 105.

A UNIQUE GEMINI ZODIACAL HALF-RUPEE OF JEHANGIR.

BY MAJOR P. S. TARAPORE, HYDERABAD DN.

Metal, silver.

Wt., 85.64 grs ; size, .63"

Mint, Ahmadabad.

Date 1027 H. Month Khurdad Illahi, represented by the
Zodiacal sign Gemini

Obverse

بادشاه
۱۰۲۷
اکبر
جهانگیر بادشاه
ضرب احمد آباد

Reverse

The couple embracing in sitting
posture ; behind, the sun.

Pl. VIII A, 2

This is the only genuine Zodiacal Gemini half-rupee known, and is the same coin referred to in the Presidential Address of the Numismatic Society, 1946, as having been discovered by Mr. Gyani. (Vide *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. VIII part II page 96). A Zodiacal half-rupee of Leo-Amardad, 13th R. Y. has already been published by Dr. Geo. P. Taylor in the N. S. No. V. Article 33, Pl. V-1.

The regnal year is not visible on the reverse of the present coin, but it must be the 13th year of Jehangir's accession, when he was at Ahmadabad. It is a known fact that the Zodiacal coins were inaugurated on 23rd Farwardi of 13 R. Y. Khurdad-Gemini XIII R. Y. began on the 26th Jumad-ul-Awaal 1027 H. and ended on 27th Jumad-ul-Sani 1027 H. It could not possibly be of XIV R. Y., as Khurdad-Gemini XIV R. Y. began on 7th Jumad-ul-Sani 1028 H., whereas the coin under review is clearly of 1027 H. and, therefore, the regnal year must be the 13th. According to Jehangir's own Autobiography, Tujuk-i-Jehangiri I, it appears that he entered the city of Ahmadabad on Friday 7th Ardibihist in his 13th R. Y., corresponding to 1st Jumadu-ul-Awaal 1027 H.¹ (*Memoirs of Jehangir* Vol. II, p. 9, translated by Rodgers & Beveridge) and left the place for Agra on 21st Shahrivar in his 13th R. Y.,² correspond-

1. *Memoirs of Jehangir*. Tr. by Rodgers and Beveridge, vol. II, p. 9

2. *Ibid*, p. 31

ing to 22nd Ramazan 1027 H. ; i. e. he stayed at Ahmadabad for almost 4 months and 15 days due to an outbreak of a virulent epidemic of plague at Agra, which compelled him to remain during that period at Ahmadabad in spite of its unhealthy and unsuitable climate. As the climate of Gujarat was very pleasant during the monsoon, Jehangir decided to spend the monsoon of 1027 H. in Ahmadabad and then proceeded to Agra, his capital. This clearly indicates that the coin must have been struck at Ahmadabad during the month of Khurdad (Gemini) between 26th Jumad-ul-Awaal 1027 H. and 27th Jamad-ul-Sani 1027 H., when Jehangir was residing there.

Taking all the evidence into consideration and the valuable table published in N. S. No. XLI article 281 "The Chronology of the Zodiacal coins" by late Prof. S. H. Hodivala, this Zodiacal half-rupee is a genuine piece, as shown by artistical, chronological and historical considerations. Further more, it was struck from a die for silver coins.

ANOTHER UNIQUE SILVER COIN OF SIKANDAR SHAH OF GUJARAT.

BY MAJOR P. S. TARAPORE, HYDERABAD DN.

In an article published by Mr. C. R. Singhal of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, a unique coin of Sikandar Shah of Gujarat, which was not hitherto known, was figured and brought to the notice of numismatists. The coin is now with the Archæological Department of Baroda. The coin was dated 932 A. H. and the weight 209·5 grs. and size ·9" with a mint mark τ over ن of مظفر such as is found on Muhammada-
bad alias Champanair Mint of Gujarat Sultans (*J. N. S. I.* Vol. IV Page 151—153, Pl. XIII C). I have a similar coin of the same denomination weighing 207·869 grs., ·92" in size and dated 932 A. H. but an extra 'Alif' is found on the obverse between ل and الله thus بالله is written بالله which is evidently a die-cutter's mistake. This coin is figured below together with another unique coin of smaller denomination, $\frac{1}{2}$ of the full of 30 unit piece, of the same ruler, the weight of which is 103·39 grs. size ·8" and date 932 A. H. (Pl. VIII A, 3-4). This coin however has no similar mint mark on the reverse, but a small circle over ن of مظفر and was probably issued from another mint.

Obverse.

Within a circle scalloped circle
with dots between them.

بالله الممان
الراشق
الفتح
ناصر
ابر
الانبياء والدين

Reverse.

In scalloped circle as on
obverse.

المملطان
شاه شاه
مظفر ٩٣٢
سكندر بن

Mint mark O over ن of مظفر

Pl. VIII A 3-4

AHMADĀBĀD COINS OF NĀDIR SHĀH.

BY MR. M. K. THAKORE, B. A., LL. B., BOMBAY CIVIL
SERVICE (JDL.), CIVIL JUDGE, KOPARGAON.

Coins of Nādir Shāh of the year A. H. 1152 bearing the mint-name Aḥmadābād are an instance of a numismatic puzzle. Referring to these coins the late Dr. G. P. Taylor said : "Now coins struck in Persia by Nādir Qulī, the founder of the Afshārid Dynasty, bear precisely this legend ; and the Hijri year 1152 or 1739-40 of the Christian Era, is the very year in which that monarch swooped down on Hindūstān with his destroying host, returning only after the terrible massacre in the streets of Dehlī and its fifty-eight days' sack.....It nowhere appears, however, that Nādir Shāh marched in the direction of Aḥmadābād ; and it thus becomes an interesting problem to account for the issue of rupees in his name struck, if the legend tell truly, in this (Aḥmadābād) city."¹

Dr. Taylor who was thus intrigued by these coins sent a rupee and a half rupee to the renowned scholar Rodgers, who as a provisional solution of the problem suggested that "these coins had been struck by the good folk of Aḥmadābād in a panic of fear, lest Nādir Shāh might suddenly present himself and his army in the neighbouring district. Doubtless they had heard how he had made his soldiers yield up the plunder they had obtained in Dehlī and with it caused rupees to be struck in Shāhjahānābād. Hence Momin Khān, the Mughal Viceroy of Gujarāt, and his advisers in this (Aḥmadābād) city may have thought the best thing they could do would be to coin the like rupees at their mint too in anticipation of the tyrant's dreaded coming, and then go forth to meet him, bearing in their hands these evident tokens of submission. So might they hope that the Persian invader, thus pacified, would not hand over their city to the horrors of a sack by savage soldiery."²

These coins were next considered by Mr. A. Masters, in his admirable paper on "Post-Mughal Coins of Aḥmadābād"³. After discussing the Aḥmadābād coins of Bedār Bakht, which, he concluded were minted, not at

1. *On Some Coins illustrating the History of Gujarat* By the Rev. Dr. Geo P. Taylor, M. A., D. D., *Gujarat College Magazine*—page 78.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *N. S.* No. XXII.

Ahmadābād, but at Shāhjahānābād, he proceeds: "For the coins of Bedār Bakht I have referred to,—we have I think, an exact parallel in Nādir Shāh's issue of 1152 A. H. It is well known that Nādir Shāh had no connection with Gujarāt. He conquered Dehlī and imprisoned the Emperor. Watson (B. G. page 322) says, 'except that coin was struck in Nadir's name, the collapse of Mughal power caused little change in Gujarāt.' It is probably just as true to say that the collapse of Mughal power caused no change in Gujarāt. Ahmadābād was in joint possession of the powerful Momin Khān and the Maratha Rangoji. Neither of them was likely to recognize a foreign invader to the extent of striking coins in his name. Nādir Shāh is said to have converted a portion of the plunder of Dehlī into coin at Shāhjahānābād, and from the similarity of style of the Ahmadābād to the other pieces of the invader, probability seems to be on the side of the Ahmadābād as well as the coins with other "Mint" names being all struck at one time in Dehlī."

The last word on the subject however has not been said. I, therefore, venture to suggest that the clue to this problem lies in the pages of *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, and supports the provisional explanation offered by Rodgers. I give below the relevant Persian text¹ and its translation².

(۱) شاهنشاه نادرشاه که از ایران دیار به عزم سیر بهارستان هندوستان بانوج گران برجهل کرهی دارالخلافت رسید و پس از وقوع جنگ سلطانای کار به مصلحت انجامید۔ مختاصیت به مفادند قرار گرفت و در بادشاه را چون شمس و قمر اجتماع واقع گشت و باتفاق یکدیگر دارالخلافت وارد گشته در اسد پرچ قله ارک چندی قران السعدین به عرصه ظهور آمد۔ اگرچه سوانحات آنجا و ممالک دیگر را مدخلی به تسرید این ابراق که منقصر بر روئد صریح گجرات است ندانست بنابر تقریب سکه نادرشاه که تا بردنش در دارالخلافت در بعضی بلاد هند بدین مضمون موزن بر و جوه در اقم و دنایر زده بودند۔

هست سلطان بر سلاطین جهان شاه شامان نادر صاحب قران و بر رخ دیگر خلد الله ملکه ضرب فلان مکان۔ در دارالضرب احمدآباد شانزد هم شهر معزم العرام سال هزار و صد و پنجاه و در نیو روپیه و اشرفی چندی مسکوک گردید۔

(۲) از آنجا که نادرشاه در بستم شهر صفران سان در آنکه ایران دیار گشت و سلطانیت بذات حضرت اقدس استقرار یزیزونت احکام قدسی مشتمل بر روانگی او و استقلال بنام فاطمان و دیوانیان ممالک معزومه صادر گردید۔ مومن خان پس از درود حسب الحکم موصوفه خورشید روز جمعه لمسجود جامع شانتت۔ خطیب خطبه طایفه را موصوفه بالقاب اقدس اشرف اعلیٰ به سمع اعنی و ادائی موانیده مطلع گشت و در دارالضرب سکه بنام ۵۰۰۰۰۰ مسکوک نموده چهارم اشرفی و روپیه تازه رتی پیدا کرد۔ نیرعلی مسکوک نادرشاه چون در احمدآباد چندانی به سکه نوسید بود شکسته شد۔ اما در زرهلی او کانی که کنون از سمت دهن آورده رائج ساخته اند و باتسام سکه قدیم وجدید هر دویار سطرط است به عنوان ندرت از آن نظر می آید۔

1. *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, Persian text, edited by Syed Nawal Ali, M.A. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Volume XXXIV, passage (1) page 252, passage (2) page 255.

2. To my knowledge no English translation of the part of *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī* has been published; hence I have given my own translation.

(1) "Emperor (Shāhanshāh) Nādir Shāh, who had come from Persia with a big army with intention of making a trip to the spring-like garden of India, reached forty *kos* from the capital (Dārul-Khilāfat) and after engagement in a big battle, peace was established. Hostility turned into friendship and both the kings got an occasion like the assembling of the sun and the moon; and they entered the capital (Dārul-Khilāfat) together; and the two planets appeared in conjunction on the *Asad Burj* of *Arak* fort. Even though the events which took place there, and in other countries have no place in the writing of this book, which is written to narrate the history of the province of Gujarāt, yet this information has been given here because so long as Nādir Shāh was in the capital (Dārul-Khilāfat), coins, that is *darāham* and *dīnār* bearing on one side the following verse, were struck in some towns of India :—

"He is the *Sulṭān* over the *Sulṭāns* of the world; the king of kings, Nādir, the lord of conjunction (Ṣahib Qirān),.. And on the other side: "God preserve the kingdom" and the name of the place of the mint. On the sixteenth day of the sacred month of *Muharram* in the year one thousand one hundred and fifty-two some such rupees and *asharafis* were struck in the mint at Aḥmadābād.

(2) "On the twentieth day of the month of *Ṣafar* of that year, Nādir Shāh had proceeded towards Persia; and the kingship was again conferred on that holy emperor; and hence sacred orders, announcing his departure and conferring powers on the governors and civil officers of the empire were issued. Mōmin Khān on receiving such an order in his name, went to *Jam'a Masjid* on the day of *Jum'ā*. The *Khaṭīb* recited pleasing *Khuṣbā* adorned with the titles of that holy, noble and great emperor in the presence of the high and the low and was presented with a robe of honour. Coins in the name of that benevolent emperor were also struck in the mint (Dārul-zarb) and hence the *asharafis* and rupees became lustrous. As coins in the name of Nādir Shāh had not been struck in great numbers at Aḥmadābād, they were broken. But at present, Arcot (Arkāti) coins brought from the Deccan have been made current, which have become mixed up with different kinds of ancient and new coins of other countries, and hence they are scarcely seen."

According to *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī*, therefore, these coins were struck, not at Dehlī, but at Aḥmadābād, as evidenced by the coins themselves. *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī* has been unanimously acclaimed to be a remarkable, important and reliable historical work. "It is considered very important from a historical

point of view as the author narrates events of which not only was he an eye-witness, but in the happenings of which either he, his father or his friends took part, and thus made history."¹ Says Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "For the half century following the death of Aurangzeb (in 1707), the *Mīrāt* gives the fullest history of the civil wars among the Mughal generals, the Maratha incursions, and the natural calamities and popular disorders which attended the fall of the Mughal empire in that province. In fact we have no such complete, graphic and systematic account of that decline and fall in any of our provinces."² The author of this history, Alī Muhammad Khān, who was educated at Ahmadābād, was appointed Superintendent of Cloth-market on the death of his father and eventually became *Diwan* of the province of Gujarāt in A. H. 1161 (A. D. 1747), that is, nine years after the invasion of Nādir Shāh. The details about the legend on the coins, the exact date on which they were minted and information about breaking up this currency after the departure of Nādir Shāh, indicate first hand knowledge. The historian specifically says that the events which took place at the time of Nādir Shāh's invasion have no connection with the history of Gujarāt and yet he refers to them only because coins in the name of the invader were struck in Ahmadābād mint. There is, therefore, no reason to doubt the version of this historian, which I submit must be accepted as correct without any reservation. It can, therefore, be concluded that Nādir Shāh's coins of Ahmadābād mint were struck at Ahmadābād.

The arguments advanced by Mr. Masters may be briefly considered. The motive for striking these coins need not necessarily have been recognition of foreign invader and could as well have been the instinct of self preservation, a powerful force governing actions of man, which may have prompted those in power at Ahmadābād to adopt this course as a stratagem, to play upon the vanity of the conqueror, if he invaded their city and thereby to try to save it from the calamity which overtook Dehlī. The argument based on style is of doubtful value and loses its significance in view of the evidence from a reliable original source. I, therefore, submit that these coins were struck at Ahmadābād, which mint name they bear, and not at Shāhjahānābād as suggested by Mr. Masters.

1. Diwan Bahadur, K. M. Jhaveri, M.A., LL. B., at page 731, Vol. 2, Part 4, of his Gujarātī translation of *Mīrāt-i-Ahmadi*, published by Gujarāt Vernacular Society.

2. Foreword, by Jadunath Sarkar, C. I. B., to *Mīrāt-i-Ahmadi* Persian text, Part II, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Volume XXXIV.

COINS STRUCK BY THE EARLY ARAB GOVERNORS OF SIND

BY MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH
REU, JODHPUR

In the time of Walid, the Caliph, Hajjāj, Viceroy of the Eastern Provinces of the Caliphate, sent Imād-ud-dīn Muhammad (son of Qāsim), who was his cousin and also son-in-law, with six thousand Syrian horse, against Dahir, the then ruler of Sind. The latter had ere this defeated two commanders of Hajjaj sent to meet him. Muhammad arrived at Tatta in the autumn of 711 A. D. and after a number of encounters killed Dahir and completed his task within two years. This hold lasted actually up to 871 A. D., whereafter two of the Arab chiefs established themselves independently, one at Multan and the other at Mansurah. The possession of the latter chief extended from Mansurah to the sea coast, which nearly comprised the territory now known as Sind province. Although both of them were virtually independent, yet they were nominally supposed to be under the allegiance of the Caliphs upto the 11th century A. D. when Mahmud of Ghāzni began to devastate Northern India.

After the death of Walid, the Caliph, his successors appointed successive governors of Sind of whom Junaid (724 to 743 A. D.) carried his arms farther into India.

We learn from 'Fatahul Baldan' that Junaid, the governor of Sind, sent his army against Marmad (Marwar), Mandal, Dalmag (perhaps Kamlej of Bombay Presidency), Barus (Bharoch), Ujjain, Malwa, Baharimad (Bahadmer), Albelmal (Bhimmal) and Jajra (Gujrat).

Further, a copper grant of Kalachuri Samvat 490 (V. S. 795 = 739 A.D.) of Pulakeśī (*Avanijanāśraya*) of Lāṭa (Gujarat), a feudatory of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, states that the Tājiks (Arabs), with the help of their swords, ravaged Sind, Kutchh, Sorath (southern Kathiawar) and the territories of Chāvaḍas, Mauryas, Gurjaras etc., and in order to conquer the Deccan, they first invaded Navasari (in Gujrat). But Pulakeśī, after a stiff resistance, succeeded in defeating him and for this act of bravery Vallabharāja honoured him with the grant of four titles viz :—"Dakṣhiṇāpathasādhāra" (support of the Deccan), "Chālukkikulālaūkāra" (Jewel of the Chālukya dynasty), "Prithvī-vallabha" (beloved of the Earth), and "Anivartakanivartayitri" (repeller of the unrepelled).

As Junaid was the governor of Sind from 724 to 743 A. D. and Pulakeśī ruled from 731 to 739 A. D., it is clear that they were contemporaries and the events mentioned above might have taken place in their times.

From the Gwalior inscription of Pratihāra Bhoja-deva, we learn that in the time of Nāgabhaṭṭa I (Nāgāvaloka), 'Valacha' (the Baluchis) invaded Marwar from Sind.

About 6,585 silver coins of the early governors of Sind, belonging to the 7th and 8th centuries of the Christian era, were unearthed at Mandore, (the old capital of Marwar), Chohatan (in Mallani, a district of Marwar adjoining Sind) and Degana (a town in Merta district, in the north east of Marwar). A number of these coins have been deciphered and full particulars of the coins in question, along with the names of the Arab governors of Sind in whose names they were struck, are given below.

Further, as far as we know, there is not a single known collection, which has such a large number of these coins.

These are small and thin silver coins measuring 0.4 of an inch (or about 10 millimeters)¹ in diameter. Their weight is about 7 to 9 grains² (or .453 to .583 grammes), the thickness is 1/28th of an inch and they contain the legend in Arabic characters.

Further, some of them show the mark of the crescent, but on others it is left out owing to their tiny size.

(1) Coin of Amīr Abdullah

<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول
لا شريك له	الله الا امير
	عبدالله
<i>Lā ilah il</i>	<i>Muhamad</i>
<i>lillah vahad hu</i>	<i>Rasūl</i>
<i>lā sharīk lah</i>	<i>Allah al Amīr</i>
	<i>Abdullah³</i>

Pl. IX. 1

(2) Coin of Valī Abdullah

يا الله ذى	الله
عبدالله	محمد
و ناصر	رسول

1-2. Some of them differ a little in weight and size, but the difference is negligible.

	الله عمر
<i>Yā lillāh valī¹</i>	<i>Lillāh</i>
<i>Abdullah</i>	<i>Muhamad</i>
<i>va Nāsir.</i>	<i>Rasūl</i>
	<i>Allah</i>
	<i>Omar</i>

Pl. IX. 2

(3) Coin of *Muhamad*

يا الله به	لله
محمد	محمد
و ناصر	رسول
	الله
	محمد
<i>Yā lillāh bah</i>	<i>Lillāh</i>
<i>Muhamad</i>	<i>Muhamad</i>
<i>Va Nāsir</i>	<i>Rasūl</i>
	<i>Allah</i>
	<i>Muhamad</i>
<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>

Pl. IX. 3

(4) Coin of *Banū Amrawiya*

يا الله بنو	لله
عمر و ناسر	محمد
النصر	رسول
	الله
	عمر
<i>yā lillāh Banū</i>	<i>Lillāh</i>
<i>Amrāviyāh</i>	<i>Muhamad</i>
<i>Alnasr</i>	<i>Rasūl</i>
	<i>Allāh</i>
	<i>Omar.</i>

Pl. IX. 4

(5) Coin of *Banu Aliviya*

يا الله بنو	لله
على و ناسر	محمد
النصر	رسول
	الله
	على
<i>yā lillāh Banu</i>	<i>Lillāh</i>
<i>Aliviyah</i>	<i>Muhamad</i>

1. Owing to the tiny size of these coins full legend is not impressed on each and every coin; we have however given the full reading ascertained from a number of coins.

Alnasr

Rasūl
Alīāh
Alī

PI. IX. 5

(6) *Coin of Banu Aḥdurraḥman*

يا الله بنو
عبد الرحمن
و ناصر

الله
محمد
رسول
الله

yā lillāh Banu
Abdurraḥman
va Nāsir.

عبد الرحمن
Illāh
Muḥamad
Rasūl
Allāh
Abdurrahmān

PI. IX. 6

(7) *Coin of Muḥammad*¹

يا الله نصر
محمد
و ناصر

الله
محمد
رسول
الله
محمد

Yā lillāh Nasr
Muḥamad
va Nāsir

Illāh
Muḥamad
Rasūl
Allāh
Muḥamad.

PI. IX. 7

The differences occurring in the readings given above from the readings printed in the catalogue compiled by Chas. J. Rodgers have been thoroughly checked and found to be correct.

We hope some scholar will kindly publish the actual dates of the governorships of the persons, whose names are found on these coins.

In conclusion we may add that we will try to examine the remaining coins of this hoard and will publish the result in this journal in due course.

1. The coins of this type differ from those mentioned above, hence it is probable that they belong to different persons. Further there is also a difference in the last letter of the first line on the obverse of these coins and on the reverse the fourth line differs in full.

MACHINE-MADE COINS OF HYDERABAD.

BY MR. HURMUZ KAUS, HYDERABAD

In his article, "The Story of Hyderabad Coinage", in the Indian States Forces Annual for 1943, Mr. H. C. H. Armstead, Ex-Mintmaster of Hyderabad, says, "In the year 1858 (1274 Hijri) all mints throughout India were abolished except those of a very few privileged States, and the two Government of India mints in Bombay and Calcutta. At the same time, the name and title of Delhi Emperor no longer appeared on the Hyderabad coins, since the association which had hitherto existed between Delhi and Hyderabad was severed with the dissolution of the Moghul Empire." Regarding the machine-made coins he says, "But in 1895 (1312 Hijri) the first minting machinery was introduced, and a class of coin known as "Charkhi" made its appearance".

In his "Notes on the Handminting of the Coins of India",¹ Mr. Faramji K. Viccaji, Ex-Assistant Mintmaster of the Hyderabad Mint, says that the 1312 Hijri Charkhi Rupees were the first machine-made and milled coins of Hyderabad. It is curious to note that both these gentlemen, so closely connected with the minting of Hyderabad coins, should be unaware of the fact, that, the Charkhi rupee of 1312 Hijri is not the first machine-made coin of Hyderabad. Capt. P. S. Tarapore has published a rupee of 1305 Hijri and 21 R. Y., in this *Journal*, Vol V Part I, June 1943, Plate V. Coin no 14, which he rightly describes as decidedly the first machine-made coin of Hyderabad. Fortunately I possess a proof in copper **Pl. VIII B, 1**, answering exactly to Capt. Tarapore's description of his coin, and is evidently the proof, approved and accepted, for the first machine made coin of Hyderabad.

Mr. Manik Rao, the author of *Bustan-e-Asafia*,² describes and illustrates the Charkhi rupee referred to by Mr. Armstead, but is silent regarding the rupee mentioned by Capt. P. S. Tarapore. Mr. Manik Rao also gives the date of introduction of minting machinery as 1312 Hijri. Probably Mr. Armstead's source of information is Mr. Manik Rao's book *Bustan-e-*

1. "Notes on the Hand-minting of the Coins of India" by F. K. Viccaji, H. C. S., Asst. Superintendent, H. H. The Nizam's Mint, written in London at the suggestion of Mr. E. A. Smith in 1896/97, and printed for private circulation by A. V. Pillai & Sons, Hyderabad, Deccan, in 1908.

2. "*Bustan-e-Asafia*" by Manik Rao Vithal Rao. Printed by Anwar-ul-Islam Press, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1327 Hijri.

Asafu, an exhaustive work on Hyderabad of the last century, compiled from authentic and official sources.

The following is a free translation of a note which appeared in "Musheer-e-Deccan",¹ an Urdu daily of Hyderabad, dated the 17th Sha'aban 1314 Hijri, corresponding to 21st January 1896:—

'COUPLETS FOR THE NEW COINS.'

"We remember to have mentioned in one of our back numbers that couplets were required and proposed for the new coins. Hence Maharaja Kishen Pershad Bahadur,² a cultured nobleman of Hyderabad and a poet of distinction, composed a couplet for the new coins, on which commentaries have appeared in Journals like "Ab-e-Zar", but nothing has been decided as yet regarding the couplet. Persian scholars are also taxing their brains in composing couplets for the new coins." For the time being we mention the couplets composed by Syed Ghulam Bhika of Peshawar, whose poetic name is "Musafir", which appeared in the daily "Vafadar" dated the 1st January 1897. Some of the couplets are quite suitable for the coins, which are as follows :

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| (1) سکہ زد شاہ دکن ہر سیم و زر | میر محبوب علی فرخ سیر |
| (2) سکہ زد شاہ دکن از فضل حق ہر مہر و مہ | حامی دین محمد خلیق عالم را پناہ |
| (3) سکہ زد عادل محب پنجتن | میر محبوب علی شاہ دکن |
| (4) سکہ زد ہر سیم و زر شاہ دکن ہر سفا | میر محبوب علی حامی دین مصطفیٰ |
| (5) سکہ زد ہر سیم و زر از فضل رب العالمین | میر محبوب علی شاہ دکن روشن جبین |

Though all the above couplets are suitable for the new coins, we prefer No. 4., as it shows plainly the virtues of our august Ruler. We hope that our popular Nawab Madar-ul-Maham Bahadur and the Mint Committee would kindly approve of this couplet for the new coins".

The Charkhi rupee described and illustrated by Mr. Armstead and Mr. Manik Rao does not show the denomination. I have several coins of this period dating from 1312 to 1318 Hijri Pl. VIII B, 2. "Musheer-e-Deccan" of 27th Muharram 1314 Hijri corresponding to the 9th July 1896, protests against the issue of coins not showing denominations, and also suggests that the new coins of Hyderabad should not only show the denominations, but also the bust of the Ruler on the obverse.

1. Musheer-e-Deccan' is the oldest daily of Hyderabad. It was formerly known as "Deccan Panoh", but from 21st March 1892 it was renamed 'Musheer-e-Deccan'.

2. Yamin-us-Saltanat, Maharaja Sir Kishen Pershad Bahadur, K. C. I. E., G. O. I. E., was the hereditary Paishkar of Hyderabad and was also the President of H. E. H. The Nizam's Executive Council. His poetic name is "Shad".

From the above facts it is concluded,

(1) that, minting machinery was first introduced in 1305 Hijri (1887/88 A. D.) and not in 1312 Hijri (1894/95 A. D.), as mentioned by Mr. Armstead and Mr. Manik Rao.

(2) that, Capt P. S. Tarapore's coin No 14 is decidedly the first machine-made coin of Hyderabad. Mr. Armstead's Fig. 3, Mr Manik Rao's Fig. 1 and my Fig 2, all three showing no denominations, belong to the second issue of the machine-made coins of Hyderabad.

(3) that, Capt. P. S. Tarapore's Nos. 15 to 19, showing denominations belong to the third issue of the machine-made coins of Hyderabad.

(4) that, couplets like those found on the coins of the Mughal Emperors were suggested for the coins of Hyderabad also, but were not approved by the authorities.

(5) that, it was suggested to show the effigy of the Ruler on the coins of Hyderabad, but this was also not approved by the authorities.

(6) that, the first machine-made coin of Hyderabad (Capt. P. S. Tarapore's No. 14) was in circulation for a very short time, hence it is extremely rare.

IDENTITY OF KĀCHAGUPTA

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

The identity of Kāchagupta has been baffling the historians and numismatists of Ancient India for nearly a century. We cannot even now say that we are in a position to solve the problem. It would be however desirable to sum up our knowledge and to test the various theories in the light of recent discoveries, especially of the Bayana hoard of Gupta coins.

Before we proceed to discuss the problem, it will be convenient to give a brief account of the coins of Kāchagupta. The only type known till recently was the following :—

Obverse: King, nimbate standing to left, wearing a close-fitting cap, coat and trousers, earrings, necklace and armlets, holding *Chakradhvaja* in left hand and offering oblations on altar with the right. Under king's left arm, written vertically, *Kācho gāmavajitya divan karmabhī-ruttamairjayati*.

Reverse: Goddess Lakshmī, nimbate standing to left on a circular, mat wearing *sari*, bodice, upper garment, earrings, necklace and armlets, holding lotus in the right hand and cornucopiae in the left. Symbol on the left, but in the centre and not at the top. On the right, *Sarvarijochchhettā*.

In the Bayana hoard, 15 coins of this type were found, along with one of a slightly different variety showing minor variations. The main type is the same, but the king wears a *dhoti* and the goddess on the reverse holds a *pāsa* instead of the flower in the right hand.

The weight of these coins varies from 111 to 118 grains, which is the case with the coins of Samudragupta as well. The figure of the king is strikingly similar to that of Samudragupta.

The different views about the attribution of the coins of Kācha may be mentioned here at the outset. The early view that Kācha is the same as Ghaṭotkacha, the father of Chandragupta I, is no longer advocated by any scholar. There can be no doubt that Ghaṭotkacha was a mere feudatory and did not issue any coins whatsoever. On most coins, the king's

name is clearly spelt as Kācha and not as Kacha, and it is very unlikely that Ghaṭotkacha could have ever been contracted into Kācha.

There is ample evidence to show that Kācha was a ruler of the Gupta dynasty and ruled not far from the time of Samudragupta. His coins have been found along with the coins of early Gupta emperors; the 25 coins of the Tanda hoard contained the coins only of Chandragupta I, Samudragupta and Kācha; the constitution of the hoard suggests that all these rulers belonged to the same dynasty and were not far removed in time from one another.¹

The posture and attitude of Kācha resembles that of Samudragupta on the Standard type and the standing goddess on the reverse is remarkably similar to the standing deity on the reverse of the Tiger-slayer and Aśvamedha types of Samudragupta.

At present there are two main views about the attribution of the Kācha coins. According to one school Kācha was identical with Samudragupta; according to the other he was different from him, but came soon either before or after him. The evidence is unfortunately not sufficiently conclusive to decide in favour of either view. How evenly balanced are the arguments in this controversy can be easily understood when we note how a scholar like V. A. Smith veered from one view to another more than once.²

In favour of the identity of Kācha with Samudragupta it can be pointed out

(a) how the average weight of his coins is the same as that of the other types of Samudragupta, viz, about 116 grains;

(b) how his obverse legend *Kācho gānavajitya karmabhiruttamair-divaṃ jayati* is merely a paraphrase of the obverse legend *Apratiratho vijitya kṣhitim sucharitair divaṃ jayati*, occurring on the Archer type of Samudragupta;

(c) how the reverse of his coins is closely similar to that of the reverse of the Tiger-slayer and Aśvamedha types of Samudragupta;

1. *J. R. A. S.*, 1889, p. 46. In the small hoard found in Balia coins of Samudragupta and Kācha alone were found, suggesting that both lived not far from each other and belonged to the same dynasty. In the Bayana hoard of coins, in which Gupta emperors alone were represented, we find 16 coins of Kācha, as against 9 of Chandragupta I and 173 of Samudragupta.

2. In *J. R. A. S.*, 1889, pp. 75-76 Smith advocated the identity of Kācha and Samudragupta; in *J. R. A. S.*, 1893 p. 95 he accepted Rapson's view that the two were different; in *I. A.* 1902 pp. 259-60 we find him veering to his earlier view that the two were identical. Fleet and Allan accept the identity of the two rulers. *C. I. I.*, III., p. 27; *B. M. C.*, *G. D.*, Introduction, p. xxxii.

(d) how the reverse legend on the Kācha coins, *sarvarājochchettā* is an epithet invariably given to Samudragupta alone in the Gupta records ;¹

(e) and how the difference in name need not be an insuperable obstacle in the identity of the two rulers. Devagupta and Chandragupta are known to have been both the names of the famous Vikramāditya ; in the same way Kācha may have been the original and familiar name of Samudragupta, the latter title being adopted by him when the Gupta empire eventually extended to the Bay of Bengal.

The above arguments are not however conclusive. Thus (a) can only show that Kācha cannot be later than the time of Chandragupta II, when the average weight of the Gupta gold coins went up to 125 or 126 grains. Argument (b) is also inconclusive ; for mere paraphrasing of a legend need not prove identity. The legend in question occurs in almost the same form on the Swordsman type of Kumāragupta I, where we have *Gāmavajitya sucharitaih Kumāragupto divan jayati*. Surely we cannot argue that Kumāragupta I is identical with Kācha or Samudragupta because of the above striking resemblance in the wording of the legends. Argument (c) can only show that Kācha coins were issued soon after the Tiger-slayer and the Āśvamedha types of Samudragupta ; they may have been issued by him or by his successor or by a rival.

Arguments (d) and (e) are weighty ; they render it probable that Samudragupta may have had like Chandragupta II, two names, and both may have been accepted for his coinage ; the epithet of Kācha, *sarvarājochchettā*, would show that he is to be identified with Samudragupta to whom alone it is given in the official Gupta inscriptions.

These arguments however are not conclusive, and we are inclined to think it more probable that Kācha was different from Samudragupta. Chandragupta had no doubt another familiar name, viz. Devagupta. But he never allowed it to appear on his coinage. One may wonder whether Samudragupta would have permitted his familiar name to appear on his coins, supposing he had one such. *Sarvarājochchettā* was no doubt made a special title of Samudragupta, but only by later

1. In the Poona and Rithur plates of Prabhāvatiguptā, *sarvarājochchettā* is given as an epithet of Chandragupta II. These plates betray gross carelessness ; for instance, they describe Chandragupta I and even Samudragupta as mere Mahārājas ; we need not therefore conclude that the title *sarvarājochchettā* was really used of any ruler other than Samudragupta merely on the strength of these Vākātaka records.

Gupta records. Samudragupta himself did not adopt that title and there is nothing impossible in its being adopted by an immediate successor of the great emperor, prior to its being assigned to him by his later successors.

The following arguments tend to show that Kācha was different from Samudragupta.

(1) Gupta emperors have used different *birudas* on the obverse and reverse of their coins; but as far as the personal or proper name is concerned, it is one and the same for each ruler, and it occurs under his arm. This circumstance would render it very probable,—but not certain,—that Kācha, which occurs under the arm of the issuer, is his personal name and that he is therefore different from Samudragupta, who generally puts his own name Samudra or Samudragupta at that place.

(2) *Chakradhvaja* of Kācha is quite peculiar to him and occurs on the coins of no other Gupta emperor. This gives a particular individuality to Kācha and suggests,—but does not prove,—that Kācha is quite distinct from other known Gupta emperors, who do not put this banner on their coins.

(3) If Kācha were identical with Samudragupta, his *chakradhvaja* should have occurred on some other types of Samudragupta. It however occurs on none of them.

(4) Similarly, if we accept the identity of Kācha with Samudragupta, it is difficult to explain why Kācha, the familiar name of the emperor, should be confined to the *Chakradhvaja* type and why it should occur on none of his other numerous types like the Standard or the Archer type, where the name is engraved under the arm.

The assumption that Kācha was different from Samudragupta does not however solve the problem; it only renders it more complicated as no such Gupta ruler is known either to epigraphy or to literature. Several official Gupta genealogies have been handed down to us; they are however unaware of any such ruler.

R. D. Banerji was of opinion that Kācha coins are commemorative medals issued by Samudragupta in memory of a brother who had died in the war of liberation¹. This is quite an ingenious theory; *sarvarājochchettā* on the reverse may suggest the name of the issuer and Kācha on the obverse the name of the person commemorated. The artistic excellence and the numismatic originality displayed by the type may be explained by the assumption that Samudragupta issued the commemorative pieces late in his reign.

1. *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 9-10

Commemorative coins or medals are not however known to Hindu tradition and there is no evidence to show that Samudragupta had really a brother named Kācha, who was killed in the Kushāṇa war. A passage in the *Bharishyottara-purāṇa* no doubt suggests that Kācha was a half brother of Samudragupta, but this passage seems to be a 19th century forgery and has not yet been traced to the original.¹

Numismatic evidence makes it quite certain that Kācha coins are undoubtedly later in time than the Standard and Archer types of Samudragupta; we cannot therefore suppose that Kācha was a brother of Samudragupta, who disputed his succession and was successful in ruling for a short time towards the beginning of Samudragupta's reign. If Kācha was different from Samudragupta, as seems very probable, we must place him later than that emperor, for the reverse of his coins undoubtedly presupposes the reverse of the Tiger-slayer and the Aśvamedha types of Samudragupta, which were both issued towards the end of the reign of that emperor.

Literary tradition knows of Rāmāgupta as being the eldest son and the immediate successor of Samudragupta; he is however unknown to both coins and inscriptions. Numismatic evidence shows that Kācha was most probably different from Samudragupta and came soon after the end of his reign; he is however not known to inscriptions and literature. The problem of Rāmāgupta may become easier to understand and solve if we assume that he is identical with Kāchagupta.

Chandragupta had an additional name Devagupta; Rāmāgupta too may have had an additional name, Kāchagupta. Or Kāchagupta may have been the real name of the miscreant elder brother of Chandragupta, and later clerical error may have transformed it into Rāma, as has been suggested by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.² A little carelessness resulting in the dropping of the horizontal stroke of *ka*, which is just like crossing a *t* in the English script, will convert *ka* into *ra*; *cha* can become *ma* if the pen slips to the left just beyond the loop of *cha*. Kācha need not be rejected as an unknown name; in contemporary times two rulers of a family ruling near Ajanta as the feudatories of the Vākātakas are known to have borne it.³ If we assume that Rāmāgupta of literary tradition is identical with Kāchagupta of coins, we can very well explain the numismatic peculiarities of the Kācha coins.

(a) Kācha succeeded Samudragupta; his coin type also presupposes the Tiger-slayer and the Aśvamedha types of that

1. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. V, pp 33-7; vol VI, 34-37

2. *Malaviya Commemorative Volume*, p. 205.

3. *A. S. W. I.*, IV, p 129

great emperor, which were issued towards the end of his long reign.

(b) It is but natural that at the beginning of his reign Kācha should have decided to paraphrase one of the popular legends of his father by making some suitable modifications in it.

(c) The *hirudā* on the reverse *sarvarājochohettā* had not yet been used for Samudragupta. Kācha may have adopted it as an earnest of his desire to conquer more kings and excel his father. To us who know the subsequent history and fate of Kāchagupta, this title may appear presumptuous; but he may well have scored some victories which may have justified this title before he was trapped in a distant Punjab fort.

(d) Kāchagupta alias Rāmagupta had a short reign; this is quite in keeping with the relative rarity of his coins and can also explain why they are confined to one type only.

(e) The metrology of Kācha coins shows that they were issued before 125 grains standard was popularized by Chandragupta II, probably in the latter half of his reign. And this condition is completely satisfied by identifying Kāchagupta of the coins with Rāmagupta of the literary tradition.

(f) One can also understand how in the Tanda hoard of 25 Gupta coins only two belonged to the reign of Chandragupta I and the remainders were more or less equally divided between Aśvamedha and Tiger-slayer types of Samudragupta and those of Kācha.¹ Kācha coins came soon after the Aśvamedha coins of Samudragupta, which were issued towards the end of his reign.

(g) Kācha alias Rāmagupta may have been a Vaishṇava like his younger brother, Chandragupta; hence his *chakradhvaja*.

(h) The name of Kācha has been deliberately eliminated from later Gupta records; similar considerations may be responsible for his coin type not being imitated by any later ruler.

(i) The non-occurrence of his name in official Gupta genealogies may be due to their desire to leave out a collateral, who was a disgrace to the family. Collaterals are frequently left out in Gupta genealogies as preserved in official seals; Skandagupta for instance is left out in the Bhitari seal genealogy.

Known numismatic and literary data and traditions can best be explained by assuming that Kāchagupta is different from Samudragupta and identical with Rāmagupta of the literary tradition, who was the predecessor of Chandragupta II. More evidence is however necessary before this hypothesis can be accepted as a historical fact.

COIN LEGENDS OF GUPTA EMPERORS AND VISHNUSAHASRANAMA.

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The title of this paper no doubt sounds rather strange. The reader may wonder as to what connection there is between a mere *stotra* like the *Vishnusaahasranāma* and the coin legends of the Gupta Emperors. The observations that follow may answer the query. Maybe, it is all my fancy ; but the similarities noticed are so striking and so numerous that I cannot resist the temptation of placing them before the scholars for their consideration.

This is how I came upon them. The phrase *svayam ch = āpratirathaḥ*, qualifying Chandragupta II, in the Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta,¹ once arrested my attention. 'Looking intensely at the words', as Ruskin would, I began to suspect something uncanny about the expression. What exactly, I mused, is the force and the significance of *svayam* here? Chandragupta II's father, Samudragupta, we know, is described as *prithivyām = apratirathasya* in his own Allahabad pillar inscription² as well as in several inscriptions of his successors.³ This phrase has been rendered as "who had no antagonist (of equal power) in the world"⁴ by Dr. J. F. Fleet, who has likewise translated *svayam ch = āpratirathaḥ* by "and who was himself without an antagonist (of equal power)".⁵ Fleet does not seem to have attached any special significance to *svayam* here. Apparently it cannot be something corresponding to *prithivyām* that precedes the word *āpratiratha* in the case of Samudragupta. And it would be absurd to think of Samudragupta being *āpratiratha* 'not by himself' as opposed to his son who was 'himself' *āpratiratha*, a contrast that is suggested by Fleet's translation. Nor can we dismiss this *svayam* as something casual or thoughtless on the part of the composer of the inscription, because it is found not in one but

1. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions* p. 58, text line 4. He first omitted *cha* in the reading, but later admitted its existence, on comparison with the same expression occurring in the Bhitari copper-silver seal of Kumāragupta II (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXX, 1890, p. 225, note 3). The Bhitari pillar inscription has helped in restoring the corresponding text in the Bilsad pillar inscription of Kumāragupta I (Fleet, *l. c.*, p. 43) and the Bihār pillar inscription of Skandagupta (*ibid.*, p. 50). On the analogy of these records, we may presume that the fragmentary Mathurā stone inscription, ascribed to Chandragupta II himself, had also *svayam ch = āpratirathena* in its proper place (*Ibid.*, p. 27).

2. Fleet, *l. c.*, p. 8, text line 24.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 43, 49, etc.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

in several inscriptions spread over a century.¹ It is not likely that the authors of the other inscriptions blindly copied the mistake of the writer of the one inscription. The conclusion is that the author of the phrase *svayam ch=āpratirathaḥ* has deliberately used the adjunct *svayam* and that he thereby wished to convey something of a more definite nature than merely 'himself'.

Now, the only other sense assigned to *svayam* is that which is more commonly denoted by *sākshāt*, meaning 'personified' or 'incarnate'. And this, I fancied, is what is intended in the phrase *svayam ch=āpratirathaḥ*. It follows from this that the term *āpratiratha* in this case has to be taken as a substantive and not as an adjective. It is here that the *Vishvasahasranāma* showed me the light and dispelled all my doubt. For I found therein that Apratiratha figures as one of the thousand names of the God Viṣṇu.

Aniruddho=pratirathaḥ

Pradyumno=mitavikramaḥ || (verse 68)

We shall presently revert to Amitavikrama of the hemistich. Concentrating on Apratiratha for the present, with this clue in hand, we can unhesitatingly translate the phrase under discussion as "and who was Apratiratha incarnate".²

Judging from the known records, the epithet *Apratiratha*, so far as the imperial Gupta family is concerned, is known to have been borne by only two members, namely Samudragupta and his son Chandragupta II. In the case of the former, it is qualified by the adjunct *prithivyām*, while in that of the latter, it is distinguished by *svayam* prefixed to it. Taking each independently, there can be no objection, in the case of Samudragupta, to its being translated as Fleet

1. Some of these inscriptions have already been referred to in note 1 above. To that list may be added the Nālandā clay seals of Kumāragupta II. Cf. Dr. Hirananda Sastri's *Nālandā and its Epigraphical Material*, No. 66 of the *Memoirs of the Arch. Survey of India*, p. 66. Similar seals of Budhagupta, Narasimhagupta, Vainyagupta (*ibid.*, pp. 64, 65, 67) and Vishnugupta (*Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 239), when complete, must likewise have contained the phrase in question.

2. It is well known that the indeclinable *svayam* is frequently used as a synonym of *sākshāt* both in literature and in epigraphy. Cf. for instance :

Krodh-āndhas=tasya tasya svayam=īha jagatām=
antakasy=āntako='ham ||
 (Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa's *Vṛṇisamhāra*, III, 32.)
 and

Bhaṭṭāraka-Śrī-Lakulīṣa-mūrttyā
lopaḥ-kriyākūṇḍa-phala-pradātū |

avātarad=viśvam=anugrahituṇi
devaḥ svayam Būlamrigāṅkamauliḥ ||

(*Epi. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 281, verse 14.)

has done. In the case of Chandragupta II, however, it has to be rendered only as 'Apratiratha incarnate'. In the light of the observations made further on in this paper, on the other hand, even Samudragupta's epithet may justifiably be rendered as '(the veriest) Apratiratha (moving) on earth'. In other words, Chandragupta II was regarded as an incarnation of Vishṇu, and so was perhaps also his father, Samudragupta, poetically speaking, of course.¹ The stress in both the cases is laid on the Apratiratha aspect of the divinity, which signifies 'a peerless warrior'. This epithet also occurs on the Archer type coins of Samudragupta; we shall revert to it at the end of this paper.

It is quite obvious that the explanation offered here accords well with the known history of the Guptas. We know that Chandragupta II's son Kumāragupta I was regarded as an incarnation of Vishṇu. This is disclosed by the legend on the Lion-slayer type of his gold coins, which reads :—

*Sākshād=iva Narasiṃho Siṃhamahendro jayaty=anīṣam*²
Here he is clearly mentioned as 'Narasimha',³ which comes to the same thing. In his case the Narasimha (Man-Lion) aspect of Vishṇu is brought to the forefront.

By a happy coincidence, very welcome light is thrown on the point at issue, namely the portrayal of Chandragupta II as an incarnation of Vishṇu. The superb hoard of Gupta gold coins recently unearthed at Bayānā in the Bharatpur State has yielded one unique specimen which Dr. A. S. Altekar, announcing the discovery, has named *Chakravikrama* type.⁴ The scene depicted on the obverse of the coin represents, in the words of Dr. Altekar, "Chandragupta II, receiving a divine gift from Vishṇu".⁵ We shall know more details of this interesting coin, when the full account of the hoard is published with proper illustrations. In the meantime, it may be realised that the available evidence raises Chandragupta II

[1. Attention may here be drawn to line 28 of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, where his court poet Harishena actually describes him as a god living on earth, who could be called human only because of his following human conventions; cf. *Loka-samaya-kriy=ānuvidhāna-mātra-mānushasya loka-dhāmno devasya*. *Editt r.*]

2. Allan's *Gupta Coins*, pp. 72-8, Plate XIV, 1-5.

3. The addition of *iva* to *sākshat* in the legend does not weaken the intended *rūpaka* (metaphor). It only introduces the necessary element of *utprekshā* (Poetic Fancy). We have instances where *sākshat*, *iva* and *svayam* all the three, are used in one and the same expression, reinforcing the main idea. A typical example is afforded by Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* (Ayodhyākāṇḍa, II, 48), where Rāma is described as *subhrūr=āyata-tāmr=ākṣah sākshād Vishṇu=iva svayam*. 4. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. VIII, p. 182.

5. *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, Bombay, February 22, 1948, p. 91, where an enlarged photograph of the coin has also been reproduced.

to the position of a chosen favourite of Vishṇu.¹ No wonder then that we find him described in the records of his successors as an incarnation of Vishṇu. All this, of course, indicates that he was an ardent devotee of Vishṇu, deriving inspiration from that God alone and ascribing his successes to him.

The divine glory with which we find Chandragupta II thus invested seems to have received wide recognition, for we find an echo of it even in a Buddhist record in the shape of a stone inscription discovered at Mandasor in the Gwalior State. The memory of the god-like monarch must have still been fresh in the minds of the people at the time when this record was incised. It is dated in the Mālava Samvat 524 (A. D. 467-8), that is, about fifty years after the death of Chandragupta II. It speaks of him as *Govinda-vat khyātu-guṇa-prabhāvaḥ*, 'as famous as Govinda (Vishṇu) for the glory of his virtues'.²

Before taking leave of this topic, I wish to draw attention to the two little words *deva-śrī* with which the legends on many of Chandragupta II's gold coins open : *Deva-śrī-mahārāja-Dhirājaśrī-Chandraguptaḥ*.³ It is remarkable that this adjunct of *devaśrī* is peculiar to Chandragupta II's coinage alone. It is unintelligible otherwise; but in the light of the foregoing discussion, its mystery is also solved. It means 'imbued with the glory of Vishṇu'. *Deva* ordinarily means 'god', but in the *Vishṇusahasranāmu* it figures also as a distinct name of Vishṇu :

Udbhavaḥ Kshobhana Devaḥ Śrīgarbhaḥ Paramēvaraḥ (v. 41)

Mark the proximity of *Deva* to *Śrī* in the text and then compare *Devaśrī* of the coin legend.

The light extends further and illuminates *Devarāja* and *Devagupta*, the secondary names of Chandragupta II himself. They now lend themselves to be understood as 'Vishṇu in the form of a king' and 'one protected by Vishṇu'.

A person whose nobility of character is thus manifested is indeed above any mean act that is calculated to lower one in popular estimation. This, I think, is enough to discredit any theory that seeks, on dubious evidence, to accuse

[1. In my opinion Chakravikrama type supports this view, as it shows Vishṇu manifesting himself before Chandragupta as Krishna did before Arjuna. The type can hardly be described as portraying Chandragupta II as an incarnation of Vishṇu, as Dr. Chhabra has done earlier in this paragraph, probably because he had not then seen its photograph. *Editor*.]

2. The inscription has been edited by its discoverer, Mr. M. B. Garde, and is under publication. It is to appear in Part I Vol. XXVII of the *Epi. Ind.* It is No. 7 of Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, and has been noticed in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for 1922-23, p. 187.

3. Allan's *Guzla Coins*, pp. 24-34.

Chandragupta II of such gross misdeeds as killing his elder brother, seizing his kingdom and marrying his widow.¹

Coming back to the *Vishṇusahasranāma*, my perusal of it is rewarded with additional enlightenment along the same lines, inasmuch as my doubts about the Gupta nomenclature have been cleared. The names and titles of some of the Gupta monarchs are admittedly unusual. They all find an explanation in the *Vishṇusahasranāma*.

Gupta, to start with the name of the progenitor of the dynasty, has puzzled many a scholar. Although it has been demonstrated by many that the name is Gupta and not Śrīgupta,² yet some scholars preferred to call him Śrīgupta.³ Their contention is that *Gupta* by itself cannot be a name; it can only be a name-ending in common with the other names. They, therefore, take *Śrī* as an integral part of the name and not as an honorific. This contention is ruled out by the fact that *Gupta* again is one of the thousand names of Vishṇu :

Guhya Gabhiro Gahano Guptaś = Chakragadādharaḥ
(verse 58).

Various inferences have been drawn from the term *gupta* both as name and as a name-ending with reference to the Guptas. It indicates their caste, social status and what not. The authors of *The Cambridge Shorter History of India*, having said all that they had to say about the origin of the Guptas, wind up the statement by adding: "In any case the name Gupta suggests a humble origin."⁴ Such uncharitable remarks serve to prove how much we have still to learn.

The association of *Guhya* (Secret), *Gabhīra* (Profound) and *Gahana* (Mysterious) in the quoted text is a pointer to the proper interpretation of *Gupta*, which may thus confidently be rendered as 'Hidden.' All the four appellations refer to that impervious nature of the godhead which we find echoed in the *Upanishads* as :

ātm = āsya jantor-nihito guhāyām

If, now, we accept that the name of the eponymous king

1. The allusion is to the episode of Rāmagupta. The authors of *The Vakāṭaka-Gupta Age*, who have recently examined the question, have done well in suspending their judgment on this vexed problem. Their disquisition is really illuminating and is worth pondering over (pp. 161-5).

2. Cf. Allan's *Gupta Coins*, p. xiv.

3. R. D. Banerji, for instance, accepted this name. Cf. his *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, Benares, 1933, p. 3.

4. *The Cambridge Shorter History of India* by J. Allan, T. Wolsley Haig and H. H. Dodwell, Cambridge, 1934, p. 68.

was Gupta, we shall not be justified in drawing inferences from it as to his caste or the like, because that sort of deduction will fit in only with the name-ending. And as Gupta's successors, from his grand-son Chandragupta I onwards, obviously adopted his name as a name-ending in their names, there is no question of its being equated with the ordinary name-termination *Gupta*, which is synonymous with *pālita* and which indicates that the bearer of the name belongs to the Vaiśya caste, as the name-terminations *śarman* and *varman* respectively denote a Brāhmaṇa and a Kshatriya. This distinction, in my opinion, is of vital importance and must not be lost sight of when deciding the question of the origin or the caste of the Guptas.

I have just said that the adoption of the word *gupta* as the second part in the names of the Gupta rulers started from Chandragupta I, the grandson of Gupta. The latter was thereby shown due respect to, as a revered ancestor. The question arises as to why we do not find it coupled with the name of his son Ghaṭotkacha.¹ Besides, this name appears so odd. It is an established fact that the family sprang into prominence only during the time of Chandra, better known to us as Chandragupta I. The necessity was then felt to raise the general standard, so as to bring everything around in accord with the budding empire. As a part of the programme, the nomenclature had also to be made consistent with the imperial status. Vishṇu had, presumably from the very beginning, been the family deity, to Whose grace the ever-increasing fortune was naturally ascribed. *Gupta* then came to be associated with the personal names of the royalty with double purpose: covertly to pay homage to Gupta (Vishṇu) as a thanksgiving, and to show reverence to the deceased ancestor, Gupta, who was responsible for sowing the seed of the mighty empire into which it subsequently grew. This, to my mind, explains why Ghaṭotkacha's name remained without the eponymous ending *Gupta*. As to its oddity, the *Vishṇusahasranāma* again provides an interesting comparison. The name is composed of two elements: *ghaṭa* and *utkacha*. Its first component being synonymous with *kumbha*, it may be taken as one of the names of Vishṇu, whose appellation *Kumbha* is found in the *stotra*:

Archishmān Architaḥ Kumbho Viśuddhātāmā Viśodhanaḥ

(verse 68)

Samudra, otherwise a very uncommon term for a personal name, becomes intelligible when we know that it likewise

1. R. D. Banerji (*l. c.*, p. 3) refers to him as Ghaṭotkacha-gupta. That appears to be a mistake. Two later members of the family are known by that name (*cf. Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 116), but Gupta's son was called simply Ghaṭotkacha, without the addition of *gupta*.

denotes Vishṇu, its equivalents occurring in the *stotra* being *Apānnīdhi* and *Ambhonīdhi* (verses 35 and 55). *Chandra*, *Kumāra* and *Skanda*, apparently alluding to Moon and Kārttikeya, may very well be taken as named after Vishṇu, His appellations incorporating *Soma*, *Gruha* and *Skanda* as well (verses 54, 41 and 36). *Puru* or *Pūru* may similarly have been named after Purushottama (verse 54), and *Jīvita*, a distant descendant of Gupta, after *Jīvana* (verse 99). The same tendency is noticeable in the names of most of the Gupta queens. *Kumāradevī* and *Chandradevī* stand explained. *Dhruvadevī*, *Anantadevī* and *Mitradevī* are named after *Dhruva*, *Ananta* and *Sūrya*, all these three being also among the names of Vishṇu (verses 6, 70 and 94). It is worthy of note that Vishṇu shares with the Sun several names such as *Āditya*, *Arka*, *Bhānu*, *Ravi*, *Savītri*, *Sūrya*, and so forth. Of these the first namely *Āditya*, figures very prominently in the distinctive titles of the Gupta monarchs.

Krama of the title *Kramāditya*, which was borne by Skandagupta and Kumāragupta II, is not so familiar as *Vikrama* of the title *Vikramāditya*, that was peculiar to Chandragupta II. Both of them, strange to say, are Vishṇu's appellations :

Īśvaro Vikramā Dhanvī Medhāvī Vikramah Kramah

(verse 9).

Kumāragupta I assumed several titles such as *Mahendra*, *Ajitamahendra*, *Mahēndrasīmha*, *Sīmhamahendra*, *Mahendrakumāra* and so forth. Now, is it not remarkable that every one of the words involved in the above titles is a name of Vishṇu, *Mahendra*, *Ajita*, *Sīmha* and *Kumāra* ? The first three are given under these very names (verses 29, 59, and 22), and the last one under its synonym *Skanda* or *Gruha* as already shown. *Parākrama* and *Kṛitāntaparaśu*, the two distinctive epithets of Samudragupta, seem to be echoes of *Satyaparākrama* and *Khaṇḍaparaśu*, two other names of Vishṇu (verses 23 and 31). In his Allahabad *prāśasti* as well as in some inscriptions of his descendants, Samudragupta is likened to *Dhanada*, *Varuṇi*, *Indra* and *Antaka*. Besides the obvious idea underlying this similitude, there is perhaps again a veiled reference to Vishṇu, because the names of the four different gods referred to are also among those of Vishṇu, second and fourth under the very names and the other two under *Draviṇapraśa* and *Mahendra* (verses 59, 55, 29 and 61).

Chakravikrama is the legend that is found on the reverse of the unique specimen of Chandragupta II's gold coin described above. The type is named after this legend. The coin contains no other legend. The obverse contains only two

standing male figures, identified as Vishṇu and Chandragupta II, as is known from the description given by Dr. Altekar. Now, even though the name of the king concerned is not specifically mentioned on the coin, its ascription to Chandragupta II is correct because of the *vikrama* element of the legend on its reverse. *Vikrama* is distinctive of Chandragupta II, as *Mahendra* is distinctive of his son Kumāragupta I, whose various titles, each combined with *Mahendra*, we have just noticed. As for the title *Chakravikrama*, it is again an echo from the *Vishṇusahasranāma*, displaying the same ingenuity as we have noticed above in connection with the surname *Devaśrī* of Chandragupta II himself. Compare the relevant text of the *stotra* :

Arandraḥ Kuṇḍalī Chakrī Vikramy = Ūrjitaśāsanah
(verse 97)

The proximity of *Chakrī* and *Vikramī* is again remarkable, and how these two have lent themselves to the formation of the royal title *Chakravikrama*! Corresponding to Kumāragupta I's *Ajitamahendra* and *Simhamahendra* Chandragupta II had *Ajitavikrama* and *Simhavikrama*, which now become self-explanatory. *Ajitavikrama*, however, reminds us of *Amitavikrama*, another name of Vishṇu, mentioned twice in the *stotra* (verses 55 and 68).¹ Attention may also be drawn to the legend on the obverse of the Archer type of Skandagupta's gold coins, in which is read *Sudhanvī* or *Sudhanvī*, with the remark that "*Sudhanvā* would be a more usual form"² Here again we have to do with a name of Vishṇu who is called *Dhanvin*, as already quoted, and also *Sudhanvan* (verses 9 and 61).

Coming back to *Apratiratha*, with which we initiated the discussion, we have seen that in certain stone inscriptions it is applied to both Samudragupta and his son Chandragupta II. But so far as coins are concerned, it has been mentioned in connection with Samudragupta alone, and that too very conspicuously. The Archer type of his gold coins has, on the reverse, the simple legend *Apratirathaḥ*, and on the obverse, in addition to the name *Samudra* without any case-ending (engraved vertically, somewhat after the manner of a monogram,

1. It might be too much to suggest that in one of the two instances in the *stotra* the original reading might have been *Ajitavikrama*. Too much, because several other names are found therein repeated even more than once. There would thus be nothing unusual if *Amitavikrama* is repeated once. Besides, *Ajita*, being itself a name of Vishṇu, combines well in the title *Ajitavikrama*.

2. Allan's *Gupta Coins*, pp. cxx, 114-5. The same title, *Sudhanvā* or whatever its correct reading be, occurs also on the King-and-Lakshmi type of the emperor's coins (*ib. d.*, pp. 116-7).

under the left arm of the king's figure, serving only as an identification mark), the metrical legend: *Apratiratho vijitya kshitim ancharitair=divam jayati*.¹ It may now readily be admitted that *Apratiratha* stands here as a substantive and not as a mere adjective. Plainly the personality of *Apratiratha* (*Vishṇu*) is superimposed (*adhyāropita*, as it may be termed in Sanskrit poetics) on *Samudragupta*, who is thus presented to us as an embodiment of *Vishṇu*. It was in consideration of this that I proposed to render *prithivyām=apratirathasya* of the Allahabad inscription as '(the veriest) *Apratiratha* (morning) on earth'. Harisheṇa, the author of the inscription, seems to have inlaid, as it were, his elaborate composition with astute hints that would indeed make his master appear as the very *Vishṇu* on earth. One of them we have discussed in detail. *Parāṅkramāṅkasya* (l. 17) is perhaps another one. *Achintya* (l. 25) is yet another one. It may be pointed out that *Achintya* is again a name of *Vishṇu*, known from the *stotra* (verse 89). And his *sādhv-asādhūdaya-pralaya-hetu-puruṣasya* is so transparent that a Sanskritist would immediately recognise in it the well-known *Bhagavad vākya* :

*paritrāṇāya sādhanām
vināśāya cha dushkritam, etc.*

(*Bhagavad-gītā*, IV, 8).

An interested student is sure to discover many more similar instances where *Vishṇu* is reflected, in some form or other, in the Gupta nomenclature and phraseology.

The hoary antiquity of the *Vishṇusahasranāma* is beyond question, as it forms part of the great epic *Mahābhārata*. The *stotra* was evidently held in high esteem in the Gupta family from the very beginning. Its popularity grew with the growth of the Gupta empire. The *Vaishṇava* faith received further impetus during the reign of *Chandragupta II*, who was first in the family to adopt *Paramabhāgarata* as one of his official titles. *Samudragupta*, though he did not so openly profess his religious persuasion, was an equally zealous votary of *Vishṇu*. This is evident from the representation of the *Garuḍa* standard (*dhvaja*) on his gold coins as well as from various titles and epithets applied to him as explained here.

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

A UNIQUE GOLD COIN OF CHANDRAGUPTA II

By P. L. GUPTA, ASST.-EDITOR, AJ, BENARES.

The gold coin described in this paper was purchased by the Bharat Kala Bhawan, Benares, in 1947. It is a unique specimen of a hitherto unknown type of Chandragupta II. I shall first describe it.

Metal, gold ; size .8 in. ; weight ;

Obverse : King, nimbate, standing to left wearing coat, trousers, ear-rings and necklace, holding in the left hand *Rāja-daṇḍa* bound with fillet,¹ dropping incense on altar with his right hand ; to the left of the altar is the Garuḍa standard. Beneath the king's left arm, *Chandragu(pta)* written perpendicularly.² Circular legend, beginning at VII and ending at IV, *Śradavapritha vaśvasudha rajatyā*, which may be restored as *Śrīdeva-prīthvīśvaraḥ vasudhām vijitya jayati (divam³)*.

Reverse : Goddess, nimbate, seated on throne, facing ; holding *pāśa* in outstretched right hand and cornucopiae in the left, resting on thigh. On the right, the legend *Paramabhāgavata*. No symbol visible at present, but the coin has suffered from hammering in the upper left corner and the symbol may have been beaten out.

Pl. VII, 3.

The coin is in a fairly good state of preservation except for the hammering mark referred to earlier. It has also suffered from a scissor cut extending from the rim at III right up to its centre.

The legends on this coin call for a few remarks. The reverse legend *Paramabhāgavata* is not so far known to occur at this place on the coins of Chandragupta. The usual legend

1 The object in the king's left hand is identical with that held by the king on the so-called Standard type of Samudragupta. Mr. Allan has described it as standard ; but that does not seem to be a correct description. Indian tradition never favoured the king being his own standard-bearer. Kings however are frequently represented as carrying sceptres in their hand and I therefore have described this object as a *rājadaṇḍa* or sceptre.

2 Below the letter *gu*, there is space enough for the letter *pta*, but it does not appear on the flan. At this place the coin surface appears to have suffered from being beaten out ; it is likely that the letter *pta* may have disappeared in that process.

3 *Divam* is restored conjecturally ; there was no space on the coin for its being engraved. Gupta mint masters have often omitted considerable portions of the legend for want of space. See *J. N. S. I.* Vol. VIII pp. 66-7.

here is a *biruda* containing the word *vikrama*, e. g. *Śrīvikrama*, *Ajitavikrama*, *Chakravikrama* etc. *Paramabhāgarata* was however a well known epithet of that ruler and occurs in the legend on his silver coins.

In the obverse circular legend we have *Srīdevaprithivīśvara*. Ordinarily *deva* and *prithivīśvara* both denote a king, but in this case *Deva* should be taken as a proper name of the issuer; for it is well known from the Chammak copper plate of Pravarasena II that Chandragupta was also known as Devagupta. *Devāśrī* occurring in the coin legends of the Archer, the Couch and the Lion-slayer type (Class III var. B) of this ruler and is probably intended to refer to the other favourite name of the emperor by *double entendre*.

The palaeography of two of the letters on this coin is worth noting. Of these one is *gu* in the perpendicular legend on the obverse. The medial *u mātrā* of *gu* is generally denoted in Gupta palaeography by a round semi-circle attached below its right limb and reaching up to nearly half its height. The form of *gu* on the present coin is unusual, and it was probably necessitated by the immediate contiguity of the *daṇḍa* on the right, leaving no sufficient space for the usual form of *gu*. The present form of *gu* is however to be seen on a copper coin of Kumāragupta in the Bodleian collection (*B. M. C.* p. 113) and also on a silver coin of Skandagupta of the Altar type (*Ibid.*, p. 122) issued in the west. Can this circumstance suggest that the present coin was also issued in the western part of the Gupta dominion? Among the gold coins the present form of *gu* is to be seen only on the coins of Narasinhagupta on the obverse between the king's feet (*Ibid.*, p. 137).

The second letter worth noting is *bha* occurring on the reverse. Its form is rather unusual, but it is probably due to the instrument having slipped while engraving the top of the left limb.

It would be desirable to discuss here another gold coin of Chandragupta II, which really seems to have belonged to the Standard type. It was obtained by Rodgers in 1890 from Haripura in the Punjab and has been described in *J. R. A. S.*, 1893, p. 145 by V. A. Smith.

Obverse : King standing left, casting incense on altar; trident with fillet above altar; king's left arm raised and passed through the loop of spear.¹ Legend arranged perpendicularly, *Chandra* under left arm of the King, and *Gupta* outside the spear.

1. *Rājadaṇḍa* had been taken to be a spear by Smith.

Reverse : Throned goddess carrying cornucopiæ, her body attenuated wasplike. No legend.

The coin is not illustrated and the description is not complete, but it shows that the coin is of the Standard type and belonged to Chandragupta II. The coin was attributed to Chandragupta II but it was suggested that it was probably issued by some Śaka feudatory of the Guptas. This probability was suggested simply on the ground of its find-place being in the Punjab, and Rodgers was inclined to read *śaka* for *gupta*, but *pa* is said to be clear on the coin. We are not aware of any feudatory as being authorised by the Guptas to issue coins in their name. So this suggestion is not tenable and the more so in view of the present coin.

The description of the two coins differs in many respects, but it seems that they are of the same king and are of the same type.

While the name of the king Chandragupta is written on the Kalābhawan coin in a single perpendicular line, it is written on Rodgers' coin in two perpendicular lines, as on the coins of Samudragupta, Standard type, var. B. We know that Samudragupta had issued his coins in both the forms, i.e. name in a single perpendicular line, and in two perpendicular lines. Where the name is in a single line, it is only *Samudra* and *Gupta* is omitted. But in the case of Chandragupta the name under arm is full on both the coins, and this could be possible because it has only four letters. So, like the coins of Samudragupta these coins may be of two varieties of the same type.

The other striking difference in the motif of the obverse of the two coins is that one has the Garuḍa standard and the other trident with fillet above the standard. We do not know any Gupta coin with trident in this place. Even on the coins of Chandragupta I and the Battle-axe type of Samudragupta, where there is no Garuḍa standard, the royal emblem of the Guptas, we do not find its place taken by the trident. The trident was the emblem of the Kūṣāṇas; so one may be inclined to attribute Rodgers' coin to some ruler of that dynasty. But to me it appears very probable that the shape of Garuḍa with its spread wings has been mistaken for a trident, crudely executed. Really speaking, the so-called trident was intended to be a Garuḍa standard.

The only material difference between the two coins is that our coin has got a legend on the reverse while Mr. Rodgers' had none. No Gupta coin is known without a reverse legend, so, in the absence of the illustration of the coin, no plausible

explanation can be suggested at present. Is it that the legend was overlooked? Is it that there was legend and could not be deciphered?

Any way, Rodgers' coin too was a genuine issue of Chandragupta II and was possibly another variety of this type.

EDITOR'S REMARKS

While publishing this unique Standard type coin of Chandragupta II, Mr. Gupta has done very well in drawing our attention to another coin attributed to that ruler, which apparently seems to have belonged to the same type. Both Smith and Rodgers agree that the Haripura coin described by them has *Chandra* written perpendicularly under the left arm of the king, and that the latter holds in his left hand an object variously described as a spear, a standard or a *rājadaṇḍa*. The same is the case with the present coin. The reverse of both has Goddess seated on throne. The resemblance is therefore striking and lends colour to the view that the coin of Rodgers was also another issue of the Standard type of Chandragupta.

Unfortunately the coin of Rodgers has not been illustrated and so it is very difficult to arrive at a convincing conclusion on the present point. To make matters more complicated, Smith and Rodgers, who were both experienced numismatists, differ in reading the legend on the obverse. Both agree that *Chandra* is written under the arm; but Smith detected traces of a *p* outside the spear and so was inclined to complete the legend as *Chandragupta*. Rodgers on the other hand read the word as *Shāka*.

I am not inclined to agree with the view of Mr. Gupta that the coin of Rodgers was another specimen of the Standard type of Chandragupta II.

(1) Rodgers' coin was in pale gold, obviously it was heavily adulterated and Chandragupta II is so far not known to have issued any coins in base gold. Gupta empire was at the height of its prosperity and Chandragupta is not likely to have sanctioned the issue of adulterated gold coins.

(2) It has been noted that the goddess on the reverse of the coin of Rodgers had an attenuated and wasp-like body. Such is the case with most of the coins issued by later Kushāṇas, and not with any issued by Chandragupta II, whose coins show the numismatic art at a high level.

(3) If we are to follow Mr. Gupta, we have to suppose that Gupta mint-masters in charge of this rather rare type were so incompetent and worthless that what they engraved as a

Garuḍa standard was possible to be mistaken as a trident. I think this very improbable.

(4) Both Smith and Rodgers are positive that the object under discussion was a trident with fillet on its staff. Chandra-gupta, who expressly describes himself as Paramabhāgavata on the reverse of this very type, would certainly have realised the incongruity of replacing the usual Garuḍadhvaja associated with Viṣṇu by trident associated with Śiva.

(5) When we remember how the reading of the legend was a point of difference between Smith and Rodgers, it is very unlikely that they should have overlooked entirely the legend on the reverse. I think it but reasonable to assume that the coin in question had no legend on the reverse, as expressly stated by Rodgers and Smith. This would tend to show that it was a late Kushāṇa and not a Gupta coin, for the former had usually no legend on the reverse.

(6) Another point worth noting is that both Smith and Rodgers are quite silent as to the existence of a circular legend on the obverse of their coin. This shows that the coin had no circular as Brāhmī legend, as is the case with most of the coins issued by the later Kushāṇas. The Kalābhawana coin has a fairly long legend on the obverse and so Rodgers' coin could not have belonged to its class.

If the coin of Rodgers had really Chandra written under the arm, I am inclined to regard it as an issue of a Kushāṇa feudatory of the Guptas, like a similar other coin which has Samudra written under the arm. The coin has not been illustrated, and so it is hazardous to conjecture. But I think it very probable that Rodgers' coin had under the arm of the king Bhadra and not Chandra. In the palæography of this period, a carelessly engraved *bhu* can be mistaken for a *ch*, if a coin is ill-engraved or blurred. We have other later Kushāṇa coins with Bhadra written under the arm. One such coin has been illustrated in *I. M. C.*, I, pl. XIV. 5. and a glance at it will convince how *bha* can look almost undistinguishable from *cha*. On this *I. M. C.* coin, the lower letter outside the spear looks exactly like *pta*, but the letter above it is clearly *shā* and not *gu*. On Rodgers' coin Smith could see the traces of a *pu* only, which was obviously a part of *pta* of the *I. M. C.* piece. I am inclined to think that Rodgers' coin was an issue of Bhadra, similar to the coin of that ruler illustrated in *I. M. C.*, but considerably blurred.

REVIEW

Coins of Marwar by M. M. Pandit Bishveshwar Nath Reu,
Superintendent of Archæology, Jodhpur; pp. 1-29; 5 plates.
Published by Jodhpur Government, 1946.

In the present booklet, the author gives an interesting account of the coinage of Marwar from c. 400 B. C. to 1945. Notices of early coinage of Marwar remained scattered at different places; an account of the medieval and modern coinage could be gathered from different catalogues not easily procurable. It was therefore a step in the right direction to bring out a brochure describing the Marwar coinage from the earliest times to the present day in one place. The numismatic world would be grateful to the author and the Jodhpur Government for this useful publication.

Marwar had no special coinage of its own in the ancient period. The author has therefore given an account of such ancient coins as were found in Marwar. They were however few; the bulk of the book therefore naturally deals with the modern coinage of the state. The author describes the coinage, illustrates the important types and gives the transliteration and translation of the coin legends. The book also gives many interesting facts about mint-management during the last 200 years. It is illustrated by five plates.

The author refers to the hoards 6,585 coins of the early Arab Governors of Sindha and 3871 coins of the Gadhia type. It would have been very good if these coins had been adequately dealt with in the book. Let us hope that the author will bring out fresh booklets dealing with these coins. Meanwhile he has already contributed a preliminary paper on the coins of the Arab Governors of Sindh, which we have published in this number.

A. S. ALTEKAR

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

(Held in Bombay on the 27th and 29th of December, 1947.)

The annual meeting of the Numismatic Society of India for 1947 started in Bombay on the 27th of December, 1947, at 11 A. M. in the Convocation Hall. M. M. Dr. P. V. Kane, Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, welcomed the delegates and commended the work done by the Society during the last 27 years. He congratulated Col. H. H. Shri Brajendra Sawai Brajendra Singhji Bahadur, Bahadur Jung, the Maharaja of Bharatpur, upon the epoch-making discovery of the Gupta hoard in his kingdom, expressed his delight at the steps he was taking to publish its contents and requested him to inaugurate the Conference.

The Maharaja Sahab then delivered his inaugural address and concluded it by announcing a non-recurring donation of Rs. 5,000 and an annual donation of Rs. 1,000 to the Society. The inaugural address is printed on pp. 57-58 of this number.

Dr. J. N. Unwala and Father H. Heras expressed the thanks of the Society to His Highness for his handsome donation. The generosity of His Highness to the Society had reminded them, they said, of the generosity of ancient kings like Vikramāditya and Bhoja to learned scholars and colleges.

Dr. A. S. Altekar then delivered the presidential address printed on pp. 59-77 of this number.

The meeting then adjourned to 2 p. m.

In the adjourned meeting the rare and representative coins from the Bayana hoard were shown by Dr. A. S. Altekar, which were kindly sent for exhibition by the Bharatpur government. A number of papers were read, some of which are included in the present number.

The business meeting of the Society was held on the 29th of December, 1947, when the following members were present.

1. Dr. A. S. Altekar, President.
2. R. G. Gyani, M. A., Bombay.
3. Mr. S. C. Upadhyaya, M. A., Bombay.
4. Mr. M. N. Deshpande, M. A., Poona.
5. Mr. V. P. Rode, M. A., Jodhpur.
6. M. M. B. N. Reu, Jodhpur.
7. The Director of Archæology, Baroda State.
8. Dr. J. M. Unwala, Bombay.

9. Mr. S. M. Shukla, Bombay.
10. Mr. P. L. Gupta, Benares.
11. The Curator, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.
12. Mr. I. B. Patil, B. A., LL. B., Bombay.
13. The State Archæologist, Rajpipla State.
14. Dr. V. S. Agrawala, New Delhi.
15. Dr. Motichand, Bombay.
16. The Curator, Indore Museum, Indore.

The following condolence resolutions were passed.

The Society records its deep sense of sorrow at the death of Sir Richard Burn, one of the founder members of the Society, who, by his research work, threw light on many a dark spots of Indian history and numismatics, and who was a tower of strength to the Society, of which he was thrice a President. The Society conveys its sincere condolence to the members of the bereaved family.

The Society is shocked at the sudden and premature death of Dr. M. H. Krishna, Director of Archæology, Mysore. In Dr. Krishna the Society has lost a valuable member, a distinguished archæologist and one of the greatest authorities on South Indian numismatics. The Society offers its heart-felt sympathy to Mrs. Krishna and other members of the family.

The Society also records its deep sense of sorrow at the sudden demise of Mr. Bhattasali of the Dacca Museum.

The President then made a statement, explaining the general financial position of the Society.

The audited statement of accounts, printed on pp. 156-9 of this number was then passed.

It was decided to recommend to the Central Government that it should appoint a Committee of experts to select suitable devices for the coinage of Free India, which would be reminiscent of its artistic and cultural traditions and heritage.

It was decided to have a Chairman of the Executive Committee separate from the President of the Society. A committee was also appointed with Dr. Altekar, as chairman and Messrs. Motichand and V. S. Agrawal as members, to draft a better constitution for the Society.

The following office-bearers were then elected :—

- Dr. J. M. Unwala, President.
- Dr. A. S. Altekar, Chairman.
- Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, Vice-President.
- Mr. R. G. Gyani, M. A., Secretary of the Society.
- Mr. C. R. Singhal, Asst. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer.

MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1. Prin. V. V. Mirashi, Amaraoti.
2. Mr. A. S. Gadre, M. A., Baroda.
3. Dr. V. S. Agrawala, M. A.
4. Pt. B. N. Reu, Jodhpur.
5. Mr. Paramanand Acharya, B. Sc., Mayurbhanj.
6. Dr. Motichand, Bombay.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

1. Prin. V. V. Mirashi, Amaraoti.
2. Dr. V. S. Agrawala, New Delhi.
3. Mr. R. G. Gyani, Bombay.
4. Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmad, Dacca.
5. Dr. P. M. Joshi, Bombay.
6. Dr. R. B. Pande, Benares.

It was resolved to sanction an expenditure of Rs. 250/- for the preparation of slides and Rs. 500/- for the purchase of books for the Taylor Library. Other expenditure was to be on the lines of the last year's budget, passed by circulation. The expenditure for the Special Discovery Gold and Silver medals was to be met out of the Bharatpur grant.

Special Publication Fund Budget.

1. It was resolved to sanction an honorarium of Rs. ten per page for the articles accepted for the Standard Work of Reference and of Rs. six for the Bibliography on Indian Numismatics.

2. It was resolved to sanction the necessary expenditure in connection with the photographing work connected with the Standard Work of Reference. This year an amount upto Rs. 2,000 may be spent.

3. It was resolved to sanction T. A. and Halting expenditure upto Rs. 1000 in order to enable the editor of the Standard Work to visit the different museums to ensure the inclusion of all important coins in the Volume.

4. It was resolved to pay a subsidy of Rs. 200/- to P. L. Gupta in order to enable him to collect all the material necessary for his corpus on Gupta Coinage. Mr. Gupta expressed his willingness to present five copies of his work to the Society.

5. It was decided that the Society should undertake to publish popular books on Numismatics in Indian languages and a committee of Dr. A. S. Altekar, Dr. V. S. Agrawala and Dr. Motichand was appointed to impliment the scheme.

6. The Society desires to convey its grateful thanks to the Maharajasahib and the Government of Bharatpur for the princely donation of Rs 5000/- (non-recurring) and Rs. 1000/- recurring, sanctioned by them.

The Society records its deep thanks to the Governments of Bihar, Madras, Baroda and Jaipur for their recurring grants to the Society and to the Government of the U. P. and the Trustees of the Tata Charitees for their non-recurring grant of Rs. 1500 and Rs. 1000 respectively for the projected work on Indian Numismatics.

OF INDIA.

from 1st Jan., 1947 to 30th Nov., 1947.

INCOME	Rs.	As.	Ps.	Rs.	As.	Ps.
By Interest :—						
H. S. Account, Central Bank of India No. 105518 ...				0	10	0
Postal Savings Bank Account No. 478633 ...				317	4	0
„ Subscriptions :—						
Arrears ...	529	7	0			
Current ...	510	10	0			
Life ...	200	0	0			
Advance ...	14	0	0			
Quinquennial ...	105	0	0	1,359	1	0
„ Sale of Journal ...				210	1	0
„ Government Grants :—						
Bombay Government ...	300	0	0			
Orissa „ ...	600	0	0			
Madras „ ...	300	0	0			
Hyderabad State ...	200	0	0			
Jaipur State ...	50	0	0	1,450	0	0
„ Excess of Expenditure over Income transferred to General Fund				547	6	6
				3,884	6	6

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Balance Sheet as at

FUND & LIABILITIES	Rs.	As.	Ps.	Rs.	As.	Ps.
General Fund :—						
Balance as on 1st Jan., 1947.				988	7	10
<i>Less</i> Excess of Expenditure over income during the year ...				547	6	6
				441	1	4
Special Publication Fund Ac :						
Balance as on 1st Jan., 1947.	9,000	0	0			
Addition during the year ...	1,000	0	0			
				10,000	0	0
				10,441	1	4

We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the books and vouchers and beg to report that we have obtained all the informations and explanations we have required and in our opinion, the above Balance Sheet exhibits a true and a correct view of the state of affairs of the Society according to the information and explanations given to us and as shown by the books of the Society.

BOMBAY,
Dated this 22nd day of Dec., 1947.

DINUBHAI & Co.,
Registered Accountants,
Hon. Auditors.

OF INDIA.

30th November, 1947.

PROPERTY & ASSETS	Rs.	As.	Ps.	Rs.	As.	Ps.
Furniture ...				100	0	0
Cash and other balances :						
Postal Cash Certificate matur- ing on 28-2-50 ...	3,525	0	0			
Postal Saving Bank A/c No. 478633 ...	458	2	0			
National Saving Certificate, maturing on 1-4-50 ...	2,000	0	0			
National Saving Certificate, maturing on 2-7-56 ...	1,000	0	0			
National Saving Certificate, maturing on 25-4-59 ...	3,000	0	0			
Central Bank H/S Account No. 105518 ...	70	9	1			
Bank of India Ltd., Current A/c ...	322	7	3			
Cash on Hand ..	54	15	0	10,341	1	4
				10,441	1	4

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1 OBV.



2 OBV.



3 OBV.



4



5 OBV.



5 REV.

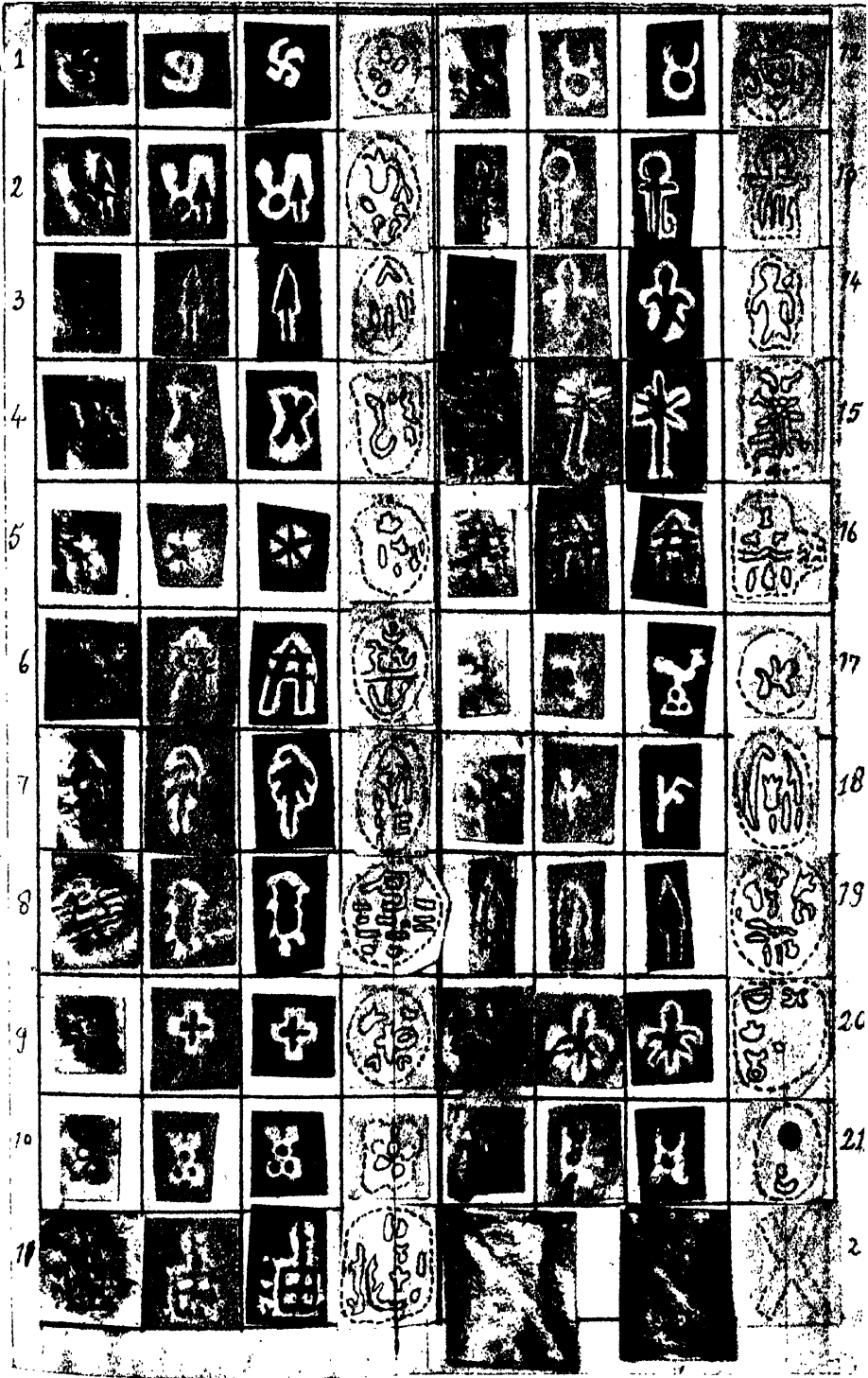


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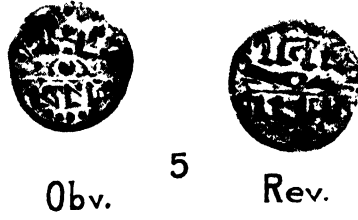
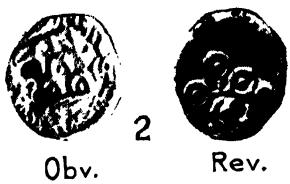
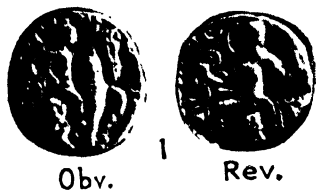


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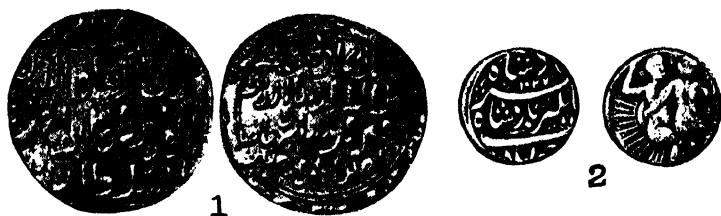
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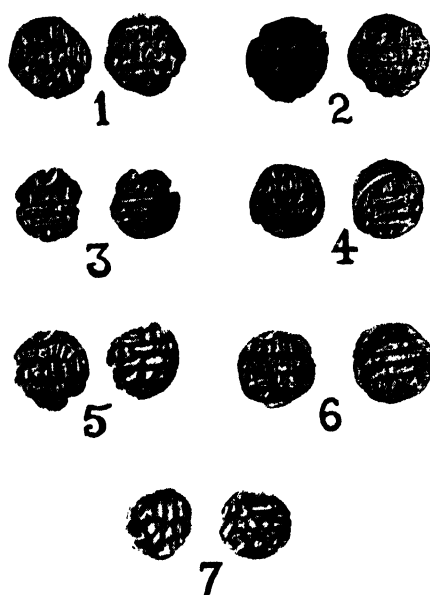


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B.



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THE
JOURNAL
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NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

VOL. X

JUNE 1948

PART I

Issued in February, 1949

EDITOR

PROF. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., LL.B., D.LITT.,

*Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture,
Benares Hindu University.*



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NOTES ON PUNCH-MARKED PURĀṆAS.

BY T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN, M.A.B.L., MADRAS.

I. INTRODUCTION.

STUDY OF PUNCH-MARKED PURĀṆAS : PRESENT POSITION.

The study of the punch-marked series of Purāṇa coins is in a very unsatisfactory condition, especially in regard to classification, which is the starting point for fruitful investigations into the character and the history of a form of currency that has no parallel. In the early days of the study of these coins the novelty of the symbols on them attracted attention to the exclusion of other features of the series and only one variety of this species of coinage was, in effect, recognised.¹ A hoard found in the Bhir Mound at Taxila in 1912 was announced to be of an interesting variety, but for a long time it was given no further attention.² Another hoard, found at Golakhpur in 1917, is of a different variety and is strikingly distinct from the one which we know to be common, but the differences passed unnoticed.³ It was claimed that in 1924-5 a new variety came to light at Kosam, but little was said about it that is useful.⁴ Further varieties came to be brought together steadily about this time, but, though much written about, they have not been studied with discrimination.⁵ The varieties of the symbols on punch-marked Purāṇas and the collocations in which they appear have been dwelt upon at length, the content of the symbols has been gone into in the light of late literature, some parallels to the symbols have been pointed out in Buddhist remains and in the antiquities discovered at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa and schemes of chronology have been propounded on surmises as to the dating of certain symbols and variations in weight standards. But no attempt has so far

1. Theobald, *JASB.* (1890) 59 : 181-268 : 8-11, and *ib.* (1901) 70 : 38-63.

2. Marshall, in *ASI. AR.* 1913 : 41-2, 45. 11 (1) ; Walsh, *Punch-marked Coins from Taxila*, (1939), 2, 31-5 : 42-8.

3. Walsh, in *JBORS.* (1919) 5 : 16-72 : 1-4. He noticed that just a few pieces of the find did 'appear to be of a different type to the others' (*ib.* 1b) and that the marks on the pieces were 'all of a simple nature' (*ib.* 33), but he still stuck to the old classification by shapes (*ib.* 23).

4. The 'double axe' type series : Chanda, in *ASIAR.*, 1925 : 181 : 32.

5. Durga Prasad was indefatigable ; see his papers in *JASB. NS.* (1934) 80 : N5-59 : 1-32, and *ib.* (1938) 9 : N61-90 : 6-11.

been made to study the varieties of the minting methods, of the fabric of the pieces, of the choice of subjects for the symbols or of the styles in which the symbols are executed, though these are as important as any of the other factors for an adequate appreciation of the character and the importance of this coinage. Needless to say, there has been no thought of inter-relating these various special features of this species of coinage. The efforts at a comparative study of the symbols has been uninformed by knowledge of the archæology of other ancient cultures, and even of the tradition which Buddhism inherited and embodied in its sculptured stones. The investigation of the origins of this species has been conditioned by inhibitions and prejudices.¹ The chronology has remained difficult as investigation has gone on false scents. Numerous pieces have been weighed meticulously in attempts at fixing the weight-standards, and inferring variations in them, but without setting a basis for the determination of the relationship of relevant factors, such as the length of time in which the coins were in circulation, the rapidity of the circulation, the extent of loss through corrosion and wear. Conclusions reached in such attempts being the bases of the systems of the classification now in the field, confusion has been the inevitable result.² The numismatist has to compromise with the archæologist who, in turn, has to square it up with the statistician and all three have to stand apologetic before the critical lay student who finds that their conclusions lack coherence.

NEW LINES OF APPROACH

It is obvious that other modes of approach are essential if we are to succeed in placing the study of this species of coinage on a sound basis. It is my object here to show how other modes of approach have to be essayed and what conclusions they promise to lead to.

My study of this class of coins became intensive in April 1932 when I had virtually to start on a Catalogue of the

1. But for a perusal of Coomaraswamy's paper on the foreign contacts of early Indian culture, in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* (1928) 4:—, which came to be known to me about 1935, I might myself have not been able to shake off such inhibitions, they having been due, in my case, to deep-seated doubts about the value of speculations on contacts, when archæology has failed to draw up even the faintest of remnants of 'Aryan' culture in the western hinterlands of India.

2. Even Mr. Allan who noticed that the Golakhpur, the Paila and the Sahet Mahet hoards form distinct varieties,—or is it one distinct variety?—has not set out the differentiae, perhaps, because coins from these finds are wanting in the British Museum: See his *BMCC. Ancient India* (1936), 70. Bhandarkar assigned cast coins to this punch-marked species: *ASI. AR.*, 1914: 210, 212-3.

coins of this class preserved in the Madras Government Museum. Having had to study about 1500 pieces which had reached the Museum from about twenty finds in both the north and the south of the country, and having had to retouch, or revise, with my own pencil as many as 1600 sketches of the symbols on them, which I was getting prepared under my eye, my knowledge of this class of coins became intimate. The study of these coins led me on from enquiry and put me on my mettle; my interest in them became all absorbing in a little while. I started forthwith on the preparation of a *Corpus* of the early symbols of this country, to serve as a basis for the comparative study of the symbols on this species of coinage and those on other classes of currency and on other antiquities, but I had not to go far into the work to find that, while the symbols on these Purāṇas have no striking affiliations with those to be found in the earliest Buddhist and 'Hindu' antiquities, some of them have a close affinity to the countermarks on Persian sigloi.¹ It being also just then that a consolidated study of the objects brought up in the excavations at Mohenjo-Daro was published,² the strain of Harappa 'blood' in the symbols on the punch-marked, the cast and the die-struck Purāṇas became clear to me,³ as to others."⁴ I realised also that the punch-marked Purāṇa coinage is an isolated phenomenon, while the main body of Indian coinage is indigenous⁵ and that Greek coinage derived a motif or two from the coinage native to the country.⁶ The impetus of these discoveries took me on to an extensive study of the symbols current in the early cultures of other countries. I had been finding

1. Rapson, who had first pointed out the resemblance, in *JRAS.* 1895: 874-7, appears to have subsequently changed his mind: Hill, *BMC. Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia* (1927), 138. But a conviction of the soundness of his suggestion was borne in on me on a look at the illustrations given by Milne in *Num. Chr.* (1916) 4, 16:

2. Marshall's *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization* (1931) was just then getting on to the shelves of our libraries.

3. While others published their papers, I reserved my conclusions on these similarities and on other investigations of mine into the problems presented by these coins for inclusion in the *Catalogues* of the Madras Museum, they having been reached in the course of my work for that institution. When, however, a few of my results became more relevant to an exposition of the vestiges of the Harappa culture and the chances of an early publication of the *Catalogue* were receding, I set out a few of them in my book, *Some Survivals of the Harappa Culture* (1942), being *NIA.* (1941-2) 4.

4. Pran Nath, in *IHQ.* (1931) 6: Sup. 11-4; Fabri, in *JRAS.* 1935: 307-18; Durga Prasad, in *JASB. NS.* (1934): N9: 28-30, published in May 1935.

5. My book, *Some Survivals of the Harappa Culture* (1942) 2-11, 32-6, being *NIA.* (1941-2) 4: 254-68, 322-6.

6. See my *Some Survivals of the Harappa Culture* (1942) 5-9, being *NIA* (1941-2) 4: 257-61.

it difficult to 'place' the pieces of the Golakhpur find, and the difficulty increased when about this time new varieties, such as the pieces named after Kōśala, were published,¹ especially as no such coins were available to me for study. Fortunately, a batch of twenty-five pieces from a hoard of quite a novel class, found at Singavaram, reached my hands in November 1935 and it let in much light on a few of the points that had badly needed elucidation: it became possible to see fairly clearly the reasons for the differences that mark off the varieties,² and also to begin establishing the inter-relations of factors such as type, style, fabric and date. I experimented with punches and dies which I got made to test hypothesis suggested by this find. I was in for another run of luck when, almost immediately, I had an unexpected opportunity to study a few specimens of the new varieties.³ I was now able to progress to tentative conclusions about important features of the punch-marked *purāṇas*. It had also become clear by then that these *purāṇas* 'bear symbols which seem likely to prove a very close contact of the peoples of India with those to the north-west,'⁴ and I could not close my eyes to similarities 'from regions so far away as Susa, Babylon, Badari, Elizavetgrad and Knossos and so early as the period of pre-Dynastic Egypt.'⁵ Further light becoming available about the connection between Persian sigloi and the punch-marked *purāṇas* and the 'bent-bar' coins,⁶ I had to accept foreign origins,—at least, foreign

1. Durga Prasad, in *JASB, NS*, (1934) 80: N—1-3.

2. On the Singavaram coins I read a paper before the Archaeological Society of South India in February 1936. It was expanded and presented to the International Numismatic Congress, London, June-July 1936, and published in its *Transactions* (1938), 393-401, though in an abridged form.

3. Durga Prasad, who was, in December 1935, on his way back from the Mysore session of the All-India Oriental Conference, called on me kindly at Madras and gave me a glimpse of a selection of the pieces in his collection.

4. Quoted from the 'Advance Proceedings' of the Archaeological Society of South India, containing a summary of a paper presented by me at its meeting in February 1936.

5. Quoted from the 'Advance Proceedings' of the same Society, which summarises a paper presented by me to it at the meeting of August 1936. One bit of further evidence of contact has been offered by me in a paper, 'A Link between India and Crete', in *Man* (1939) 39-186, pp. 190-2.

6. Hill's *BMCC. Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia*, (1927), with the illustrations in it of the symbols on Persian Sigloi (*Ib.*, 137), came to my knowledge about October 1936, and I wrote to Mr. Allan of the British Museum, in December 1936, that I had come to believe that 'the punch-marked coins of India' had 'evolved in the midst of a culture acted upon by West Asiatic influences', but as I wished to verify the facts for myself before coming to a definite conclusion I requested him to send me casts of a few sigloi with marks similar to those on the punch-marked pieces. Early in January 1937 Mr. Allan had the kindness to send me the casts and he wrote that he had come to the same conclusion in his *BMCC. Ancient India* (1936), and the book became available to me in February 1937. Mr. Allan deals with the similarity to the symbols on the sigloi at p. 71 of that work.

contacts,—for both these series of coinages. I was also endeavouring to establish external chronological links by seeking to settle the dates when the Roman coins found in association with these pieces in some finds should have got buried.¹ In August-September 1939 I had occasion to study varieties of the punch-marked *purāṇas* in the hands of dealers and collectors, and in the Museum collections, at Mathura, Delhi, Lucknow, Allahabad, Benares and Calcutta. One of the private collections,—that of Durga Prasad of Benares,—was varied and revealing² and the Allahabad Museum Collection³ contained a few pieces from Kosam which were of much value. Shortly after my return to Madras, I had more punches and dies made and I experimented with them, taking special note of the variations on the composition of the coin-metal and the punch-or the die-material, the temperature of the flans, the configurations of the striking surfaces and the force and the direction of the blow on the striking piece, and it was a pleasure to find the conclusions I had been reaching on the minting technique confirmed by the experiments. Clues to chronology, though faint, became available with the publication, in 1940, of the details of the composition of the Taxila and Purnea hoards⁴, and the narrowness of difference in respect of one factor between varieties that are substantially distinct in regard to other factors became obvious with the publication, in 1941, of a study of the Paila hoard.⁵ Then came, in 1941, the Bodinaikkanur find, on a tentative study of which it was possible for me to narrow greatly the limits within which differences of view are permissible over the significance of the reverse marks.⁶ Of late there have appeared further papers on this class of coinage, but they have brought out little that is of significance. I believe, therefore, that a comprehensive review of all the problems presented by

1. This is incorporated in my *Catalogue of Roman and Byzantine Coins in the Madras Museum*, for issuing which the Press is waiting for supplies of paper.

2. I studied it as Durga Prasad's guest at Benares.

3. Built up by another enthusiast, B. M. Vyas, who had the kindness to allow me to ransack the numerous bags in which the coins lay stored.

4. Bhattacharya, *A Hoard of Silver Punch-marked Coins from Purnea*, (1939), 3, 1:7; cf. Walsh, in *JNSI*. (1942) 49:7, and Walsh, *Punch-marked Coins from Taxila*, (1939), 85. The Bajaur hoard of 1942 would have been helpful had it but been possible to determine whether it came at least from the same stratum as the deposit of the Indo-Greek coins, both of which are said to have been 'found close together'. Haughton, in *JNSI*. (1942) 4:61, and Prayag-Dayal, in *JNSI*. (1943) 5:8.

5. Walsh, on the Paila hoard. in *JNSI*. (1940) 2:15-78: 1-7. How far the striking of some of these pieces is a clue to chronology has yet to be decided on a special investigation of the phenomena of re-striking; the data have not so far been collected.

6. *JNSI*. (1944) 6: 1-4.

these coins is bound to lead to the elucidation of many of the points on which we are without light.

The project of the Catalogue of the pieces in the Madras Museum, having had to be held over,¹ I need no longer refrain from publishing the results of these studies of mine. It shall, therefore, be my endeavour to present some of my conclusions in brief in the subsequent papers.

2. THE PUNCHES.

CHARACTERISTICS

The characteristic feature of the punch-marked coinage is that the coins of this species bear, both on the obverse and on the reverse, a number of marks which are curious for their number, variety, permutation, shape, style, evocation and disposition.

The marks on the obverse are irregular in shape. Each mark is ordinarily about a one-sixth of the flan in area. Many of the marks do not appear in full on any piece, especially those which, being designs answering to patterns, would cover more than the normal area of a mark, if the pattern were expressed in full. On some of the pieces there are no marks at all on the reverse, while in a few they may be as many as a dozen; ordinarily, they are two or three on a piece. They are very small, being about a one-fourth of the normal obverse-mark area, and are as irregular in space as those on the other face.

No order or system can be found in the 'orientation' or the sequence of the impress of the marks, whether on the obverse or on the reverse. The marks may be found impressed on any part of the flan, though, ordinarily, the obverse marks are to be found along the margins of the pieces. Few of the marks appear in the middle. No mark has a fixed direction; the 'hill' mark,—to cite an obvious example,—which is composed of an arch, the 'peak', surmounting two arches which, in their turn, surmount three arches, is found impressed with its peak pointed in every conceivable direction. The marks on each face occur in varying sequences on the

1. I may adduce other reasons also. One of them is that the punches and dies I had experimented with, the notes I had made of the experiments, the bulk of my notes on this species of coinage and the draft of the Introduction to the *Museum Catalogue* having been lost in the season of exodus from Madras in 1941-2 which resulted from the Japanese menace to the city, I should no longer tarry over at least a summary statement of my conclusions, lest even what I remember or recollect fade away with the lapse of time. Another reason is that my intellectual interests are shifting and I may not later on find either the leisure or the inclination to write on this subject, though it had kept me enthralled for ten years.

various pieces, even when the marks are the same. They are also capriciously inter-spaced and interspersed. Often, the marks cut across one another. The impress of each mark varies in depth and direction; in one piece the peak of the 'hill' may be more deeply impressd than the base, in another the right slope deeper than the left and, in a third, the base deeper than the peak, and so on, ad infinitum. This is ordinarily due to the punch having been held in different degrees of slant on different flans or to different punches having been differently applied to the same flan. It is, thus, clear that the marks on both the faces were impressed by separate punches struck one after another, that the punches were not assembled into grouped units,—that is, dies, for striking, and that the several marks had not been engraved together in one die that could cover the whole of the flan of the coin.

That the striking of these pieces is with punches, and not dies, accounts for some of the characteristics of this species of coinage. We shall here confine ourselves to an elucidation of the types of punches with which the marks were impressed.

Every mark on a punch-marked Purāṇa, whether on the obverse or on the reverse, lies in an incuse—a stamped-in depression,—all its own which, running round and isolating it from the rest of the coin-face, invests it with individuality. The differentiation of the several parts or limbs of the mark is effected by similar depressions between the parts to be marked off. It is truer to say that each limb of a mark is isolated from the plan by stamping a depression along the limb and that these depressions running together serve as incuse for the mark. Thus, each mark stands out in relief from an incuse that has cut down into the flan to an appreciably lower plane. Rarely, a mark, such as the 'sun', secures sufficient individuality when the divergent 'rays' are marked off by depressions between rays and rays: in such cases, an incuse is not run round the mark. Thus the mark is ordinarily produced by its immediate environs on the coin-face and the interstices between its several parts being beaten down into a lower plane with a punch. There are as many incuses in a piece as there are marks in it. Every punch used in the manufacture of these pieces is, therefore, a metal stick with a flat end in which, depressions being carved so as to differentiate the various limbs of the mark and linked together so as to encompass the whole of the mark, a series of ridges stand out answering to what in the flan are the incuse and the differentiating depressions. When the punch so engraved is applied to the flan and is struck with a

hammer, the ridges cut into the flan and produce in it depressions to correspond, so that, the outlines of the several parts of the mark and its periphery being defined in the flan, the mark stands evoked as a unit. The ridges are so high that all the rest of the punch beyond them does not come into contact with the flan : the 'shoulder' of the punch is low.

This looks simple and conclusive, but it is this apparent simplicity that has blinded us to important features that otherwise would have attracted attention. While the inner line of the incuse serves to give definition to those details of the mark that occur along its periphery, and, so, adheres strictly to the outlines of those details, the purpose of the outer line is merely to give the incuse an appreciable width and, so, it is freer and more cursive. The incuse may faithfully follow the outlines of the symbol and be no more than a thin line in width ; it may not be quite continuous ; it may widen into a channel, narrow but not thin, following closely the outline of the mark but not slavishly ; it may grow into a freer depression answering roughly to the general shape of the mark while not reproducing that shape in an enlarged form ; or, its outer line may assume a regular or a geometrical shape, such as that of a circle or an oval or a square, departing substantially from the shape of the mark. Indeed, these are not true incuses, for they serve merely to mark off the boundaries of the symbols. The punch may leave unaffected the bits of metal not caught within its ridges so that the mark is on the same plane as the rest of the coin ; the punch may mould the mark up into various gradations of relief, raising it from the incuse in a continuous series of planes and yet the highest of the planes may not be above the plane of the rest of the flan, reproducing, thus, what in sculpture is known as sunk relief ; or, it may mould the mark into relief so high that portions of it rise above the level of the flan around.

These are variations from the normal which appreciably affect both the appearance of the marks and the appearance of the pieces. These deviations are found to correspond to differences in subject, fabric, style and age and, even, metallic composition, as we shall see by and by.

FAMILIAR VARIETY

The one variety of these coins that is found all over the country and in the largest numbers, which we may call the familiar variety, consists of pieces the characteristics of which are well marked. The pieces are of medium thickness, though this thickness is itself susceptible of differentiation into

two grades. The typical incuse of a mark, obverse or reverse, is narrow in width but is wider than a mere line: it is a narrow canal. It follows closely the outlines of the mark. But, occasionally, the outer line, in an urge to freedom, turns into an oval or a circle, but, on this variety, this is no more than an exception; even so, the oval or circle clings fairly closely to the outlines of the mark. The incuses and other similar depressions and, so, the marks are crisply clear, except when the cutting of the ridges in the punches has been indifferent or the striking has been poor. Those portions of a flan which, lying within an incuse and defined by the differentiating depressions, go to make up a mark are quite flat and free from relief of every degree and kind. All areas of the flan,—those bearing the marks and those remaining plain or bearing other marks,—are on the same level, except for the punch-struck depressions. There are only two planes in the coins,—the plane of the marks and the plane of the incuses [PI. I, 1]. This feature may be elucidated through an example. In a representation of an elephant in profile in a piece of sculpture executed in *alto rilievo*, where every gradation of depth and relief is faithfully reproduced, the tail will be in the lowest possible grade of relief, the trunk will be in relief of just a higher grade, the tusk nearer the onlooker will be in a yet higher grade of relief and the torso will be in a very high grade of relief. But, in the representation of the animal in these coins these differences in the grades of relief are deliberately eliminated: all relief is flattened out into one plane, which is the plane of the surface of the flan: tail, tusks, trunk and torso are all in one plane. The only other plane is that of the incuse from which the mark is taken to stand up. It follows, therefore, that if the eye of the elephant is to be indicated, it can be shown only as a depression and that the depression must be of the same depth as the incuse.

It is clear that a punch employed in producing this variety of pieces must have been a stick of metal with an absolutely flat end-face, that the punch-cutter having drawn on the face the outlines of the mark, or pattern, and of its incuse, cut away the metal from the areas lying beyond what answers to the incuse and also removed the metal from between the incuse and the mark and from between the various limbs of the mark and that he scooped so deep and so straight that the ridges which emerged stood high, rising vertically from a base so low as never to touch the flan. Such a punch cuts sharply into the flan, producing only a second plane,—that of the base of the depressions,—in addition to that of the face of the flan; it refrains altogether from

forcing the limbs of the mark into continuous sequences of intermediate planes. In other words, the marks are not forced into moulded relief.

The punch may not always be held quite vertically when the hammer descends on it and, so, it may cut into the flan at a slight angle or in a light curve, notwithstanding that the cutting ridges in the punch are steep and high. One must, therefore, be on the guard against drawing inferences about the punches from marks, the outlines of which are not crisp. It is essential to be able to differentiate features due to bad inking from those due to the distinctive characteristics of the punches.

SINGAVARAM VARIETIES

Very different from this familiar variety are the pieces of the Singavaram hoard¹ [Pl. I. 11-14]. The lines of the incuses of both obverse and reverse marks on the majority of the pieces [Fig. 1: 10] run so free that they generally become ovals or even, circles. The marks on both faces stand up in relief from the sunk incuses, but the relief is of the type in which the marks are moulded into varying series of planes. As the relief does not in most of such pieces, rise above the level of the flans, it is obvious that they are struck on the principle of sunk relief.

On some of the pieces, however, portions of the obverse marks are thrown up into a relief that protrudes above the plane of the flans [Pl. I. 12-13]. In these pieces the impact of the punch on the obverse of the flan proves all too inadequate to secure such high relief, for the pieces are too thin for a mere punch to evoke high relief in them. So the device, has had to be adopted of pushing up the metal of the flan from behind so that the flan rises with the relief of the mark and follows, practically, the contours of that relief. This necessitates ensuring the presence of a plug or other well defined projection in the anvil to push the metal up at the striking and the exercise of at least some manual dexterity by the man who, feeding the flans on to the anvil, has to hold the punch on the flans so accurately as to ensure that the projection in the anvil and the answering depression in the punch correspond and produce the needed relief when the hammer descends on the head of the punch. A rudimentary form of striking with the double die may have been adopted to secure this effect accurately and uniformly.²

1. Aravamuthan, in *Trans. Internation. Num.-Congress*, 1986 : 898-900.

2. The first coin in the lower row in Fig. 1, in Aravamuthan, *op. cit.*, p. 365, holding the book with bottom margin up, is an example.

We have just a few pieces also in each of which we have two marks pushed up from behind in very high relief [Pl. I. 3]. But, as the two marks and therefore, the depressions on the reverse, do not appear always in the same relative positions, it is unnecessary to assume that the anvil bore two plugs and that two punches were coupled together : each of the two marks was probably struck on a different anvil.

In just a few pieces of this hoard [Pl. I. 14] which are small and thin, the only mark which each piece bears is struck in repousse.¹ Their dish-like appearance and their suitability for use as seals suggest that they may not be coins. The low rim, however, being no substitute for the handle that a seal requires, may be taken to have been provided for protecting from wear the mark struck in relief on a piece so thin and tiny. So, these pieces may have really been coins. Though the technique of repousse is different from that of the punch or the die, the result yielded is similar to that of moulded relief; the symbol stands up in continuous gradations of relief from the incuse, the metal of the flan being worked up, —or struck up,—from the reverse so that almost every plane on the obverse has its answering plane on the reverse. The only specimens known so far are these pieces, but they exemplify repousse work so well that they may be treated as typical of this class of *purāṇas*.

The use of punches or dies is not necessary in repousse work. It is conceivable that the repousse effect could be achieved with a single punch or die, for, if the flan is placed on a pad of leather, tough but not too stiff, and a die bearing the symbol in relief, is placed on the flan and is struck a sharp blow on the head, the flan would present the mark in relief on the side lying on the pad, but the rim, which serves for an edge, would, however, be thrown up towards the hammer. On the Singavaram specimens, however, the rim takes the very direction that the relief does. Moreover, the small width of the specimens from Singavaram, the delicacy of the workmanship and the pieces being now known to be more numerous than the three found in the small portion of the hoard that first came under examination seem to rule out the hypothesis that dies or punches were not used in their manufacture. If a double-die is employed, the lower die having a raised edge all round and the upper die falling loosely into it but not fitting it too nicely, the flan will rise between the two dies in a rim when the blow of the hammer descends on the upper die and will take the direction of the relief

1. Aravamuthan, *op. cit.*, 397-8.

of the mark. It may be that the two dies should be coupled in the correct position relatively to each other by some contrivance such as the hinging them together or, more probably, the making the upper die slide into the lower.

INTERMEDIATE VARIETIES

Intermediate between the extremes of the familiar variety and the Singavaram varieties are a few other varieties in which there are odd combinations of variations in the widths of the incuses and in the degrees of relief of the marks.

PAILA VARIETIES

The main feature of the pieces of the Paila hoard¹ is that sometimes the incuses and interstitial depressions are almost as clinging and as sharp as in the familiar variety, but sometimes they are much freer in their courses and less sharp in the outlines, so that these incuses and depressions are more in evidence.² [Pl. I. 2-4, 9]. The latter feature is the result of the ridges in the punches being carved somewhat wider in the face than in the punches for the familiar variety and by the ridge-walls being cut, not perpendicular, but with slopes more or less pronounced. Thus, we have a suggestion of moulded relief in the execution of some of the marks. Reverse marks are not in relief,—whether the relief be plain or moulded,—but are in intaglio, but as this is a solitary find of this species of coinage bearing intaglio marks, it is prudent to refrain from accepting the intaglio mark as a characteristic of a variety of the punch-marked species. Perhaps, these pieces had sojourned in an area where the incuse technique was in fashion—in all probability,—in other varieties of coinage.

A LUCKNOW VARIETY

To a different variety belongs a set of pieces, of unknown provenance, in Durga Prasad's cabinet, which he found to occur in two denominations and in at least three different types.³

The heavier type, of which not more than one piece

1. Walsh, in *JNSI* (1940) 2 : 15-78 : 1-7. The observations that follow are based on the plates which, unfortunately, are too few, and on a piece in Durga Prasad's cabinet identical with the one illustrated by Walsh. *Ib.*, pl. 6 : 23.

2. For instance, see Marks 1 and 5 on Coin 26 and Mark 1 on Coin 31. on Pl. 5, and Marks 1 and 2a on Coin 20, Mark 1 on Coin 23 and Mark 8 on Coin 24, on pl. 6.

3. Durga Prasad, in *JASB. NS.* (1934) 30 : N 13 : 7.

was known, bears marks only on the obverse and these marks are of apparently two sizes. One of the larger marks is much like a five-petalled lotus [fig. 1: 10] and another of them, not so clear, is made up of six pellets surrounding a slightly larger pellet. The smaller ones include the 'sun' in two or three forms and a quadri-partite square.

Where the incuses are not faint, they are found to be narrow, but without the aptness to follow even minor breaks in the outlines of the marks. The lotus mark is an excellent example of modelled relief; each part of it is modelled fairly high but no part of it rises above the level of the flan. Similar relief is not unmistakably to be perceived in the other marks, except it be that each member of a mark betrays a very faint convexity along its edges. The lighter type of pieces does not differ materially in the features we are here concerned with.¹

GOLAKHPUR VARIETIES

The Golakhpur hoard presents a variety differing appreciably from the familiar one.² The depressions around the marks on both faces and in between their limbs or parts are not quite so narrow nor so closely adherent to their outlines: indeed, the depressions are quite prominent features of the pieces, as in some of those from Paila. The limbs of a few obverse marks on some pieces are very thin, especially when they are straight lines, becoming almost sharp-edged ridges, formed by the meeting of two inclines of metal rising from the depressions on either side;³ in this they differ from the execution of similar marks in the Paila pieces. On the generality of the pieces [Pl. I. 5-7], the outer margins of the incuses on both faces are not sharp; they are less sharp than in any of the pieces from Paila. The flan slopes into the incuse and the limbs of the marks rise from the incuse or interstitial depressions, in faintly convex curves, producing the effect of a simple type of the sunk relief. The curvatures of the fall of the flan into the incuse and of the rise of the mark from the incuse are so

1. I have a plaster cast of one of them, taken from a coin in Durga Prasad's cabinet. It bears just the same lotus mark as the larger piece and also one of the smaller symbols on the obverse. See Durga Prasad, in *JASB.* NS. (1934) 80 : N. 13.

2. Walsh, in *JBORS.* (1919) 5 : 16-72 : 1-4. The observations below are based only on a study of the illustrations given by Walsh, and of two pieces in Durga Prasad's cabinet which he attributed to Bhabha, in Saharanpur Dist., United Provinces, but which are of identical fabric with the Golakhpur pieces.

3. Compare, for instance, the pentagram (Mark) on these pieces with the similar mark (Mark 5) on the pieces of the Paila hoard.

poor that in the larger marks, they pass unnoticed, but, in the smaller ones, they are clear to even the untrained eye in the circular discs and the pellets.¹

An additional feature appears to be present in a few of these coins, though we may speak with confidence about only one of them. One of the obverse marks, which is a composite of a largish disc and six pellets¹¹, is free of all relief in the disc, ordinarily, though the pellets are occasionally in moulded relief. In one of the coins, however, the disc of the mark presents a surface that is decidedly convex and, on turning the coin over, we find a depression in the flan around the marks on both faces and in between their limbs or parts are not quite so narrow nor so closely adherent to their outlines; indeed, the depressions are quite prominent features of the pieces, as in those from Paila. The limbs of a few obverse marks on some pieces are very thin, especially when they are straight lines, becoming almost sharp-edged ridges formed by the meeting of two inclines of metal rising from the depressions on either side³: in this they differ from those of Paila. On the generality of the pieces, the outer margins of the incuses on both faces are not sharp, and the limbs of the marks rise, from the incuses or interstitial depressions, not perpendicular, but in faintly convex curves, so that the mark emerges in a simple type of the sunk-relief. The curvatures along the margins of these marks and of these incuses and depressions are so poor that in the larger marks they pass unnoticed, but in the smaller ones they are clear, to even the untrained eye, in the circular discs and the pellets.⁴ The punches for these coins, whether for the obverse or for the reverse marks, differ from those for the Paila variety in an important feature. The walls of the ridges in the punches slope or curve more markedly, so that when the ridges bite into the flans, the bits of coin-metal which are caught within the pronounced inclines or curvatures in the punches are moulded into answering inclines or curves equally pronounced, and so the margins of marks and the incuses lack sharpness.

1. Walsh *op. cit.*, Coins 1, 5, 9, 11, 23, Mark 3: Coin 72, Marks 1, 7; Coins 93, 94, Mark 41; Coin 41; Coin 86, Mark 66.

2. Walsh, *op. cit.*, Mark 3.

3. Walsh, *op. cit.*, Coin 23.

4. A similar depression is noticeable in Walsh, *op. cit.*, Coin 40. On my seeking detailed information about those coins in the hoard which show depressions in the reverse, and protuberances on the obverse to correspond, pointing to Walsh's illustrations of Coin 23 as an instance, Mr. A. C. Ghosh, the Officiating Curator of the Patna Museum, where the coins are preserved replied on 18-12-1947, that the illustration 'gives a true representation of the coin', and added: 'as regards other observations it is better if you could examine the hoard personally and satisfy your doubts.'

A 'KOSALA' VARIETY

A batch of thirteen 'unusually big coins'; of unknown provenance, in the Lucknow Museum cabinet, exhibits features that are not a little interesting. Though the obverse marks, four in each piece, are not quite clear, they having suffered through the battering they have been subjected to by the striking of a large number of marks on the reverse, we are able to make out clearly the main features of those marks.¹ The incuses of the obverses are thin lines,—not the narrow channels we find in the familiar variety,—and they are frequently incomplete, leaving the limbs of the marks undifferentiated, in places, from the flan. The marks are assembled very closely but they overlap so rarely that special care must have been taken in the punching [Pl. I. 8]. The marks on the obverse are free from modelled relief, except rarely. A curve or a pellet or a disc, being a component of one or other of the mark, is sometimes seen with a convexity which is noticeable, though not marked. It looks as if two of the discs of a mark, were intended to rise a trifle higher than the rest of the mark and, so, higher than the rest of the flan. Indeed, it is more than probable that the comparatively high relief of these discs was secured by the device of pushing up the metal from behind the disc: that this process is adopted is indisputable in one of the pieces,—a cup-like depression occurring in the reverse just behind the disc in the obverse,² and is only a little less probable in the other piece.³ The reverse marks are, ordinarily, in modelled relief standing up from free incuses.

A MATHURA VARIETY

A set of pieces from Mathura, again in Durga-Prasad's cabinet, belongs to a different class altogether.⁴ The marks on the obverse are all flat in every part and limb; not the least trace of modelled relief is to be found in them.⁵

1. Durga Prasad, in *JASB. NS.* (1984) 80: N 9-12. 1-3. The book has to be held with the right margin up if these three half-tone illustrations are to be useful.

2. Coin 4, the corresponding depression in the reverse being seen hemmed in by the reverse marks 6, 8, 9.

3. Coin 11; Mark 3; the answering cup being evidently caught within reverse mark 4.

4. Durga Prasad, in *JASB. NS.* (1984) 80: N9: 31. What I know of this variety being derived from the study of the illustrations of one of these pieces in the above paper and of the only other piece of this kind which was in Durga Prasad's Cabinet at the time of my visit, I may not be positive, nor may I generalise.

5. This is so, notwithstanding that the illustration referred to above suggests otherwise.

Part of the incuse of one mark being part of the incuse of another, it is difficult to isolate the incuse of any one of the four marks on the obverse. Neither the marks, nor the incuses cut one another, nor are they to be found in different planes. No portion of the obverse of the flan can be found that is not occupied either by mark or by incuse. These features being difficult to ensure when the striking is with punches, it may not be improbable that the striking of these pieces was with dies each of which, covering the whole of the flan, bore the four marks out in a fixed sequence and so closely that every bit of the flan was so well utilised, for mark or incuse, that the individuality of the incuses was obliterated. If this view is probable, these pieces may not be taken to be of the punch-marked species. Their affinity is with the Mathura pieces just referred to, though the unmitigated flatness of the components of the obverse marks is a strong link with the punch-marked Purāṇas of the familiar variety.

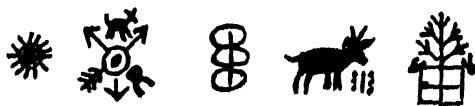
DOES THE BAIRAT HOARD CONTAIN A POST- MAURYAN PUNCH-MARKED COIN ?

BY E. H. C. WALSH, EDINBURGH.

In Vol. VIII p 24, of this Journal Mr. P. L. Gupta has described the eight silver punch-marked coins included in the hoard found at Bairat in Jaipur State, about 52 miles north-east of its capital. The hoard is of particular interest as it also contains 25 Greek and Indo-Bactrian coins which range from 140 B. C. to 40 A.D.; it is thus the latest dateable time at which punch-marked coins have been found. Mr. Gupta notes that "The Greek coins of this hoard included one coin of Heliocles (*circa* 110 B. C.) a son of Eucratides, and the last king of Bactria; one of Indo-Greek king Apollodotos; 16 of Menander; one of Antialkidas, and 6 of Hermaios (20-40 A.D.)"

Mr. Gupta records the symbols on each of the punch-marked coins, which are illustrated on Plate IIB of the above article, and finds that one of them (coin No. 1) is pre-Mauryan, six are Mauryan and considers that one coin (coin No. 6) is definitely post-Mauryan, and not either pre-Mauryan or Mauryan. Its date of issue or currency, he says, may be assigned with some certitude with the help of the associated Greek coins; he places the coin in the latter half of the 1st century B. C.

There can be no doubt, however, that this coin is also Mauryan. Mr. Gupta gives the five marks reproduced below as the Marks on the coin, which he notes as being in a fresh mint condition.



There are 122 specimens of this coin in the Patraha Hoard (Class II Group V vars, a, c, and e). Fifty of them (var. a) bear the Mauryan Mark of the Peacock-on-a-Hill as the sole Mark on the reverse. Twenty-eight, (var. c), bear the "small Caduceus", another common Mauryan Mark on the reverse, as in the case of the Bairat coin No. 6, and the remaining 24 (var. e) bear on the reverse the mark consisting of a solid knob surrounded by four taurines, which is another common reverse mark on Mauryan coins.

The hoard, therefore, does not show that any Punch-marked coins were issued after the termination of the Mauryan Empire in C. 178 B. C.

The fact of coin No. 6 being in mint condition does not show that it was a newly issued coin at the date of even the earliest of the Greek coins, but only that it was in mint condition at the time that it was put into the hoard, which may have been at a considerably earlier date. The evidence of several large hoards of punch marked coins, which contain coins of widely different dates, varying, in cases to some hundreds of years interval, appears to suggest that those hoards were of the nature of a family bank into which coins were deposited at various dates, and money was taken out from it as it was required to spend.

Mr. Gupta does not mention any other coins being in the hoard besides the eight punch-marked coins and the Greek coins. In that case, the hoard is a very curious collection, consisting of eight very old coins, the pre-Mauryan coins being 137 years old at the date of the earliest of the Greek coins and 355 years old at the date of the latest Greek coin, and of 25 "Foreign" coins, for such the Greek coins would be in the Jaipur State, and not the state currency, and extending over a period of 140 years.

It would resemble a collection of "Curios" rather than the usual continuous family hoard.

Mr. Gupta notes that "So far only one hoard is known as having no coins with the Crescent-on-the-hill symbol, which can be assigned to pre-Mauryan period, and that is the bigger hoard from Taxila.¹ There is another such hoard, the Golakhpur Hoard of 108 coins,² which was unearthed at Patna in 1919, owing to the bank of the Ganges having been scoured away by this river, in a *ghat*, 15 feet below the present level of Patna city at that place.

MR. GUPTA'S REJOINDER.

Mr. Walsh does not agree with my views that the coin No. 6 is post-Mauryan and maintains that it was undoubtedly Mauryan.

The 'crescent-on-the hill' mark is the imperial mark of the Mauryan kings, and is to be seen invariably on all the silver punch-marked coins issued by the dynasty³. It figures as

1. *A Hoard of Silver Punch-Marked Coins from Purnea*, by P. N. Bhattacharyya; *M. A. S. I.* No. 62.

2. *J. B. O. R. S.* 1919, pp. 15-72.

3. *J. R. A. S.* July 1926, p. 849.

the third of the class mark on these coins; but it is conspicuously absent on the present coin and others of its variety. It is true that the 'crescent-on-the hill' mark is also seen on the reverse of certain pre-Mauryan coins, but it is admittedly put there by the Mauryan administration to authenticate the earlier currency. This mark also occurs on the reverse of some of the Mauryan coins. But it is conspicuously absent from the reverse of the present coin and from every other coin of this variety published so far. (*B. M. C.* Class 2, group IV var. c-h; Patraha hoard, Class II group V; Durga Prasad, 32A3; Rairh hoards, pl XXIX). Again this coin type is conspicuously absent from the Mauryan Rairh hoard.¹ Thus neither the symbols of the coin nor the evidence of the hoards shows that the coin was current in the Mauryan times. It therefore follows that this variety is definitely post-Mauryan.

But Mr. Walsh has cited the coins of varieties a, c, and e of Group V of class II of Patraha hoard, which are the coins of the present variety and have on their reverse 'peacock on-a hill', 'caduceus' and the mark, which can be conveniently called 'as four taurines around a small solid circle' respectively. He has based his objection on the assumption that these marks were Mauryan marks, hence his conclusion that the coin was Mauryan. But we see that his argument falls short in the case of the two marks, 'Caduceus' and the 'four taurines around the circle'. For, these marks are seen on the obverse of the coins, which are known on definite data as pre-Mauryan.² Mr. Walsh has himself described them in his Memoir as the mark 6 and 20a respectively.³ How can then, these marks be described only as Mauryan? Only the mark peacock-on-a hill, I admit, appears for the first time on a group of Mauryan coins, but there is no evidence to show that it could not appear on the later coins. If pre-Mauryan symbols could appear on Mauryan coins, symbols of Mauryan coins could equally appear on the later coins. And as such, there is nothing to support Mr. Walsh's assumption.

My studies of the published and unpublished hoards of the punch-marked coins have led me to conclude that each of these three reverse symbols is associated with one particular fourth mark and with no other. Thus the 'peacock-on-the-hill' is seen on the reverse of only those coins, which have on the obverse 'peacock-on-a-hill' the caduceus on the reverse invariably presupposes the same symbol

1. *Excavations at Rairh*.

2. *M. A. S. I.* No. 59.

3. *Ibid*, pl. I

as the fourth mark; (Patraha hoard, class II, group II a-e; and group III, and IV respectively). Similarly 'four taurines around the circle' is seen on the reverse of only those coins which have 'hand-palm within a square' as the 4th mark; this is Patraha Mark 102 (Patraha class II group VIII). Another well known mark 'Taxila-symbol' is seen on the reverse of only those coins which have as their 4th mark 'branch of a tree planted on the right corner of a four-squared railing'—Patraha mark 30 (which in its incomplete form has been described by Mr. Allan as symbol 9 in section 130 of the *B.M.C.* introduction, and by Durga Prasad as symbol 83 on pl. XXVII of his monograph). This peculiarity is seen on the Mauryan coins only. Now none except caduceus has any relation with any of the obverse symbols on the present coin. But the three symbols are seen simultaneously on these coins, having the same group of five symbols; they cannot be regarded as having the same peculiarity, as is seen on the Mauryan coins. This is an additional evidence to show that the coin is not Mauryan. Mr. Walsh thinks that the present coin is Mauryan, because it has got caduceus as the reverse mark. It may be however pointed out that caduceus, peacock on the hill and four taurines around a central knob are all local or mint marks like the well known Taxila symbol. The occurrence of the caduceus on the present coin will only show that it was minted at a particular place and not in Mauryan period. All the coins of this type with the above reverse marks found also in the Patraha hoard are post-Mauryan; they were being issued from old well-known mints for several decades.

(2) Mr. Walsh's next objection is in regard to my assignment of earliest date of issue of this variety to some time in the early part of second century B. C.

His arguments against it are that the 'coin being in mint condition does not show that it was a newly issued coin at the date of even the earliest of the Greek coins, but only that it was in mint condition at the time that it was put into the hoard, which may have been at a considerable earlier date.' But putting the same argument, it may also be possible that it was put into the hoard, when it was in mint condition, at much later date than the earliest Greek coin of the hoard. It may be a century or even more. So this argument like a double edged sword cuts the ground from under the feet of Mr. Walsh himself.

The present hoard is not like those big hoards, which appear to suggest that they were of the nature of a family bank, in which the coins were deposited at various dates.

The hoard was found in a cell of a Buddhist monastery wrapped in a piece of cloth, put in a small earthen ware on a shelf. It was in all probability the life-savings of some greedy monk, and as such it would have been deposited within the period which may be reckoned between 40 and 20 B. C. or a few years later. Thus the hoard has the fixed date of deposit and it would be far fetched to assume that the coin was issued earlier than the date of the earliest of the Greek coins and remained in mint condition for more than 140 years.

In view of these facts and the facts discussed earlier, there can hardly be any doubt of this coin being a post-Mauryan issue.

(3) The present hoard appears to Mr. Walsh as a collection of curios. Let us see how far this is the case.

Greek coins were found with the punch-marked coins in several hoards, but in the area where Greeks had their suzerainty. Here they have been found in a land which may be called as foreign to them. So the surprise of Mr. Walsh is natural. The more so, he was not aware of the circumstances in which the hoard was found and the history behind it. But we know that it was the wealth of a poor monk, who had probably led a wandering life. It was not improbable that the Greek coins might have come to him from some rich man of the Greek territory, and he could not have spent them over there and might have brought them to his residence in the monastery. And the punch-marked coins continued to be in currency for long, and it is no surprise to find pre-Mauryan, Mauryan and post-Mauryan coins together. So here the two types of coins found together in the hoard need cause no surprise.

(4) Last, Mr. Walsh has pointed out that the bigger Taxila hoard is not the only hoard of pre-Mauryan period. I knew about the Golakpur hoard and its being pre-Mauryan, but I have deliberately excluded it, as it is of a different fabric and has no bearing on the present discussion. If Mr. Walsh simply meant to point out the existence of more than one pre-Mauryan hoard, then why Golakhpur alone ? Paila hoard, Jaunpur hoard and a number of other hoards are known to be pre-Mauryan, but all of them are of different fabrics.

A NEW SILVER COIN OF GAUTAMÍPUTRA.

(Supplementary)

MR. P. J. CHINMULGUND, I. C. S., SANGLI.

The rare and interesting silver Sātavāhana coin published in this *Journal*, ante Vol. VIII pp. 112-3, Pl. VII. 5, was tentatively attributed by its discoverer, Dr. A. S. Altekar, to Gautamīputra-yajña-śrī-Sātakarṇi. In vol. IX, p. 95, I adduced some grounds in favour of the view that the coin should rather be attributed to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. I would like to revert to the topic once more to consider the further arguments put forth by Dr. Altekar in support of his view as a rejoinder to my paper. Since Sātavāhana silver coins are, they deserve to be thoroughly discussed.

Dr. Altekar argues that the fact that the great Jogalthembhi hoard did not contain any independent silver coin of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi tends to show that that king did not issue independent silver coins of his own. This argument cannot be taken as conclusive. We know that independent silver coins of Sātavāhanas are extremely rare. Including the present coin, only five such pieces are known.² Considering this, and also the fact that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi must have had only a few years in which to issue his independent silver currency, the absence of his separate coins in the Jogalthembhi hoard is not surprising. It may also be mentioned that in spite of a reign of over thirty years of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi, only four of his silver coins have been found.

Then, again, it is possible that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi issued his own coins not in or near Nasik, but in Mālwa. There must have been a tremendous number of restruck coins of Nahapāna available for currency purposes in the Nasik area, and a separate issue must have appeared superfluous³. This appears probable, in view of the fact that Dr. Altekar's coin comes from Ujjayinī. This also may account for the absence of such coins in the Jogalthembhi hoard.

1. *J. N. S. I.* Vol. IX p. 95.

2. A sixth silver Sātavāhana coin has recently been discovered by Dr. Altekar in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. It is hoped that he will publish it soon.

[3. Silver currency was in vogue in Mālwa, Gujarat and northern Mahārāshtra, and it is not easy to understand that if silver coins were issued in Mālwa by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, why some of them could not have travelled to Nasik, or why that type should not have been introduced in northern Mahārāshtra as well, which was accustomed to silver currency. Would not the conqueror have taken precaution to introduce at least some of his coins with those of his vanquished enemy? A.S.A.]

It is worthwhile quoting Mr. Allan's remark in this connection. He says:—"The case of Gautamīputra counter-marking the coins of Nahapāṇa shows that each ruler or country had a characteristic symbol, which we might almost call a coat of arms.¹" As far as the silver issues are concerned, therefore, the restriking device used by Gautamīputra Sātakaṇi may be taken as his very own, and he must have used it also on his independent silver issue, of which the coin under discussion appears to be an example.

There is another argument based on a measurement of the letters of the inscription on the coin which supports my view. I am not perfectly certain on this point, as I have taken the measurements on the photograph of the coin and as the photograph is not very clear. I, however, give this argument for what it is worth. The measurement across the coin from middle to middle of the letters of the inscription is 0.6". This gives 1.8" as the space in which the full inscription has to be accommodated. The inscription can be either, "Rāṇo Gotamīputasa Siri Yaṇa Sātakaṇisa", or "Rāṇo Gotamīputasa Siri Sātakaṇisa". The former has seventeen letters and seventeen blank spaces between the letters. The latter has fifteen letters and fifteen blank spaces. Now, the width of each letter and of the space between the letters is one-sixteenth of an inch. From these measurements, the space required for the former inscription works out to be 2.1"; and that required for the latter inscription 1.8". As the space available for the inscription is only 1.8", the latter inscription alone viz. "Rāṇo Gotamīputasa Siri Sātakaṇisa" could be fully accommodated on the coin. This assumes, of course, that a good specimen of the coin has the full inscription; but we know that silver Sātavāhana coins do in fact have full inscriptions, and that letters are not omitted for want of space on the flan.

It must be admitted that in the absence of a coin of this type having a full readable inscription, arguments in favour of my or Dr. Altekar's view can only be based on possibilities and that no dogmatic assertion is possible. The balance of evidence, according to me is in favour of my view that the coin in question is of Gautamīputra Sātakaṇi. It is hoped that this discussion will lead to a thorough and critical examination of every new Sātavāhana coin and enable numismatists to decide questions such as this and others pertaining to Sātavāhana coinage.

Finally, I must mention that I had the privilege of discussing this question with Dr. Altekar during his visit to Bombay in December 1947 and this paper is written as its sequel, at the Doctor's instance.

1. *B. M. C. Ancient India*, p. lxxi.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

I am thankful to Mr. Chinmulgund for sending the above note at my request in reply to my observations about the attribution of the silver coin under discussion.

Mr. Chinmulgund and I agree that the problem can be solved only by our getting a coin giving the full legend. Till then we can only conjecture. Mr. Chinmulgund thinks still that the coin belongs to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and I continue to remain unconvinced. His argument about the space required for each of the 17 letters of the legend is very ingenious; it could have carried weight if the difference between the two legends were not so small as that of two letters only. There are several coins in ancient India, where the letters are not evenly spaced. For instance, on the copper coin of Vāsishthīputra Śrī Chandra Sātakarṇi, published on Pl. VI, No. 117, of *B.M.A.K.*, the concluding letters *śātasa* take as much space as that taken by the four letter *Raño Vasa* in the beginning. We cannot therefore be quite certain as to whether 15 or 17 letters were inscribed in the legend.

Currencies of the different provinces were traditional. Silver currency was common in Mālwa, Gujarat and northern Māhārāṣṭra in the days of the Kshatrapas; Gupta silver coins also are found all over these three provinces. If Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi had started silver currency, it is not easy to understand why it should have been confined to Mālwa and not introduced in the adjacent provinces of Gujarat and northern Māhārāṣṭra where it was common. How the rich millionaire of Nasik, who collected the big hoard of more than 16,000 coins, could not come across a single coin of the new type of the new conqueror is also a mystery.

It appears that the Sātavāhanas were never serious in their efforts to start a silver currency. The four coins of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi are more curios than coins. Very few of them seem to have been issued. This renders it very doubtful whether Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi had issued any coins. As it is, neither Mr. Chinmulgund nor I can be definite about the attribution of the coin. I think it more probable that the coin may have been issued by Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi than by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi; Mr. Chinmulgund holds that the opposite alternative is more likely. We are anxious to state the arguments on both sides as best as possible with a view to help future research work,

ON THE ORIGIN AND MEANING OF THE NAME "ARDOCHSHO" ON KUSHANA COINS.¹

BY THE LATE M. D. KHAREGHAT, I. C. S., BOMBAY.

Sir Aurel Stein in his paper on the Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Volume XVII, April 1888, page 97, has identified the angel Ardochsho with Ashi Vanguhi², the Avestic goddess of Wealth and Fortune, from the fact that this female figure with cornucopiae closely resembles that of the Greek deity Tyche, the goddess of fortune³. But he says, "We see as yet no way to reconcile her common name in later Zoroastrian tradition "Ashishvang" or "Ardishvang" with the form "Ardochsho". This paper is an attempt to solve this difficulty.

What follows will show that "Ard" represents the part "Ashi", and the part "Ochsho"⁴ is really "Wakhsho", and means the same as "Vanguhi", which means "good", and is also applied to the River Oxus.

Ashi Vanguhi means "the good Ashi", and is the presiding angel of the twenty-fifth day of the Parsi month.⁵ In Persian, the whole name of this angel is confined to the word "Ard"⁶. But in Sogdian, the word is "Ardhakh", and in Khwarizmian, "Arjukhi"⁷. A fragmentary part of the

1. Col. R. Khareghat discovered this article among the papers of his uncle, the writer, and was good enough to send it to the journal for publication through Mr. R.G. Gyani.

2. In some systems of transliteration, the "ng" of Vanguhi is represented by an "n" with a dot above it

3. It may be noted that a similar female figure with the cornucopie is generally recognised as Śrī or Lakshmi, the goddess of fortune.

4. The Greek letter corresponding to "ch" in Ochsho is pronounced like "kh" in English, or "khe" in Persian. Further the "o" in the same word in Greek represents often "v" or "w" in the original language, as pointed out by Stein in the article quoted above in the text.

5. See Darmstetter's "Ashi Yašt" at page 270, Volume XXIII, of the "Sacred Books of the East" series.

The Bundahish, Chapter XXII. 4, also describes her in the same way as "the rich in wealth, the well-portioned with abounding pleasure" Similarly, Varāhamihira in his *Pañch-siddhāntikā* has called the angel presiding over the twenty-fifth day of the Parsi month, "Śrī". (See my article on this book in the *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Volume XIX No. III at page 120). Neriosangh Dhaval has also translated her name as "Lakshmi Uttama", e.g. in the *Yashna*, Ha. 16, Section 6.

In this article, when I refer to Albiruni, I mean Sachau's English translation of Albiruni's book under the name "The Chronology of Ancient Nations"; when I refer to the Bundahish, Behman Yasht, I mean West's English translation of those Pahlavi texts published in volume V of Max Muller's "Sacred Books of the East" series.

6. See Albiruni page 53, as well as any good Persian Dictionary, like that of Steingass, for the same word.

7. Albiruni, pages 56 and 57.

full name which appears in the name of a town, "Ardhakhush-mitham"¹. "Mitham", evidently is the same as the Avestan word, "Maithama" meaning "residence", and so the whole name means "the residence of "Ardhakhush". This is evidently a slight distortion of the word "Ardavakhush". This town is one march from Khiva or Khwarizm. In fact one of the chief places of worship of this angel seems to have been in Khwarizm. This is confirmed by the Bundahish Chapter XXII, 4: "Regarding Lake Khwarizm, it says that excellent benefit is produced from it, that is Arshisang, the rich in wealth, the well-portioned with abounding pleasure". This is further confirmed by Albiruni, who states: "Wakhsh is the name of the angel, who has to watch over the water, and especially over the River Uxus"². Evidently, this is the same word as the present Oxus, and the latter part of Ardochsho.

That the word "Ochsho" or "Wakhsho" means "good" is proved by the fact that the Oxus also has borne the name "Veh". That it has so borne, is proved beyond doubt by statements in the Bundahish, in the Behman Yasht, and by an Armenian writer. The Bundahish says that the Balkh river comes out from the Aparsen Mountain of Bamikan and flows on to the Veh River. As the Balkh River flows into the Oxus, "Veh" must refer to the Oxus. Further, as West states in his note to this passage, an Armenian writer of the seventh century states that Persians called the Oxus, the Veh river. There are similar statements in the Behman Yasht, and I would refer to West's notes on those passages.³ It is true that the name Veh was also applied to the Indus, but it would seem that this was because the Indus, and the Oxus together, constituted the eastern boundary of Iran at the time.

Besides the identity of Vanghu with the word "Wakhsho" as applied to the River Oxus, there is very good reason to hold that "Wakhsho" is derived from the same root as Vanghu and means "good" in the Khwarizmian or some allied language. Vanguhi is the form used as the feminine of the Avestaic adjective "Vohu", which is derived from the same

1. See Le Strange's "*Account of the Eastern Khalifate*", page 453.

2. Albiruni, page 225, and Le Strange page 435, where he says "Below the Arhan ford, the Oxus received its great right-bank affluent, namely the Wakhshab or Wakhsh river, from which the Greeks, as already said, took their name Oxus."

3. See, as respect these passages :—

(a) Bundahish—Chapter XX, section 22,

(b) Behman Yasht—Chapter III, section 17 and 36.

root as the Sanskrit, "Vasu" meaning "good". It seems very probable that just as Vanghu¹ is derived from Vohu, by the insertion of the nasal "ng", so Wakhsho is derived by the insertion of "kh". Quite possibly, this "kh" was pronounced very lightly. It must also be noted that the comparative of the Avestaic "Vohu" is "Vakhya", showing the insertion of "kh" even in the Avesta.

EDITOR'S NOTES.

It may be convenient to refer to earlier discussion of this topic. Mr. Thanawala had suggested that the spelling of the name of the goddess should be taken to be Ardoshur and that she should be identified with Ardvishur, the goddess of sea.² Mr. Paruck later pointed out that this suggestion was untenable, as no adequate grounds could be given for the change of original *Ardukhsh* first into *Ardoshur* and then into *Ardvishur*.³ Water is the source of fertility, and so it was not impossible that the Goddess of water should later develop into the Goddess of Fertility and Fortune. But we have another Goddess of Fortune and Prosperity in Avestic mythology and her name Ashisvang or Ardishvang is nearer to Ardoxsho than Ardvishur. The late Mr. Khareghat points out that though the name Ashi Vanghui is remote from Ardoxsho, its Persian and Sogdian forms 'Ard' and 'Ardhakh' show that there was an intermediate form like Ard-vanghui, which could develop into Ardoxsho. I shall be glad to publish the views of Iranian scholars on this interesting topic.

1. As to the derivation of Vanghu, and its identity with the Sanskrit "Vasu", see the words Vanghu and Vakhya in Kanga's Avesta-English Dictionary. One has also to give weight to the fact that the word "Vakhshu" follows the word "Ard", about the identity of which with the Avesta "Ashi", there is no doubt.

2. J. A. S. B., 1916, p. 239.

3. *Ibid.*, 1917. p. 56.

DRAMMA-COINS OF THE GURJARA-PRATIHĀRA KING VINĀYAKAPĀLADEVA (914-933 A. D.)

BY DR. V. S. AGRAWALA, NEW DELHI.

In the year 1944 in village Bhondri in Sisendi Raj, District Lucknow, was found a hoard consisting of 54 silver coins and about 10 seers of cowrie shells (9834 in number), which were acquired for the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, through the kind offices of Mr. P. S. Varma, Special Manager, Court of Wards, Lucknow.

The coins, which are small, thick and irregular, show on obverse the standing figure of a Varaha similar to that found on the Ādivarāha coins of Śrī Mihira-Bhojadeva, Gurjara Pratihāra king of Kanauj (836-890 A D.). On the obverse of the coins the legend, as completed from several specimens, reads *Śrī-Vināyakapāladeva* and was arranged in three lines of three letters each :—

Śrī Vmā-
yaka-pāla-
deva.

But the coin surface being much smaller than the die, not more than two lines and partially clipped four letters are visible on any one coin. We can, however, make up the legend by piecing together these letters, as shown below. :—

Pl. II, 1—	{ श्री वि य क	Śrī-Vi yaka
Pl. II, 2—	{ (f) व न (१) क प (१)	Va (vi) na (nā) kapa (pā)
Pl. II, 3—	{ व न क प	Vana kapa
Pl. II, 4—	{ व न क प	Vana kapa
Pl. II, 5—	{ श्री (व) प (य) क	Śrī (va) pa (ya) ka
Pl. II, 6—	क प	kapa
Pl. II, 7—	{ (य) क (ल) द (व)	(ya) ka (la) da (va)

The weight of the coins varies from 62 to 69 grains.

Vināyakapāladeva was the grand-son of Mihirabhoja and son of Mahendrapāla. His earliest date, as known from the Haḍḍālā copper-plate inscription, is 914 A. D. and the latest, as known from the Rakhetra Gwalior stone inscription, is 943 A.D. The other names of this king, as known from inscriptions, are Mahīpāla, Kshitipāla and Herambapāla.¹ The name Vināyakapāla is given in the Asiatic Society Plate of 931 A. D. (V. S. 988), which states that his mother's name was Mahidevī.

Although numerous hoards of the Ādivarāha *Drammas* of king Bhojadeva have been found and recorded, this is the first time that coins of his grandson, Vināyakapāladeva have been discovered. Indeed, no other ruler of this dynasty, except the great Bhoja himself, was so far known to us through his coins.

Light is also thrown on the coins of Vināyakapāladeva from another important source recently discovered. Thakkura Pheru, who was the mint-master at Delhi in the reign of Alauddin Khilji, wrote a treatise called *Dravya-parīkṣhā* in V. S. 1375 (1327-28 A. D.). This work deals with the names, weights, values and other specifications of coins which were current when the author compiled his work. There are 149 Prakrit *Gāthā* verses in the book and the author has added valuable tables in the foot-notes to the *Gāthās*. In verses 82-93, he refers to the Gurjara coins (*Gurjarī-mudrāḥ*), which, I understand, were the coins issued by the kings of Gujarat as well as the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj. Of the 21 coin names in the list, there are two called Varāha-mudrā and Vināyakā-mudrā (verses 90-91). The Varāha-mudrā is to be understood as the Ādivarāha *Drammas* issued by Bhojadeva, which have been so widely known. The Vināyakā-mudrā seems to be identical with the silver coins of Vināyakapāladeva, grandson of Mihirabhoja, which have been found in the present hoard. No other ruler of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj seems to have minted any coins. Thakkura Pheru also supplies valuable evidence about the silver contents of these coins, but I have not been able to check it so far. In the case of the Varāha-mudrās the nett weight of silver was 10 tolas 7 mashas per 100 coins and in the case of Vināyakā-mudrās 8 tolas.

The cowrie shells of this hoard numbering 9834 indicate their common use for smaller currency in an age for which

1. For these names, see H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 578.

actual copper coins of smaller denominations were rare. According to Tables recorded in medieval texts 20 cowries made one copper *Kākiṇī*; four *Kākiṇīs* were equal to one copper *Paṇa*; and 16 *Paṇas* were equal to one silver *Dramma*.¹ The total number of cowries represented to their owner the value of 7 *Drammas* and 12 *Paṇas*. In the illustrations to arithmetical rules the cowrie-shell frequently occurs as medium of smaller transactions of daily life.

[P.S. I have recently seen some copper coins of Vināyakaṇṭhaladeva, with the boar on the obverse and the king's name on the reverse. I shall be writing on them in the next number of the Journal. A. S. A.]

1. Bhogilal J. Sandesara, "Weights, Measures and Coinage of Medieval Gujarat", *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, VIII (1946) pp. 140, 144,

THE RAJGHAT HOARDS OF ŚRĪ-PRATĀPA COINS

By DR. V. S. AGRAWALA, NEW DELHI.

At the time of my visit to Banaras in June, 1947, Śrī Murari Lal Kedia, the founder of the Ram Ratna Pustaka-Bhavana, brought to my notice the fact that in the Rajghat excavations carried on the outskirts of Banaras in 1940-41 three hoards of coins, all of Śrī-Pratāpāditya, were discovered. The first hoard consisting of about 1,000 coins was received by Mr. Kedia directly from the labourer, who had concealed it while digging on the previous evening and then removed the same early next morning. Out of this, 46 select coins are in the possession of Mr. Kedia; the rest were melted by him. The second hoard comprising five to six hundred coins was entirely melted by a relation of Mr. Kedia, no specimens being now available. The third hoard consisting of 269 coins came to Mr. Kedia by purchase from a local dealer named Sitaram of Thatherigali.

The available coins were shown to me for examination and I am illustrating the obv. and rev. of five of them on **PI. IV A**. In the first hoard the coins show on the obverse the crude standing figure of the goddess with the legend *Śrī-Pratāpa* on right, and the letter *ke* on left. Two letters, *dāra*, it has been suggested, were engraved between legs, but they are doubtful. On the reverse is shown a crude figure representing king to left with hands lifted up and the name *Kedāra* vertically written on right, by the side of which are shown a crescent-topped pole and a cross with long arms (**PI. IV A, 3**). On left is a vertical line of dots showing buttons of the coat, and also some other dots indicating either a spray or outlines of a crude face. On one specimen only is there a letter *ja* between *Śrī* and *Pratāpa* (**PI. IV A, 3**) which Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal read on 131 specimens in the Banda hoard.¹ Another specimen, a die freak, shows *Śrī-Pra-Pratāpa*. **PI. IV A, 2**.

All the 269 coins in the third hoard are of copper, but similar in type to the above with *Śrī-Pratāpa*, standing goddess being on the obverse, and *ke* and king's figure on the reverse.

[1. For the interpretation of the legend *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa*, see my next paper in this number. *A. S. A.*]

The hoards raise an important question, viz., how could the coins of a Kashmir king circulate in the region of Banaras and got buried at Rajghat. Apart from the above three hoards, one electron coin of Pratāpāditya with the legend Śrī-Śrī-Pratāpa and the figure of a goddess on the obverse and the legend *ke (da)* and the figure of a king on the reverse was found in 1918 during the Sarnath excavations on the outskirts of Banaras and is now preserved in the Sarnath museum. In 1927 a big hoard consisting of 16,448 coins of Śrī-Pratāpāditya was discovered in the ruins of Aunghar fortress in Tahsil Mau of Banda District.¹ It gave undoubted proof of the extension of Pratāpāditya-Lalitāditya's conquests upto the Yamunā on the south. Kalhana states in the *Rājataranginī* (IV. 134) that king Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa of Kashmir, by his drying up the river-like armies of Yaśovarman of Kanauj, acted as if he were Pratāpāditya². The only rational way in which it can be interpreted is that Lalitāditya after his conquest of the dominions of Yaśovarman assumed the name of Pratāpāditya. The political result of this must have been the extension of Lalitāditya's dominion to those regions which were included in the dominions of Yaśovarman.³ According to the *Gauḍavaḥo*, Yaśovarman's dominions extended upto Gauda;⁴ Banaras at any rate was under his sway towards the east. With the passing of the dominions of the Kanauj ruler to Lalitāditya, it is natural that Banaras also should have passed to him. It is therefore likely that one wing of his conquering army marched towards Banaras, and the hoards got buried under circumstances similar to those that operated in the case of the Banda hoard.

On analysis of the Banda coins the alloy was found to contain 10.53% gold, 13.63% silver and 75.82% copper.

1. *Numismatic Supplement*, No. XLI, 1128, p. 6-9, Prayag Dayal, "Treasure Trove Find of 16,448 Electron Coins in Banda Dt".

2. यशोवर्माद्रिवाहिन्याः क्षणात्कुर्वन् विशेषणम् ।

नृपतिर्लितादित्यः प्रतापादित्यतां ययौ ॥ IV. 134

[3. A little later Kalhana expressly claims that as a result of this victory the dominions of Kanauj right up to and beyond the bank of the Yamunā came as effectively under the control of the Kashmir king as his own court yard; cf.

किमन्यत्कान्यकुञ्जोवा यमुनापारतोऽस्य सा ।

अभूदाकालिकातीरं गृहप्रांगणवद्वशे ॥ IV. 145. A. S. A.]

[4. In May 1947 some surface finds of coins made in Monghyr district were sent to me for examination by a local Zemindar. They included two coins of king Pratāpāditya of the type described by Dr. Agrawala in this paper. This find would lend some support to the claim made in the *Gauḍavaḥo* that the sphere of influence of the Kashmir conqueror extended up to Bengal. A.S.A.]

According to Dr. B. B. Lal, Archæological Chemist in India, who at my request made a chemical analysis of one coin from each of the Rajghat hoards 1 and 3, the chemical composition of the alloy is as follows :

Electron coin—

Gold	11.47°/°
Silver	14.82°/°
Copper	72.64°/°
Nickel	0.79°/°

Total :	99.72
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About the copper coin he writes : 'The metal is reddish in colour and appears to be quite homogeneous. Analysis gave 97.43% copper and 0.68% lead; iron and nickel are in traces. The balance 1.89% appears to be oxygen present in the form of cuprite. The analysis shows that the coin is made of copper. Lead appears to be an impurity'.

THE ATTRIBUTION OF ŚRĪ-JA-PRATĀPA COINS

BY DR. A. S. ALTHAKAR, BANARAS.

In the preceding paper in this number of this *Journal*, Dr. V. S. Agrawala has referred to some coins of king Lalitāditya Mukṭāpīḍa Pratāpāditya of Kashmir, with the legend *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa* on them. The presence of the mysterious letter *ja*, just in the middle of the name of the king, is indeed a mystery. It may be observed that this letter *ja* was not known to occur in this legend before the discovery of the Banda hoard in 1927. In his *Coins of Medieval India*, Cunningham refers to and describes a number of coins with the legend *Pratāpa* on them, but there is none among them with the legend *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa*. The coins with this peculiar legend came to light with the discovery of the Banda hoard; and now we know that they were circulating in Banaras as well. It is a pity that the three hoards found at Rajghat were melted down before their examination. But the Banda hoard consisted exclusively of the coins of Pratāpāditya and it is very probable that the same was the case with the Banaras Rajghat hoards. This would tend to show that the only Kashmir ruler whose coins found their way in the distant United Provinces was Lalitāditya Mukṭāpīḍa Pratāpāditya.

Before discussing the question of the attribution of the *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa* coins, it will be convenient to refer to the Kashmir kings who ruled in the 8th century. Of these Lalitāditya Mukṭāpīḍa Pratāpāditya was the earliest and had a reign of 37 years. Most probably his reign has to be placed during c. 700-737 A.D. He is known from his coins. He was succeeded by his son Kuvalāyāpīḍa, who had a short reign of one year and who is not known to have issued any coins. The next ruler was Kuvalāyāpīḍa's brother Vajrāditya, who ruled for seven years (c. 738-745 A.D.), but whose coins are not known. Vajrāditya was succeeded first by his eldest son Saṅgrāmāpīḍa, who reigned only for seven days and issued no coins. Saṅgrāmāpīḍa was succeeded by his younger brother Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya, who was a powerful ruler and ruled for 31 years (c. 752-783 A.D.). His coins bearing the legend *Vinaya* are fairly common. We are told by Kalhaṇa that the greatness of Jayāpīḍa had been already predicted by his illustrious grand-father Mukṭāpīḍa Pratāpāditya. On ascending the throne, he tried to emulate his grand-father's example and led an expedition first to Kanauj, then to Prayāga and then to Bengal. While he was away

from Kashmir, his brother-in-law Jajja seized his throne. But he was ousted without difficulty by Jayāpīḍa, when he returned from his foreign conquests. Jajja could rule only for three years.

Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, who published a note on the Banda hoard of the coins of Pratāpāditya, has discussed the question of the attribution of the coins with the legend *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa*. He thinks that these coins may have been issued by Jajja, the usurping brother-in-law of Jayāpīḍa.¹ This is an ingenious suggestion. Instances are not rare of usurpers issuing their own coinage, not openly but surreptitiously as Jajja may be inferred to have done, if the *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa* coins are attributed to him. He did not dare to issue coins in his own name openly ; so he issued coins in the name of the recent illustrious emperor of Kashmir, Muktāpīḍa Pratāpāditya and inserted his initial letter in the legend, changing it to *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa*. Diodotus, the Bactrian governor of Seleukos, also did not dare to openly issue coins in his own name ; he simply included his monogram Δ above I on the coins issued in the name of Seleukos.

There are however several difficulties in accepting the above theory. Supposing the usurper Jajja had issued the coins during the reign of his brother-in-law Jayāpīḍa, how is it that we do not find them at all in Kashmir, to which his power must have been confined, and find them in Banda and Banaras districts where his name even may not have been known ? Would he not have taken special precautions that these coins should not go outside Kashmir, so that they may not meet the eye of the legitimate king Vinayāditya Jayāpīḍa and excite his wrath ?

It is further to be noted that kings Kuvalayāpīḍa, Vajrāditya and Saṅgrāmāpīḍa, who reigned in the interval, are not known to have issued any coins. It is possible to argue that these rulers may have continued to issue coins in the name of Pratāpāditya even after his death, and that the usurper Jajja may have simply inserted his initial *ja* in the legend *Śrī-Pratāpa*. This is probable but not possible. And we cannot at all explain why the coins with the legend *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa* should be absent in Kashmir and present only in the hoards found in the U.P. We shall have further to assume that Kashmir continued to hold her extensive conquests right upto Banaras even when weak kings were rising and falling with alarming rapidity. Kalhaṇa distinctly states (IV. 401) that royal power did not shine brilliantly during

1. J. A. J. B. N. S., 1928, p. 61.

the interval of 12 years between the reign of Pratāpāditya and Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya.

The presence of the coins of *Srī-ja-Pratāpa* with those of *Srī-Pratāpa* would show that they were contemporary issues. Were they really issued in the reign of Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya, would not some coins of this ruler, bearing the legend *Srīvinaya*, have been found in the Banda and Banaras hoards? None however have been found.

We have seen already how Kalhaṇa credits Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya with a fresh conquest of Kanauj and Banaras. He tells us that the soldiers got tired after reaching Allahabad and returned home, but that the king proceeded all alone to Bengal, where he eventually conquered the five Vaṅgas, married a Vaṅga princess and then returned home.

Kalhaṇa's account of the achievements of Jayāpīḍa in Bengal appears more poetic than historical, but there is nothing impossible in his having reached Prayāga during a fresh expedition.

It is not impossible that Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya may have issued coins with the legend *Srī-ja-Pratāpa* during this expedition. People at Banda and Banaras were already familiar with his father's currency with the legend *Srī-Pratāpa*; he may have introduced a minor change, changed the legend into *Srī-ja-Pratāpa* and issued coins of the old type with new legend.

There are however several difficulties in accepting this view. Had the coins with the legend *Srī-ja-Pratāpa* in the Banda and Banaras hoards been really issued by Jayāpīḍa at the time of his fresh conquest of U. P., there is no reason why regular coins of this ruler having the legend *Srī-Vinayāditya* should be absent from these hoards. The Banda hoard contained more than 16,400 coins. If it contained about 131 coins of Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya with the legend *Srī-ja-Pratāpa*, it should have contained at least a few dozen pieces with the legend *Srī-Vinayāditya*. Would not Vinayāditya have preferred to announce his fresh conquest by issuing coins in his own real name? Why should he have remained content with introducing himself to his new subjects so indirectly? Since he had issued coins in his own name in Kashmir, he would have done the same in the U. P. But no coins whatsoever with the legend *Vinayāditya* have been found in the U. P. It is therefore clear that *Srī-ja-Pratāpa* coins were not issued during the reign of Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya as the emperor of Kashmir.

The fact that the Banda hoard of 16,448 coins contained 131 coins with the legend *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa* shows that the two issues were contemporaneous. The hoard was obviously exported to the U.P. to meet the needs of the expeditionary force and the *Śrī-Pratāpa* and *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa* issues must have been contemporary. Kalhaṇa tells us how Lalitāditya Mukṭāpīḍa Pratāpāditya had predicted the greatness of his grandson Vinayāditya. It is therefore very likely that Jayāpīḍa had taken part in his grand-father's expedition in Madhyadeśa and impressed him with his leadership and valour¹. Jayāpīḍa, being the grandson through a younger son, had very little normal chance of succeeding to the throne of Kashmir. Kalhaṇa tells us how he was an adventurous youth; he may therefore well have taken part in his grand-father's expedition, hoping to carve out a kingdom for himself, as he had no normal chance of ascending the Kashmir throne. When Pratāpāditya obtained effective possession of Madhyadeśa for some years, he may have naturally appointed his adventurous grand-son as his governor in Eastern U.P. While stationed somewhere in the vicinity of Allahabad or Banaras, the young governor may well have issued coins in the name of his grand-father, but interposing his initial letter *ja* in the legend, and thus changing it into *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa*. Or Mukṭāpīḍa Pratāpāditya may himself have issued these coins for and in the United Provinces with the initial of his grandson governor's name inserted in the legend, in order to familiarise his new subjects with the name of their governor.

This theory can well explain how the coins with the legend *Śrī-Pratāpa* are mixed up with those with the legend *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa*, how the latter are found only in the U. P. and never in Kashmir and how Vinayāditya Jayāpīḍa's own coins are not found in the U. P. hoards. The historicity of Vinayāditya's expedition to U. P. after his accession to the throne has been doubted by many; Kalhaṇa's account about it may be probably due to the panegyrists of Vinayāditya Jayāpīḍa ascribing the victories of their patron, really won under the aegis of his grand-father, to a fresh and new expedition after his accession.

1. At his accession in c. 700 A. D. Mukṭāpīḍa must have been about 35, since he was the youngest son of his father who had a long reign of 50 years. His younger son Vajrāditya may have been born in c. 690 and the latter's son Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya in c. 715. He could thus have been a youth of about 18 when his grand-father was engaged in his U. P. expedition in c. 732 A. D. The case was similar to that of Śuṅga prince Vasumitra cooperating in the Aśvamedha sacrifice of his grand-father Agnimitra, when he was a youth of 16.

SIXTEEN ANCIENT COPPER COINS FROM MALWA.

BY D. B. DISKALKAR, M. A., INDORE

Ten of the sixteen coins (Nos. 1-4, 7-10, 13-14) are from a collection of old coins made by the late Mr. Tikekar of Indore and are now in possession of his nephew Mr. P. G. Khandekar. Five coins (Nos. 5, 6, 11, 15 and 16) are in the possession of Pandit Suryanarayan Vyas of Ujjain. It is not known when and where these coins were found before they were acquired by these gentlemen. The remaining one coin (No. 12) was found on a mound at Maheshvar called Mandal Khoh, on the northern bank of the Narmada by Mr. A. G. Kulkarni of the Indore Museum in 1945 and is now preserved in the Indore Museum under General Register No. 6833.

Five of the coins are copper punch-marked coins, seven coins are of the well-known "Ujjain type," two coins are probably of the "Taxila type," one is a Naga coin, and the remaining one coin is of the king Sāmantadeva of the Hindu Shāhi dynasty of the Punjab and Kabul valley.

Little progress has been made in the study of the copper punch-marked coins, specially because they are very rarely found. Mr. Allan describes in his British Museum Catalogue only one type of the copper punch-marked coins (pp. 101 ff.), though he has noticed on pages 19 to 21 (Nos. 30, 42, 49) three other punch-marked copper coins of different types. The copper punch-marked coins described in this paper will therefore be found interesting. These copper punch-marked coins have only four symbols on the obverse and only one or two on the reverse. Not many varieties are found in them as in other punch-marked coins, and the number four of the symbols seems to have been generally made up by repeating the symbol of the sun and the Śaḍarachakra or the six-armed symbol. As these symbols are like those found on the silver punch-marked coins, it seems that the copper punch-marked coins were in circulation along with the silver punch-marked coins. Secondly although it is not known where exactly these copper punch-marked coins were found, it is very likely that they were found along with the 'Ujjain' coins. If so, it will show that copper punch-marked coins were current along with the Ujjain coins proper. It may also be noted in support of this view that the symbol of a running dog seizing a hare found on the copper and

silver punch-marked coins is also found on a copper coin of the Ujjain type found at Kasrawad.¹

The coins Nos. 1 to 5, which are punch-marked have in separate incuses four symbols on the obverse and one or two on the reverse.

No. 1. Square; size, 5"; weight 37 grains.

Obverse: Sun, two *śaḍḍarachakras* and dumbbells.

Reverse: Caduceus.

Pl. III, 1

No. 2. Square; size, 5"; weight 30 grains.

Obverse: Sun, two *śaḍḍarachakras* and a Dāḍina fruit (See Allan; *B.M.C.A.I.*, p. lxvii, 80).

Pl. III, 2

Reverse: Uncertain symbol like that in *B.M.C.A.I.*, page, cxxxvii, line 6.

No. 3. Round; size, 5"; weight 58 grains.

Obverse: Three suns blurred and tree in railing.

Reverse: Caduceus in one incuse and Ujjain symbol in another.

Pl. III, 3

This type resembles that in V. Smith's *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Pl. XIX-ii.

No. 4. Square; size, 5"; weight 37 grains.

Obverse: Three suns, conchshell.

Reverse: An indistinct depression.

No. 5. Square; size, 4"; weight 34 grains.

The coin is a Pāda-paṇa or Kākiṇi.

Obverse: Sun, Caduceus and running dog. The fourth symbol is indistinct.

Reverse: Indistinct, probably Ujjain symbol.

No. 6. Round; size, 7"; weight 130 grains.

Obverse: Kārtikeya standing facing with Śakti in r. hand and sun above it. Probably there was a tree in railing parallel to the Śakti, but it is almost off the flan. On the right in the upper corner, six-armed symbol. Another indistinct symbol on the head of the deity, probably two taurines. The object in its left hand is not clear. It looks like a dog.

Reverse: Ujjain symbol, each end having two circles with a small knob within.

1. See *J.N.S.I.* vol. VIII. (Dec. 1946), Pl. VI. No. 8 and Allan *B.M.C.A.I.*, p. xxvii etc.

The coin resembles the one described in *B. M. C. A. I.* Ujjain type class 2, var. a, p. 245 and pl. xxxviii-1, but its Ujjain symbol is slightly different. There seems to be an additional indistinct object below the *śaḍarachakra*.

No. 7. Square ; size. 7" ; weight 83 grains.

Obverse : Standing figure facing, like the one in the preceding coin with a Śakti in right hand. The left hand is indistinct. Figure seems to wear a cloak and probably shoes. To its right, tree in railing and below, river with fish. Small Ujjain symbol between head of the figure and the tree

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with four small dots inside each knob.

Pl. III, 4.

No. 8. Square ; size. 7" ; weight 90 grains.

Obverse : On the left, Lakshmī seated on a full-blown lotus flower holding in her right hand a long stem of another lotus flower. The left hand rests on the thigh. Tree in railing to the right. Swastika and Ujjain symbol, rather indistinct, in the corner above the tree.

Reverse : Plain Ujjain symbol.

Pl. III, 5

Ujjain coins partially resembling the present coin type have been published in *B. M. C. Ancient India*, p. 252 and pl. XXXVIII, 23. The *B. M. C.* coins, however, are round in shape and small in size ; on them Lakshmī is on the right and her hands are akimbo at chest. The lotus seat also is not as well shown as on the present coin. The eight-armed symbol shown on p. 252 of the *B. M. C.* does not figure on our coin, but it is doubtful whether it occurs on the *B. M. C.* coins as well. The plate does not show any trace of the symbol shown on p. 252 of the Catalogue.

No. 9. Square ; size. 5" , weight 50 grains.

Obverse : Standing female figure with her right hand resting on the hip and the left hand raised up and holding some object resembling a torch. On the right, tree in railing ; on the left, two taurines with an incomplete symbol above. Below, river with fish.

Reverse : Plain Ujjain symbol with taurines in the intervals between the knobs. Faint traces of an older Ujjain symbol under the new Ujjain symbol.

Pl. III, 6.

This is a beautiful and clear coin though the head of the female figure is partly damaged. It resembles the type *B. M. C. A. I.*, class IV, var. d, p. 247, Pl. XXXVIII, 13. The *B. M. C.* coin, however, has a Ujjain symbol on the left and not taurines; the object in the left hand of the goddess is not clear. Both the coins have the Ujjain symbol on the reverse, but our coin has taurines in the interval of its knobs. It is square in shape and not round like the *B. M. C.* piece

No. 10. Square; size, $3\frac{1}{2}$ "; weight 17 grains.

Obverse: Elephant blurred facing right. In its front, tree in railing and below, river with fish.

Reverse: Double-knobbed Ujjain symbol.

This type resembles that of *B. M. C. A. I.*, XXXVI, 6 ff.

Pl. III, 7

No. 11. Rectangular; size .35"; weight 19.5 grains.

This coin is one-eighth of a *paṇa* or *Ardhakāṇḍī*.

Obverse: Tortoise.

Reverse: Ujjain symbol with a dot in the pellets.

Rectangular 'Ujjain' coins of very small size found at Kasrawad have already been known; see, *ante*, Vol. VII, 103. This is one more coin of the kind, though picked up in Ujjain proper. No coin with the sign of a tortoise was known so far.

No. 12. Rectangular, clipped; size. 6"; weight 70 grains.

Obverse: Symbols indistinct. (Probably one is a conchshell as is usually found on punch-marked copper coins, and the other symbol looks like a snail. To the left a line of taurines.

Reverse: Ujjain symbol.

Pl. III, 8

No such type was known so far.

No. 13. Thin and round; size. 7"; weight 22 grains.

Obverse: Elephant to left. Above, a circular symbol.

Reverse: Three-arched hill surmounted by a peculiar *Surai* (?) like symbol.

Pl III, 9

Mr. Allan gives a type like this on pl. XXXIV, 18 but the peculiar symbol on the obverse above the elephant and the one on the reverse above the hill are absent on it.

No. 14. Thick and round; size, .5"; weight; 24 grains.

Obverse : Elephant to left holding some peculiar object in its mouth.

Reverse : as in the above type, but the *Surāi* is only half visible. Pl. III, 10

This is also quite a new type.

No. 15. Round ; size, .4". weight 19.5 grains. *Ardhakā-kiṇī*.

Obverse : Head to right of the Nāga King Mahārāja Gaṇendra of the Nāga family whose coins are found in Mālwa.

Reverse : Indistinct : Brāhmī legend. Upper portion of Triśūla is visible in the lower part of the coin.

No. 16. Round; size. 6"; weight 55 grains.

Obverse : Recumbent humped bull with trappings to right. Trident on the hump. Above, legend, *Sāmantadeva*.

Reverse : Horseman to right in a very degraded style.

The type resembles that of Sāmantadeva, the king of Ohind, described and illustrated by V. A. Smith in the *I.M.C.* Vol. I, p. 247 Pl. XXVI, 3. The one with us is of a very small denomination. Whether the coin was found at Ujjain or was brought from outside is not known.

AN INTERESTING BEAD IN THE ALLAHABAD MUNICIPAL MUSEUM

BY S. C. KALA, M. A., ALLAHABAD

The Allahabad Municipal Museum has recently acquired an interesting bead from the ruins of Kauśāmbī, the celebrated capital of the Vatsa kingdom. The surface of the bead is painted black and over it are put a few symbols in white colour by some chemical process. No bead of this type has yet come to my knowledge from any other site of this country. It measures two centimetres in length. **Pl. III, 13.**

The symbols occurring on the bead were already noticed on some Sātavāhana coins, as also on a few coins found at Taxila, Ujjain and Eran¹ and on a disc excavated at Pāṭalīputra². Mr. Allan merely called it a 'familiar object' while Prinsep a '*Jovahvaja*' or banner of victory. As early as the year 1890 Theobald identified this symbol on some punch marked coins,³ and termed it as 'food receptacle'. The presence of the same symbol on a bead is important, as it throws some light on its true nature. A mere object or mark could not have found place on a bead to be worn by the aristocratic women of the times. It was most probably an auspicious symbol supposed to bring good luck.

1. Allan, *Coins of Ancient India*, Pt. XXXIV.

2. A. S. I. A. R., 1912-13, Pl. XLIX.

3. J. A. S. I., Vol. LIX, 1890 Fig. 120-121.

JAYADHVAJA (?) SYMBOL ON COINS

BY P. L. GUPTA, BANARAS.

Before sending to press the preceding paper of Mr. Kala, the editor was kind enough to show it to me. Only a few days before, I had seen the drawing of the bead, described above, in a proof-print of an article on beads by Śrī Vijaya Krishna, which was being published in the *Kalānidhi*.¹ I was then attracted with the striking similarity of the engraving of the bead with one of the symbols found on the punch-marked coins. Since Sri. Kala has described the bead, I take this opportunity to add to it some of my observations.

The symbol of the bead is seen on a number of punch-marked coins in its various forms, but it is to be seen, in the exact above form, only on the coins having the following five symbols.



This variety of the punch-marked coins is known only from the following sources ;—

1. *Mangrul hoard*. 174 silver punch-marked coins were discovered at Mangrul, Tahsil Hinghanghat in the Wardha district in 1923. 10 of them, belonging to the present variety, are in Nagpur Museum² and 2 in British Museum.³

2. *Ahaurā hoard*. A hoard of about 300 coins was found in Ahaurā of Mirzapur district. Of them 150 only could be secured by Śrī. Shrināth Shah of Banaras; the rest went to the melting pot. Some 50 of these coins were subsequently transferred to the cabinet of the late B. Durga Prasad. Probably one or two of them were of the present variety.⁴ He has described them in his monograph.⁵

1. A quarterly Journal in Hindi, which is being published by Bharat Kalā Bhawan, Banaras.

2. I am indebted to Sri V P. Rode, Archaeological Ass'tant of the Nagpur Museum for this information.

3. Class II group XI var. C. Unfortunately the last three symbols on these coins were not properly identified by Mr. Allan.

4. I owe this information to Sri Shrināth Shāh.

5. N. S. Vol XLV pl XXI (Var. 112). The third and fifth symbols are inaccurately identified there

3. *Kasrāwad hoard*. 35 coins were found at Kasrāwad in Indore state, which are now in Indore Museum. Two of them belong to the present variety. This hoard will be published in the *Journal* in the next number.

4. *Bhārat Kalā Bhawan collection*. A big hoard of punch-marked coins is lying in the Bhārat Kalā Bhawan, Banaras, unstudied and unclassified. Some time back I had an occasion to examine them cursorily. I then noticed that about 50 or more coins belonged to the present variety. The exact provenance is not known, but it is believed that it was somewhere within the United Provinces.

The present variety is conspicuously absent from the hoards published so far from East and North-west India. Neither any of the five hoards of Rairh nor the big Patraha hoard has any coin of the present variety and the hoards described above are confined to Central India and a portion of ancient Madhyadeśa.

The symbol of the bead is also seen on a number of uninscribed cast coins published in the *B. M. C.* (part III) as Vars. C. to K. The exact provenance of these coins is not known, but Mr. Allan is of opinion that "they do not come from the North-West or South of India. The impression one gets from the frequent but not specific reference to early cast coins in *A. S. I. A. R.*, is that they belong mainly to Central India and United Provinces¹ Exactly this symbol is also seen on certain uninscribed coins from Kauśāmbī (*B. M. C.*, var. a and b).² It is very likely, as Mr. Allan thinks,³ that some of the cast coins referred to above may also be connected with Kauśāmbī.

With these facts before us, I am inclined to think that the symbol on the bead had some local significance. I am afraid that I cannot agree with Shri. Kala in thinking that it is some auspicious sign.

1. *B. M. C. A. I.* Intro. PL. XXVI.

2. Mr. Allan has described the symbol in the present form on the cast coins of Taxila and Ujjaini (*B. M. C.* into xxxix) but on them the form of the symbol is different than the present one. The symbol on the Taxila coins (class 35) has no two prongs on the top right (pl. xxxv, 4) and the Ujjaini coins (class 14) have a single prong on the left and no prong on class 3. So, the symbol in the present form is seen only on Kauśāmbī coins.

3. *B. M. C. A. I.* Intro P XCV.

A UNIQUE HOARD OF SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS

BY PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA, BANARAS.

Recently a hoard of 280 silver punch-marked coins was noticed at the shop of a Sarrof at Azamgarh, U. P., who had purchased it from the finder, a Chamar by caste. They are now in my collection. The Sarrof, not being interested in numismatics, did not care to enquire from the finder about the find-spot and other necessary particulars about it. So no course is left to us but to content ourselves with the conjecture that it was found within the boundaries of Azamgarh district.¹

All the coins of the hoard are thick square pieces, fresh in look with sharp chiselled edges and are in mint condition and have no trace of being in currency. In all probability they were hoarded or buried soon after they came out of the mint. Their weight follows the 32 *rattis* standard.

The most interesting feature of the hoard is that all the coins, without any exception, are of a single variety having the following marks on the obverse :—

(1) Sun, (2) Six-armed symbol having three arrows and three taurines alternately placed; (3) Mauryan imperial symbol, three arched hill with crescent at the top; (4) Caduceus; and (5) a standing warrior with a shield and a spear.²

The coins are the same as *B.M.C.A.I.* 2. III. f and are known from the following places.

1. *Banaras*. Of the coins presented by Cunningham to the British Museum, the find-spot of one is mentioned as

1. The district of Azamgarh seems to be rich for the silver punch-marked coins. Carleyle found some coins from the mound of Ohiraiyaskot, when he visited the place in the last century. There are 5 coins (class 4a, 4d, 6. I. a) in the British Museum from this spot, which were presented by Cunningham. It is not known if these coins are the same that were found by Carleyle. But another coin (class 2. IV. e) of the British Museum is definitely from some other source but from a place of this district. Then during the last decade I came across two hoards of the punch-marked coins; one of them, which came from Deorapatti in Ahraula Tahsil, was the biggest ever known. It contained several thousand coins and was found in a trough (*nād*) buried in a field. But under odd circumstances it went either to the crucibles of gold smiths or to some other places now untraceable. Only 8 coins could be saved and they are now in my collection. The other hoard of 848 coins came from some village of Lalganj Tahsil and it also forms part of my collection. Both these hoards are unpublished so far, but occasional references were made by me in my earlier papers.

2. See next page for this foot note.

Banaras, probably the other two coins also came from the same site. The find-spots of the coins presented by Thomas, Theobald and Princep are not recorded.

2. *Kosam*. B. Durga Prasad in his monograph (N. S. XLVII) has described this variety as 40A, though he has not properly identified the fifth mark. He mentions Kosam as the find spot.

3. *Kasarwad* (Indore state). Of the 35 coins of this hoard, which are in Indore Museum and still unpublished, 12 belong to this variety².

4. *Rairh* (Jaipur state). Of the 5 hoards of the punch-marked coins found during the excavations in 1941, two hoards include the coins of this variety. While the hoard of 535 coins has only one coin, the hoard of 132 coins has no less than 116.

5. *Bahul* (Bombay Presidency). Some coins of this variety are included in this hoard of 690 coins. (*J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. XX (N. S.) pp. 83-87).



But on the other hand this coin-type is conspicuously absent from the hoards from North-West Provinces and Bihar. Thus it seems that it was confined to Central India and Madhyadeśa. It is most likely that the mint where it was minted might have been located some where in the U.P.


On all the coins of the present hoard, as well as on all the coins of the hoards referred to above, the symbol caduceus appears both on the obverse and reverse and in the same size. Some of the coins of other hoards, other than the present one, have one or two other marks also on the reverse as the counter marks. In the light of the present hoard, it may positively be concluded that the reverse mark caduceus was punched simultaneously along with the obverse marks in the mint, and is directly related with the obverse. The other reverse marks, which are seen on only some of the coins of the present variety, along with the caduceus, were added later as counter marks and they may have had their independent significance, if any.



2 This mark has been identified by Mr Allan as Kārttikeya (*B. M. C.* Intro. p. xxxvi) as an identical figure is found on a series of the copper coins of Ujjayini (*Ibid.* p. 248; pl. xxxviii coin 11 & 12). But the object on the head is more like a Greek helmet and there is nothing to suggest that the figure had three heads of the God. So, I prefer to identify the figure as a warrior.

[3. A paper of Mr. D. B. Diskalkar on this coin collection will be published in the next number. *A.S.A.*]

Here it will not be out of place to mention that this is not only true in the case of present variety only, but of all the other varieties of the Mauryan coins¹ having caduceus as the fourth mark, all these have invariably the mark caduceus on the reverse (cf. *BMC* 2. II. e h; 2. III a-1; Rairh hoard pl. XXVIII; Patraha hoard II. III. a-c; II. IVa-h j-k). The only exception to this is *BMC* 2. IV.a : Rairh hoard, pl. XXIX : Patraha hoard II. IV. 1, where the reverse caduceus is replaced by peacock on the hill, but that too is constant as reverse mark on all the coins of that variety. Now if we turn to other Mauryan coins, which have the *fourth mark* other than the caduceus, we shall notice that all the coins having one type of fourth mark have invariably a common reverse mark, in most cases the same mark as the fourth mark on the obverse.

1. Coins bearing  on the obverse as the fourth mark have  on the reverse. (Patraha II. I. a, b, c, f.; *BMC* 2. I. a-g)

2. Coins bearing  on the obverse as the fourth mark have the same mark on the reverse. (Patraha II. II. a-c, e; *BMC*. 2. II. a-d, *Pun*, pl. xxvii-viii).

3. Coins having  on the obverse as the fourth mark have  as the reverse mark. (Patraha II. VIII a-d; *BMC* 2. IV. u-v)

Thus we have the following conclusions about the Mauryan coins.

1. On the reverse, we have two types of marks (1) original and (2) counterstruck.

2. The original marks were punched along with the obverse marks, and are of the same size as the marks on the obverse.

1. By Mauryan coins, I mean only those coins which have crescent on the three-arched hill as the third mark along with the sun and *chakra*; or which have these three marks replaced by three human figure or by the symbols (1) Three spear head over a oval placed on two posts (2) six-arched hill and (3) pup on a railing pole.

3. All the coins having a common fourth mark have the common original reverse mark and thus have some definite relation between them.

4. Counterstruck marks are seen along with the original marks, but not necessarily on all the coins. They were punched at some later date.

GOLD MUHARS OF LATER MUGHALS

BY PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA, ASST. EDITOR, AJ, BANARAS.

While a number of hoards of silver coins of Mughal emperors come to light every year and add some thing new to our numismatic knowledge, the hoards of their gold coins are relatively rare. This is but natural. The coins of the later Mughals being issued in relatively recent times, circulated as gold pieces and were not therefore buried. When they lost their coin value with the advent of the British rule, their owners usually preferred to melt them down, instead of burying them, because the rising price of gold rendered it profitable to convert the coins in cash. Hundreds of coins are being melted down every year and so we get few hoard of the gold coins of the later Mughals.

It would, therefore, interest the scholars to know that recently I came across 56 gold coins of these kings in a collection of 81 coins,¹ which originally formed part of the treasury of a Talluqedar of Rai Bareli district of Awadh and was purchased by a bullion merchant of Banaras.

The coins in this collection will probably soon be scattered, as the owner proposes to sell them off and some of them have already been purchased by Bharat Kala Bhawan, Banaras. I, therefore, think it advisable to place on record an inventory of this collection with notes and comments.

AURANGZEB

1. Mint : Akharābād. Date. A. H. 1072; R. Y. 4.

Though Agra had its importance next to Delhi in the Mughal times and the silver coins of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb were issued in abundance from this mint, the gold coins of Aurangzeb issued from this mint are conspicuously absent from the catalogues of the Museums. Only one gold coin of this mint is listed in the Catalogue of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow. This is, therefore, the second specimen of this mint, but it is quite distinct from the Lucknow coin. The Lucknow coin has the epithet *Mustaqir-ul-khilāfat* added to the mint name, which is absent on the present coin. The

1. Of the remaining 25 coins, 1 was of Allauddin Khilji, 1 of Akbar (dated 960 A. H. Mint came out of flaw but probably Agra), 19 of Durrani dynasty, 3 of Maharaja Ram Singh of Jaipur and 1 modern coin in an unidentifiable condition.

Lucknow coin is dated A. H. 1103/ R. Y. 35, while the present one is dated 31 years earlier, A. H. 1072/R. Y. 4. We know from the silver coins that the above epithet was not added to the mint name till R. Y. 34 as the coins of the earlier dates do not bear it. The coins issued during this year and afterwards are adorned with this epithet. As such, the present coin is the only specimen of the early issue of this mint. The coin now forms the part of the cabinet of Bharat Kala Bhawan, Banaras.

2. Mint : Multan. Date A. H, 1112; R. Y. 44.

5 coins of this mint are in the Punjab Museum, 2 in the Lucknow and 2 in the British Museums. The latest known date of this mint is A. H. 1094/R. Y. 26 from a coin in the Punjab Museum. The present coin is 18 years later in date and therefore, an interesting piece.

3-4. Mint : Aurangabad. Date. A. H. 1091 and 1095.

The Punjab, the Lucknow and the British Museums, each have two coins of this mint, but all of them are dated between A. H. 1073 and 1079. The present coins are much later in date.

5. Mint : Dārul-khilāfat Shāhjahānābād. Date. A. H. 1097 ; R. Y. 30.

The coins of this mint are very common. The Lucknow Museum has 11, the Punjab Museum has two and the British Museum has 4 coins, but none of them bears the date of the present coin.

6-11. The mint name on 6 coins are either missing or undecipherable. They are dated A. H. 1076; 1097; 1103; 1109; 1110 and 1111.

SHĀH ĀLAM BAHĀDUR

12. Mint : Khujistā Buniād. Date A. H. 1121.

Khujistā Buniād is the name of Aurangabad. One coin of this mint is in the Lucknow and three in the British Museum. The year 1121 is represented on them.

JAHĀNDĀR SHĀH

13. Mint : Akbarabad Mustaqir-ul-mulk. Date. A. H. 1124/R. Y. *Ahad*.

Five coins of this mint are in the British Museum, but only one is in the Lucknow Museum. The Punjab Museum has none.

FARRUKHSIYAR

14. Mint : Khujistā Buniād. R. Y. 2.

One coin of this mint is in the Punjab Museum and three in the Lucknow Museum, their dates being. R. Y. 4, 6 and 7. The present coin thus supplies the earliest date for the series.

MUHAMMAD SHĀH

- 15-21. Mint : Shāhjahānābād Dār-ul-khilāfat.

Date. R. Y. 3, 10 12 (3 coins) 14, 16
A. H. 11—, 11—, 11, 1141,—

Very common coins.

22. Mint : Shahabad Qanauj. A. H. 114—; R. Y. 10

Though silver coins of this mint are fairly common (no less than 17 coins are in the Lucknow Museum), gold coins are rare. The only published gold coin is in the Lucknow Museum and is dated 114411 R. Y. 13. The present coin is dated three years earlier. It is now in Bharat Kala Bhawan.

23. Mint. Undecipherable. date. R. Y. 11.

AHMAD SHĀH BAHĀDUR

- 24-31. Mint : Dār-ul-khilāfat Shāhjahānābād.

Date A. H. 1161/R. Y. *Ahad* (2 coins); 1166/5 (3 coins); 1166/6 (3 coins).

Very common.

- 32 Mint : Multan Date A. H. 11651, R. Y. 5.

This is a rare mint of this king. Only one coin is described in the catalogue of the Punjab Museum, which is also dated in the present year. The present coin is now in Bharat Kala Bhawan.

ĀLAMGIR II.

- 33-45. Mint : Shāhjahānābād Dār-ul-khilāfat.

Ālamgir II had issued from this mint the coins of at least four varieties having different legends on the obverse. Of these three varieties are represented in the present collection.

Var. *a*₁ (1 coin) R. Y. 1.

Legend. *Sikkā Mubāraka Bādshāh Ghāzī Ālamgir.*

The Lucknow Museum has got two and the British Museum one coin of this variety. All these coins, including the present one, is dated in the first R. Y. Probably this issue was not renewed in subsequent years.

Var. *b.* (6 coins). R.Y. 2 (on 3 coins), R.Y. 3 (on 3 coins).

Legend. *Sikkā mubāraka Abu ādil Asīzuddīn Ālamghīr Bādshāh Ghāzī Muhammad khulī Allāh mulk-o-saltanat.*

The Lucknow and the British Museums have each got one and the Punjab Museum two coins of this variety. It seems that this variety was discontinued after the third year.

Var. *c.* (6 coins) A. H. 1170, R. Y. 4.

Legend. *Sikkā ad bur half kiswar hamchoo ta bān mahr-omāh Shāh Asīzuddīn Ālamghīr Ghāzī bādshāh.*

The Lucknow Museum has four and the Punjab Museum has only one coin of this variety. The Lucknow coins are dated R.Y. 4 to 6, but the Punjab coin has the R. Y. 2. Probably the reading on this coin is not correct as in the earlier years, the varieties *a* and *b*, referred to above, were issued. This may be R.Y. 4., but a simultaneous issue of this variety is not unlikely.

46-47. Mint: Sawāi Jaipur. R. Y. 3 and 4. A. H. 116-

Legend. Obv. As var *a* of Shahjahanabad mint.

Rev. *Zarab Sawāi Jai (pur) san 3 jalūs maimanat mānūs.*

The mint Sawai Jaipur was founded by Muhammad Shah and the gold and silver coins issued by him and his successors are known, but the coins of Alamgir are conspicuously absent from all the museums. It seems that the coins of this mint are rare.

SHĀHJAHĀN III.

48. Mint: Mahinderpur. Date A. H. 1174.

Few coins of this king are known to us and amongst them only one coin of the present mint exists in the Punjab Museum. The present coin is the second specimen and is now in Bharat Kala Bhawan.

SHĀH ĀLAM II.

49. Mint: Banaras Muhammadābād.

50. Mint: Awadh.

51. Mint : Dārur Sarūr. R. Y. 46, A. H. 12—

The full name of the mint is absent from the coin, but *Sarūr* is clear. No other mint than Burhanpur has *Sarūr* as the part of the epithet. So I have identified this coin as the coin of this mint. One coin of this mint is in the Lucknow Museum and dated A. H. 1195/ R. Y. 22, but that is quite different in fabric and calligraphy. The arrangement of the legend is also different. On that coin too the name Burhanpur is missing.

52-54. Mint names undecipherable.

BAHĀDUR SHĀH

55-56. Mint : Sawai Jaipur. Date A. H. 12—/ R.Y. 4 ; 1271/ R. Y. 18.

Legend. Obv. *Sikkā muhāraka bādshāh Ghāzi 1271*
Muhamad Bahādur Shāh.

Rev. *Zarab sawāi Jai (pur) san 18 jalūs maimnat mānūs.*
(Monogram No. 89. *PMC.*)

According to catalogues no gold coin of this king is known. Even of the silver coins, only those have been considered as the coins of this king, which were minted at Shājahānābād Dārulkhilāfat.¹ The coins minted elsewhere are said to be issued in his name by others. Whatever it may be, gold coins issued in his name even by others are probably not known elsewhere. So, these coins are interesting. I invite the scholars to shed light on the subject.

1. In a coin conference in 1910 held at Allahabad, it was resolved that only those coins of Muhammad Akber II and Bahādur Shāh should be deemed Mughal issues, which were struck at Delhi (Shāhjahānābād).

A NEW FIND OF GOLD COINS OF DURRĀNĪ DYNASTY

BY PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA, ASST. EDITOR, AJ, BANARAS.

The coins of the Durrānī dynasty which was built over the ruins of the Mughal empire and ruled in the North-western part of the country for about a hundred years in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, are by no means common. Mr. R.B. Whitehead's corpus¹, which is the last work done on this coinage, was published in 1933. Since then no new find has come to light and our knowledge of the subject has hardly made any progress.

Fortunately enough, during last June I came across 19 gold coins of this dynasty in a collection of 81 coins at a bullion dealer's shop at Banaras, which originally formed part of the treasury of a Taluqedar of Rae-Bareilly district of Awadh. These coins include the issues of Ahmad Shāh, Taimūr Shāh and Mahmūd Shāh. While the coins of the first two kings are all of known varieties and add little to our knowledge, the coins of Mahmūd Shāh constitute an important addition to the series. I now proceed to describe the coins.

AHMAD SHĀH.

Of these 19 coins, 5 coins belong to Ahmad Shāh (1 of Multan mint, 3 of Dera mint and 1 of Derajāt mint). All these have the usual couplet (*P. M. C.* Vol. III p. 13) on the obverse. The reverse of the one coin of the Multan mint and that of the two coins of the Dera coins, have the Mughal formula '*San jalūs muīmanat manūs*' with the mint name and date. The Multan coin is dated A. H. 1170/ R. Y. 10. The coin is the same as *P. M. C.* No. 47. The Dera mint coins are dated in the 7th and 10th R. Y. The first coin has A. H. year 1167 also. These coins are the same as *P. M. C.* Nos. 10 and 12. The third Dera coin has got the simple reverse legend '*ṣarab Dera san*' with the monogram Triśūla, the common mint-mark of this mint. This is the same as *P. M. C.* Nos. 13-16, but the earliest known date among them is R. Y. 10. The present coin gives an earlier date namely R. Y. 7. The Derajāt mint coin is the same as *P. M. C.* No 7, which is considered to be rare.

1. *Coins of Nādir Shāh and the Durrānī Dynasty (P. M. C. Vol. III).*

TAIMŪR SHĀH.

Of the remaining coins 12 belong to Taimūr Shāh. 5 of them are those issued by him as the Nizam of the Punjab, Sindh and Derajat during the reign of his father. These coins are the issue of Multan Dār-ul-āmān mint and are dated R. Y. 8 (A.H. 1177), 9 (11--), 12 (1181) and 14 (1184). The coins are the same as *P. M. C.* 283-286, but the dates 8 and 14 are not represented in the catalogue.

The remaining 7 coins are his own issues as king. 4 of them are of Peshawar, 2 of Kabul and 1 of Dera mints. All these coins have the common couplet (*P. M. C.* p. 59) but the arrangement is different. The reverse of the Peshawar coins has the Mughal formula with the mint name and are dated A. H. 1194/R.Y. 10, 1203/17, 1204/17. The coins are the same as *P. M. C.* 361-369. The coins from the Kabul and Dera mints have the simple mint names and dates. They are also of known varieties.

MAHMŪD SHĀH.

The remaining two coins belong to Mahmūd Shāh. His gold coins are known to be issued only from the mints Ahmad Shāhi and Bahāwalpur during his first reign and from the mint Kabul during his second reign. The present collection shows that he had issued coins from two other mints also, Dera and Multan. As such the coins are interesting and are described below.

1. Mint : Dera. R. Y. *Ahad*.

Obverse	Reverse.
۱ (زبور) در	احد
سکه	سنه
توقیق الہ گیتی	ب
خسرو	ضر ویرہ
محمود ساء	

2. Mint : Multan. A. H. 1226.

Obverse	Reverse.
..... ۱	ملتان
سکه	ضرب ۱۲۲۶

1. The Complete couplet on the coins is the same as on all other coins of this king. It is as follows :—

سکه بر زر و توقیق الہ
خسرو گیتی ستان محمود ساء

مرد ساه

وارامان M 8. (*P.M.C.*)

سور

ستان

No gold coin of these two mints of this king either of his first or of the second reign was known. Silver coins of these mints of his first reign are known, but of the second reign they are conspicuously absent. The first coin belongs to the first reign of the king and is similar in its obverse and reverse to the silver coin of the same mint (*P. M. C.* No. 953 pl. X. 10). The second coin belongs to his second reign and is the only known specimen of this mint.

Both these coins have since been purchased, and are now in Bharat Kala Bhawan, Banaras.

TANKIS: THEIR SIGNIFICANCE.

BY PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA, ASST. EDITOR, AJ,
BANARAS.

Certain copper coins, known as *tankis* were issued from the mints of Ahmadabad, Agra, Kabul and Lahore during the last five years of Akbar's reign. They are known in one, two and four *tanki* pieces. These have been described by the numismatists as curious and interesting mintage of the emperor.

Rodgers was so much impressed by the absence of any reason for their existence as coins that he declared that they were standard weights bearing the Imperial stamp.¹ Whitehead thought that the meaning of *Tanke* (Tanki) was obscure. To him it was a weight which had little or no connection with the *Tanka* (coin).² But Hodivala pointed out that the *tanka* was a weight in very common use in Akbar's days and that it was equivalent to about 63 grs. troy.³ As the weight of the *tankis* was also approximately the same, he thought that it was intended to serve both as a coin and as a weight.⁴

While Hodivala recognised the nature of the pieces as coins, he could not explain properly the object of introducing the new denominations. The traditional weight of the *tanka* happened to be about the tenth part of the heavy Akbari *tanka*, so he thought that it was the idea of some one, who adopted the decimal system of currency. These pieces were issued to serve the fractional currency of the *tanka* as one-tenth, one-fifth and two fifth.⁵

But it does not seem convincing that they were issued simply because some one thought of adopting the decimal system of division. There might have been some sufficient reason for this innovation, particularly when there were already in existence halves, quarters and eighth parts of the *Dām* and *Tanka*, based on the current quarternary scale.

1. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX p. 219.

2. *P. M. C.* Intro p. XXVI.

3. *Num. Supp.* XXVII p. 140.

4. *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, p. 112,

5. *Ibid*, p 113

To this, it has been suggested by the learned scholar, that it might have been issued with a view to provide for copper currency as complete a series of fractional pieces as existed for the rupee. It is true that we have decimal system of fractional division of the silver coins side by side with the quarternary system. But we see that it was not there without any reason.

We know that the silver rupee was equivalent to 40 *Dām*. It could not be possible to transact all business with the fractional coins having value of 20, 10, 5 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ *dāms*. For the transactions of 2, 3, 4, 7 or 9 *dāms*, these fractional coins were of little use. In the absence of the decimal division of rupee, one would have had to deal with the heavy copper *dāms*, which could not be carried easily to market in a large quantity. To surmount these difficulties the decimal division of the rupee might have been issued. There must have been a similar reason for the issue of the copper decimal series.

We are told by Abul Fazl that for the purpose of calculation, the *dām* was divided into 25 parts, each of which was called a *Jital*. He further informs us that it was an imaginary division and was used only for accounting. To me it appears that this imaginary division of the currency, which was meant only for paper accounting, created difficulty in practical transactions, and to meet that difficulty these pieces were issued in the later part of the reign. The *Adhelah*, *Paulah* and *Damaris* failed to square the transactions in terms of *Jitals* and therefore the necessity of issuing new fractional coins arose. The new coins *tankis*, therefore, were issued in the denominations of one-fifth, two-fifth and four-fifth of *dām*, which were equal to five, ten and twenty *Jitals*. As such the unit of these coins is *Jital* and not *Dām* or *Tanka*.

•A RARE COPPER COIN OF SIKANDAR LODI.

BY PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA, ASST. EDITOR, AJ, BANARAS.

W. H. Valentine in his *Copper coins of India* has described three copper coins of Sikandar Lodi—two from British Museum and one from D. F. Howarth, the author of the *Colonial coins and tokens*¹. But Nelson Wright was not aware of any copper coin of this king, since he had remarked in his *Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi* that Sikandar Lodi went a step further than Bahlul in confining his currency exclusively to billon.² It seems that the copper coins of this king are very rare. As such Sri Ganesh Chaube, a Hindi scholar of village Bangari (P. O. Pipra Kothi, Dist Champaran, Behar) was fortunate to pick up recently a copper coin of this king from the shop of a bania at Chanpatia Bazar (Bettiah sub-division, Champaran). It is now in his collection and I am describing it with his kind permission.

Metal-copper ; weight-about 48 rattis ; size- .7"; date 913 A. H.

Obverse

(اله) تَو (كَل عَلِي)
(ال) (رحمن)
سكند (رسالة)
بهرل (ساعة)
(سلطان)

Reverse

فی زمن
(ال) مومن (ین)
(۱) میز
حدت حلاذ (تہ)

۹۱۳ Pl. IV. B., 4.

The legend is the same as seen on the billon coins but without mint name. It is inscribed in a distinctive angular script. The coins of this type, in billon, are known to be issued concurrently with Delhi *tankah* since 900 A. H. This type was probably at first a camp issue, but when Sikandar transferred the seat of the government to Agra, which he founded in 911 A. H. (1505 A. D.) this issue became common and issues struck in Delhi appeared to have been abandoned.

The two coins of British Museum, described by Valentine, are dated 89x and 912 (doubtful) and that of Howarth is dated 903. The present coin has the clear numerals, though truncated, as 913 and thus is the only definitely known copper issue of Agra.

BARAMATI, A NEW MUGHAL MINT

BY KHWAJA MUHAMMAD AHMAD, M.A., LL.B., MOULVI FAZIL,
CURATOR, HYDERABAD (DN.) MUSEUM.

An interesting find of Mughal coins, consisting of 80 silver pieces, was recently received from Aurangabad District as a Treasure Trove. They were discovered while excavating the foundations for the construction of a hospital at Pachod in the Shahgadh Jagir. The find was first reported to me by Dr. Gladys I. Jeffree of the Mission Hospital, Pachod.

The coins were secured for the Hyderabad Museum through the kind offices of Mr. Mohd. Abdullah, H. C. S., First Taluqdar, Aurangabad. The Mughal Emperors, Shah Jehan, Aurangzeb, Jehandar Shuh, Shah Alam, Shah Jehan II, Farrukhsiyar and Muhammad Shah are represented in the hoard. The coins of the hoard display a considerable variety of mints which are well known to numismatists. However, one of the coins belonging to Muhammad Shah (1131-1161 A.H. = 1719-1748 A.D.) represents a new Mughal mint. Two similar coins have been noticed by Dr. Pannalal, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., in this *Journal*, ante, Vol. VIII, Part II, on pages 175-6, Plate XII, Nos. 5 & 6. The mint has been read by him as Taramati, which has not been identified and could not be traced in the Imperial Gazetteer of India. The letter ω or τ is however doubtful on Dr. Pannalal's coins. The coin, which is being published by me, does not bear dots of ω and the mint name has been read by Mr. Abdul Wali Khan, Keeper of the Coins, Hyderabad Museum, as Baramati, which has been identified by him as a town situated $18^{\circ} 9' N$, $74^{\circ} 34'$, bearing the same name in Bhimthadi Taluq of Poona District, about fifty miles south-east of Poona city. The reading of the mint name of the coins published by Dr. Pannalal has obviously to be corrected. The reading of the name and its identification are further corroborated by nearness to the mint of the places of the find of the coins. The two coins published by Dr. Pannalal were discovered at Brahmapuri near Kolhapur, about 120 miles south of Baramati; while the coin which is being published by me was discovered at Pachod, in Shahgadh Jagir, Pattan Taluq, Aurangabad District, about 200 miles north-east of Baramati. The coins do not seem to have travelled long from their mint. Thus a new name to the list of the Mughal mints is definitely added.

The Imperial Gazetteer of India unfortunately does not contain much information regarding Baramati. In order to secure further information regarding this place I had requested the Collector of Poona to help me in this respect. He had kindly enquired from the offices of the Superintendent of the Historical Society of Poona and sent the following note to me :—

“In the town of Baramati (Dist. Poona) there is an old dilapidated land fortress, known as the “Kot” of Babuji Naik. It was built by Babuji Naik (Joshi), the reputed money lender of the Peshwas, in 1743. He had very close matrimonial ties with the Peshwas. He died in 1780”.

From this description it is evident that during the time when the coins were struck at Baramati in the name of Muhammad Shah, this place enjoyed a unique fiscal position in Western part of the Deccan and that there is no wonder if coins were minted there.

The description of the coin is as follows :—

Size	.95 "
Weight	176.5 grains
Shape	Slightly oval.
Date	Between 1131 & 1149 A. H. 1719 & 1737 A. D.

<i>Reading.</i>	
<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
۱۱۲۱ مکتوبات	مانوس
بادشاه غازے	میمنت
	سنہ جلوس
سکہ مباع	(ضر) ب
	بارامتی

Pl. IV. B, 5

The first two figures of the date are 11 and the last two figures are doubtful. They may be anything between 31 and 49. The regnal year is missing.

Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal has sent the following note on the above paper for publication.

The letter ت or te is quite distinct on Dr. Pannalal's coins, whereas the letter ب or ba is most doubtful on Khwaja Muhammad's coin, because of the absence of a dot below the stroke for ب. Therefore the assumption that the mint name is Baramati and not Taramati is not convincing. The existence of a town of the name of Baramati in

Poona district is a poor argument for the mint name to be taken as Baramati.

Besides it is possible that Taramati was the original name which underwent a change and is now called Baramati.

[Dr. Pannalal agrees with the above view. During the 18th century, when the coin under discussion was issued, the town is not known to have changed its name from Taramati to Baramati. A. S. A.]

MR. KHWAJA MUHAMMAD AHMAD'S REPLY.

In Muslim numismatics and epigraphy weight cannot be attached to the presence or absence of dots. Sometimes they are only ornamental, sometimes they may belong to a letter placed at a distance and sometimes they are absolutely meaningless. The words have to be read and interpreted in an intelligible manner. The dots which have been presumed to belong to the letter ت on Dr. Pannalal's coin are not to be found on the similar coin which is being published by me. It is likely that one of them may be of ض and the other of ب in the word ضرب. Their attribution, therefore, to the letter ت is not correct. The coins were definitely minted in the western part of the Deccan, and the fiscal and political importance of Baramati at the time when the coins were struck cannot be ignored. It rests with Dr. Pannalal and Mr. Prayag Dayal to prove that the original name of Baramati was Taramati. Even if that is proved, it does not alter the identification made by Mr. Abdul Wali Khan. Personally, I am convinced about the correctness of the reading and also of the identification made by Mr. Abdul Wali Khan. I am sure it does not allow of any doubt.

THE ORIGIN OF SAMUDRAGUPTA'S STANDARD TYPE COIN.¹

BY B. S. SITHOLEY, LUCKNOW

Many historians and numismatists adhere to the view that Gupta coins were not a local development in Magadha but originated "in a period when the Guptas had come into closer contact with the late Great Kushāns whose eastern (Punjab) coinage they copy."² The coin, which is taken to be so derived, is Samudragupta's Standard type, which is regarded as the earliest form of his coins and, consequently, the earliest of Gupta issues. The close resemblance of the type to the types of the late Kushāns is obviously the basis of the theory. In the absence, however, of definite evidence this view of the origin of Gupta coinage cannot be acceptable, and the present article is concerned with showing its untenability.³

In accordance with this theory the King-Queen type coin of Chandragupta I is not attributable to him, but held to have been issued by Samudragupta in commemoration of his father and his own Lichchhavi descent. It is argued that no parallel existed for this joint coinage, and that it was "contrary to all numismatic laws for a series to open with such a remarkable development from its prototype."⁴ The crucial point, therefore, is that if Chandragupta I issued his own coins, the alleged copying of Samudragupta's Standard type becomes a later event, which is fatal to the theory.

The amazing conception of a successor king issuing coins in the name of his deceased predecessor, in addition to his own, is one that would constitute a real defiance of numismatic laws. Numismatists have challenged this view and produced some very cogent arguments to expose its fallacy, but the line of attack has invariably been other than frontal. It is very well, for instance, to point out that it is against Indian culture for a son to commemorate the romance of his father. No such arguments, though absolutely sound, are really needed when concrete evidence is already

1. I am grateful to Dr. A.S. Altekar for valuable advice in the preparation of this paper.

2. J. Allan: *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, p. lxvi.

[8. In *J. A. S. B.*, 1937 *N.S.*, pp. 105-11 I have adduced further arguments in support of the view here advocated by Mr. Shitholey. *A. S. A.*]

4. Allan, *Ibid.*, p. lxviii.

available. The very fact that Chandragupta I's coin type bears his name and the devices on it are absolutely different from those appearing on any type of Samudragupta's coins, —a fact that cannot be got over—, is alone a indisputable proof of its being his own issue; for if this is not valid, the attribution of any coin to a king bearing his name will be equally invalid, or at any rate subject to suspicion. This cannot be avoided. The joint (King-Queen) coin type of Chandragupta I created a precedent, which is one of the several examples that demonstrate Gupta originality. The gratuitous complication was evidently introduced to circumvent an awkward element militating against the theory.

Since Chandragupta I immediately preceded Samudragupta and no coins of an earlier Gupta king have hitherto been discovered, the King-Queen type must be regarded as the first issue of Gupta coinage. The importance attached to the Standard type thus recedes into the background and becomes restricted to this type being possibly the leading type of Samudragupta's series, and the extent of influence, if any, it exercised over subsequent Gupta types. Before this can be examined, it is necessary to determine whether the Standard type was an imitated type, or whether its similarity to the late Kushān type resulted from other causes.

Chronologically, the Kushān type being anterior to the development of the Standard type, there can be a case for the latter borrowing from the former. But mere precedence cannot be the final and decisive factor, unless certain specific conditions under which only borrowings become possible are satisfied. In the first place, direct or indirect contact, without which a borrowing could neither be conceivable nor feasible, is essential. Secondly, a felt need for borrowing should exist. Thirdly, the thing borrowed or imitated must possess features of attractiveness or utility in so striking a measure as to make their appeal irresistible. Fourthly, there should be the element of compulsion of one kind or another. If such conditions are not satisfied, we should find indiscriminate borrowings by people of every country from every other country. That such wholesale borrowing never occurs is quite obvious.

There is nothing to show that the Guptas came into contact, close or otherwise, with the late Kushāns until Samudragupta brought them under his suzerainty. No Kushān coins have been found to be present in the finds of Gupta coins, indicating that no previous commercial or other relations existed between their two kingdoms. And

there is no reason to suppose that Samudragupta deferred coining until he got into touch with the Kushāns.

On ascending the throne Samudragupta apparently did not immediately leap into saddle and gallop forth on his conquests, which covered a major portion of India and must have involved his absence from the capital for some considerable time. It is reasonable to assume that mustering and organizing his army, deciding his strategy, and planning his operations must have involved a good many months. Even Chenghiz Khan, a marauder with no other aim than pillage and destruction, "planned a campaign to its remotest details and discussed it for weeks with his marshalls before setting out."¹ Meanwhile the affairs of the State could not be allowed to remain at a standstill. In olden days the issue of coinage was testimony to the assumption of kingship,² a symbol of prestige, an assurance to the subjects of the exchequer being sound and of the stability in the kingdom. Provision for payment to the expeditionary forces was also required. All this, together with the non-abundance of Chandragupta I's currency,—very few of his coins, and only of one type, have been found—, must have necessitated striking his coinage without delay; though which types were minted first it is not possible to say definitely. It may be taken as almost certain that Samudragupta did issue his coins prior to departure on his expeditions.

This would make the Standard type coin not his first but a later issue. Support to this is available from another source. On the basis of coin legends, which could not have been compared at random, being in the nature of formal and recorded state proclamations, the Standard type coin, in which the king's victories are stated (perhaps rhetorically) to extend over a century of battles, must mark the end of his campaigns. The Kushān province was apparently the last to be brought under control after Samudragupta's sweep of the Southern and Western kingdoms. The Lyrist type, naturally not concerned with conquests, probably opened Samudragupta's series, music being an accomplishment that attracts one much in youth. The Tiger slayer type may have followed next, hunting again being a pastime for the youth. The Battle-axe type, declaring the king victorious, perhaps refers to a few battles successfully fought, and may represent the beginning of his

1. Harold Lamb : *Tamerlane, the Earth-Shaker*, p. 255.

[2 The opinion expressed here is untenable. A number of famous kings like Chandragupta and Aśoka of the Mauryan dynasty, Pushyamitra of the Śuṅga dynasty, Pravarasena I and Govinda III of the Vākātaka and the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasties did not issue any coins bearing their names, A. S. A.]

military exploits. The Standard type logically comes next. The *Aśvamedha* type is the result to his conquests. In the Archer type, which declares the king as having after his meritorious labours qualified for heaven, that is to say, the king's settling down after accomplishing all he wished to, was apparently the last type issued.

The theory that the Standard type is the result of imitation presupposes, first, Samudragupta's postponement of his coinage to the latter part of his reign. We have seen that there were no grounds for it. But, even assuming that Samudragupta struck no coins until he saw the Kushān prototypes, it cannot be said that, with Chandragupta I's coin-type already in existence, he did not know how to coin and must go out in search of ideas to, of all peoples, the Kushāns, who were only petty chieftains ruling over a conglomeration of small principalities and the condition of whose decadent arts and culture was reflected in their degraded and crude coins.¹ Gifted as the Guptas were, as is proved not only by the remarkable originality of Chandragupta I's coin-type, the very first Gupta issue, but by the marvellous creative imagination, artistic sensibility, and perfect technique of all Gupta coinage, it would be strange indeed if they felt an overpowering need for imitation.

The Kushān types possessed no outstanding merits. On the contrary, they were more likely to repel than attract. And the standing-king-seated-goddess design could hardly be called very original. It was only a common motif which could have been produced anywhere in a social and political order recognizing the king (and the queen) as the ruler (s) of the people. This will be further touched upon later.

As Samudragupta was not subordinate to the late Kushāns, there was no compulsion of a political or other kind on the Guptas to induce them to copy the Kushān motifs.

None of the afore-mentioned conditions, without which no borrowing can possibly take place, being satisfied, even to a nominal extent, it becomes exceedingly difficult to understand why the Guptas should imitate from the late Kushāns. Chronology here ceases to have a bearing, because the circumstances under which it can carry weight do not exist. It is far too facile to assume a borrowing simply

[1. The history of ancient Indian numismatics does however show that sometimes the conquerors adopted a degraded type of the conquered. The Gupta artists were gifted and original, but they adopted the degraded coin type of the silver currency of the Western Kshatrapas including its unmeaning and distorted Greek letters *A. S. A.*]

because of priority of time. A different explanation must be sought. A possible one is suggested hereunder.

The Standard type was presumably an altogether independent creation. Sometimes the same idea does occur to different parties widely removed from and without any knowledge of one another. Two instances may be given. Certain Indian sculptural motifs have been discovered among the sculptures of the Mayas of Central America and are met with nowhere else. The relevant Indian sculptures are more than a thousand years older than the Maya ones. By the time America was discovered, Maya civilisation had become extinct. Did the Mayas borrow from India, despite the fact that there was no communication at that time between the old world and the new? Again, the boomerang, a wooden weapon, has been known to be peculiar to the Australian aborigines. Anthropologists have, however, found that it is also widely used by the aboriginal tribes of India. Dr. Oppert says: "The general belief is that the boomerang is a weapon peculiar to the Australians, but this is by no means the case. It is well-known in many parts of India, specially in its Southern Peninsula. The Tamulian, Maravar, and Kallar employ it when hunting, and throw it after deer..."¹ The boomerang, not found in any other parts of the world, has been in use from prehistoric times. We cannot invoke chronology here; and since no land connection existed between Australia and India, separated by thousands of miles of ocean, except in the geological past when the human race had not appeared on the face of the Earth, can we say, in a general way, that the Indians borrowed the boomerang from the Australians, or vice versa? The only rational explanation in both cases—the sculptures and the boomerang—can be that they were independently created or invented.

These are far-flung and rare cases. In ordinary ones, such as formally depicting a king and a queen, there is always to hand the daily experience to draw upon. The seat on which a woman sits becomes a throne when she is queen, and a man standing with a weapon or other symbol of royalty in hand can answer for a king. In fact, such conceptions are the common heritage of all civilised races, and have come down from a primordial racial practice still continued. There is thus nothing against a common occurrence being represented in a more or less identical fashion. It could hardly be otherwise. A horse-rider is normally shown mounted on a horse, and this is

1. Quoted T. N. Mukharji : *The Art-Manufactures of India*, 216.

how he would be depicted everywhere. Shall we be justified in inferring from two such representations that one of them must be original and the other necessarily derived? Socio-political organisation in Northern India during the Kushān and Gupta periods, and even later, had many features in common, the outcome of race-traditions handed down from antiquity. Basic conceptions were, so to say, in the air, for anybody with imagination to give them a concrete representational form, which was bound to be more or less alike. After all, the late Kushāns invented a new device (seated goddess) for the reverse of their coins, without influence from any source, as by the time of Kanishka all foreign influence, Greek or Roman, had disappeared from Indian coins.¹ If, therefore, the late Kushāns could invent, is there any reason against the Guptas doing likewise? And did not the latter invent devices for their other coins? The superior execution of the Standard type is an indication against copying, since copying implies a faithful representation, point to point of the original.

The only influence the Standard type exercised on Gupta coinage was the continuance of the reverse device on a few subsequent types. The device, however, soon faded out with the replacement of the secular representation by a religious one. The so-called throned-goddess was apparently the queen,² whose disappearance with her throne made way for the goddess Lakshmī with her seat on a full-blown lotus. The reverse of Chandragupta I's coins shows the lady seated on a lion couchant. A queen could sit like that on a lion shot by the king. It is a case of warrantable pride in and a graceful tribute to the king's prowess, and is very human. Since, on the principles of religious iconography, Lakshmī's seat or vehicle is not a lion, it has been suggested that the lady seated on the lion may be recognized as Ambikā or Durgā. This seems to be stretching religious interpretation rather too far. After all, the Guptas were not wholly religion-ridden but had a secular life too, the latter probably much more. Lakshmī appears only where the seat is the lotus-flower; in other cases it is simpler and more reasonable to identify the lady seated on the throne, or wicker-stool (*mūhrā*), or standing, as the king's consort. In Hindu culture the queen is generally associated with the king,

[1. This is not correct. The coins of the later Kushāns and of the Western Kshatrapas show considerable foreign influence. *A. S. A.*]

[2. This appears very improbable. If it was the representation of the queen, one would have expected her name to appear. It must however be admitted that on the *Aśvamedha* type, where the reverse is generally admitted as showing the queen, her name is not given. *A. S. A.*]

particularly in religious ceremonies, but is not separately mentioned, which may account for her not being named on Gupta coins, except on the coins of Chandragupta I, which were specifically of the joint coin-type.

The object the lady holds in the left hand is assumed to be a cornucopiae, to be in line with the Roman practice. But it is undoubtedly a half-blown lotus flower viewed sideways¹. All Eastern peoples have been fond of flowers, and their literature is full of references to them. The lotus and the Champaka of India, the rose of Persia, and the chrysanthemum of Japan have always been most highly extolled. Flowers have been in use in India from very early times both for personal adornment and ritual worship, and are thus intimately related to the social and religious life of the people. To the orthodox a queen without pearls, jewellery and flowers, mostly in the shape of garlands, would be unimaginable. The lotus the queen holds is not *Lotus Corniculatus* but *Nelumbium Speciosum*, which, like the Australian *Nymphaea gigantea*, "produces flowers with a diameter of 25 centimeters²." This variety extends from India to the Far East, and was conventionalised during the early Buddhist period, and in that form is so often found in Indian architecture, sculpture and painting, where it is represented from all angles and in all sizes. It is the Padma or Kamala of ancient literature. The cornucopiae, on the other hand, was a goat's horn, spirally twisted and filled with corn-sheaves, fruits and flowers, which even on conventionalisation would differ sufficiently from a large lotus flower to be recognizable. Since, as already stated, Roman influence on Indian coins had ceased early, there is no longer any occasion for confusing the lotus with the cornucopiae. This confusion vanishes when the flower in the hand of Lakshmi is realistically represented. The larger realism of Gupta art did not favour much conventionalisation.

Incidentally, the Standard type is looked upon as the commonest and most popular of Samudragupta's coinage. As to popularity, it must be remembered that this type not being repeated by his successors, as some other types were, can hardly be said to have caught popular imagination³. The

[1. I do not think that this is a tenable view. The object in the hand of the Goddess on the reverse of the early Gupta coins shows a greater resemblance to cornucopiae than to a half blown lotus looked at sideways A. S. 4]

2. Anton Kerner von Marilaum: *The Natural History of Plants*, vol. II, 185.

[3. There can be no doubt that the Standard type was the most popular one during the reign of Samudragupta. In the Bayana hoard, the coins of the type are four times more numerous than the coins of the other types of this emperor put together. A. S. A.]

one Standard type coin of Chandragupta II in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras, and another spoken about⁴, can only be regarded as experimental, the type being abandoned as archaic. The privilege of popularity manifestly belongs to the Archer type of which Samudragupta seems to have issued only a few coins late in his reign, for it is the type which all his successors without exception copied. The abundance of the Archer type, of Chandragupta II signifies a clamour for the type which Samudragupta was unable to meet fully.

The prevailing theory of the origin and derivation of Gupta coinage, hinging on the assumption of the Standard type as being an imitated type, requires, owing to its being involved and apparently tendentious, fuller critical examination, and unless and until more positive data to substantiate it is forthcoming, it cannot be considered as meriting acceptance.

4. *J.N.S.I.* pt. II, December 1947, p. 146-149. [I have shown here that the Standard type coin, attributed to Chandragupta II, was most probably an issue of the later Kushāna king Bhadrā.]

KING KĪRTTI OF THE COINS AND A MEDIÆVAL INSCRIPTION.

BY ROMA NIYOGI, M. A., CALCUTTA.

Smith while compiling the Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum classed the coin described below, with the coins of the group of Rājput dynasties, who occupied the various parts of Northern India during the period extending from about the middle of the 10th century to the 13th century A. D. The provenance of this coin is not mentioned in the Catalogue.

The coin may be described as follows¹ :—

Metal.....Silver.

Weight.....50·5 grains.

Size.....·65,"

Obverse...Rude outline of horseman with standard to right ; legend—*Ki(r)tti*.

Reverse...Rude outline of recumbent bull to left ; legend *Samantadeva*.

Pl. IV B, 23

I have followed the general description of Smith with however a slight modification in the obverse legend ; as I have not found any trace of the prefix *Śrī*, I have omitted it. The weight of the coin reminds us of the ancient Purāṇa or the 'punch-marked' coins, which though theoretically 32 *rattis* or 56 grains in weight, are usually found to weigh only about 53 grains in most cases.

Three other billon specimens of this type were owned by Thomas and two of them were published by him². He tentatively described them as follows³ :—

Obverse—Horseman ; *Śrī Kīlī...Deva*.

Reverse—Bull ; ...*pāla Śrī Nama*.

The fifth known specimen was in the possession of Cunningham, who has described it in his *Coins of Mediæval India* as a billon piece, with obverse legend *Kīl* and reverse legend *pāla Śrī Samantadeva*.

It is well known that in ancient and mediæval India, coin-dies were sometimes too big for the metal blank with the

1. Smith, *C. C. I. M.* Vol I, pp. 257 & 263 ; pl. XXVI. 22. The photographs published herewith are due to the courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.

2. *J. R. A. S.*, Vol IX. 1844, p 177, figs. 17 & 18.

3. *Chronicle of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 59.

result that, parts of the marginal legend and symbols were very often left out. In such cases comparison of a number of specimens helps us to restore the original legends and devices. Here also from a comparison of these five known specimens the name of the issuer can be restored as *Srī Kirttipāladeva*.

It may be suggested that *Srī Kirttipāladeva* of these coins is identical with the *King Kirttipāladeva* of the Lucknow Museum copper-plate inscription of V. S. 1167 expired.¹

This inscription is a land grant of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramamāheśvara Srī Kirttipāladeva, who meditated on the feet of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramamāheśvara Srī Vikramapāladeva, who had acquired the lordship of 'Uttarasamudra' or 'Saumyasindhu'² by the prowess of his own arms. Vikramapāla was the son of Bhuvanapāla, who was born in the Solar dynasty. The grant was made on the second day of the bright fortnight of the month of Phālguna on a Saturday in the Vikrama Samvat 1167, corresponding to Saturday, the 11th February, 1111 A.D. The villages granted were Dambauli and Vikara, situated in the Darada-Gaṇḍakī-deśa. These localities so far have not been identified; but the word Darada-Gaṇḍakī provides the only possible clue and it has already been suggested by Kielhorn that in some way these villages were connected with the river Gaṇḍakī, flowing in Bihar.

Darada is the name of a tribe situated in the extreme north of India and it is very difficult to connect it in any way with the river Gaṇḍakī, except on the presumption that a portion of the tribe migrated to a region near the river Gaṇḍakī; but as yet no evidence is forthcoming to prove such a migration. According to *Medinī*, *darat* however means a mountain. If the reading is corrected as 'Darad-Gaṇḍakī-deśa', it would either refer to the land between the northern mountain and the river Gaṇḍakī or the country near the mountain ranges and the Gaṇḍakī. The north-eastern portion of Gorakhpur district fulfills the latter condition and the grant also was found in that district. Again, the name of the region, which Vikramapāla is said to have won by the prowess of his own arms, i. e. Saumyasindhu, is remarkable; Saumya, according to *Sabdamālā* is the name of (unidentified) mountain, while Sindhu

1. *E.I.* VII, pp. 93 ff.

2. In the *prastāvi* section of the grant Vikramapāla is praised as *nijabhujārjita-Saumyasindhu-rājādhirājah* and in the grant section as *nijabhujārjitoṭtarasamudrādhirājah*.

in feminine means river. From these discussions it seems probable that Kīrttipāla's kingdom was bounded on the north by the mountain ranges and on the east by the river Gaṇḍakī. The full imperial title assumed by the king indicates that he was a sovereign ruler, which fact again tallies with his identification with the issuer of the aforementioned coins.

In the first quarter of the twelfth century A. D., the most important dynasty in the Madhyadeśa was that of the Gāhaḍavālas, who were probably the western and the southern neighbours of Kīrttipāla. As the last known inscription of king Madana's reign was dated in V. S. 1166,¹ and the first known inscription² of Govinda's reign was in V. S. 1171, V. S. 1167, the known year of Kīrttipāla might fall during the reign period of either of these Gāhaḍavāla kings. According to the inscriptions of the dynasty both Chandra, the first ruler and Madana, his son, held sway not only over Kānyakubja and Vārāṇasī but also over Ayodhyā and presumably over the whole tract upto the river Ghargharā. The assumption that this river was the natural frontier of the Gāhaḍavālas at this period shows that the land between the Ghargharā and the Gaṇḍakī could have been the place of another kingdom. To the north-eastern part of this region, probably after the fall of the Gorakhpur branch of the Kalachuris, Vikramapāla founded a small kingdom and glorified it as 'Uttarasamudra' or 'Saumyasindhu'; there is no clue to ascertain the extent of this kingdom, but it is certain that it did not cross the river Ghargharā. The similarity of type and general execution of the coins issued by his son, Kīrttipāla, with the coins of Madanapāla Gāhaḍavāla, is in confirmation with the proximity of time and place of these two kings.

Nothing more is known about Kīrttipāla or his dynasty, but its ultimate fate can easily be guessed from a study of the Gāhaḍavāla records. Madanapāla was succeeded by his valiant son Govindachandra, with whom the era of aggrandisement of this dynasty began. The find-spots of two of his grants lie between the Ghargharā and the Gaṇḍakī. Don Buzurg grant of V. S. 1176 and Lar grant of V. S. 1202³; the place names mentioned in these grants have not yet been identified. It is however quite probable that the strong arms of the Gāhaḍavāla monarch reached the northern mountains after overpowering Kīrttipāladeva and his dynasty.

1. Bahau Grant; *Ind. Ant.* XVIII, pp. 14-19.

2. Kamanli Grant. *E. I.*, IV, pp 101-104.

3. *E. I.*, XVIII, pp. 218-24; *E. I.* VII, pp. 98-100,

A RARE PUNCH-MARKED COIN.

BY V. P. RODE, M. A., NAGPUR.

The coin is from a hoard of 65 silver punch-marked coins received for the coin cabinet of the Nagpur Museum from the Deputy Commissioner, Bhandara, in 1878. The coins of this hoard belong to classes 2 and 6 of the punch-marked coins in the British Museum.

The coin under discussion belongs to this hoard. It bears on its obverse a symbol hitherto not noticed on any punch-marked coin. It is the Owl. The only bird, so far definitely identified on the punch-marked coins is Peacock, which is seen in the composite symbol, Peacock-on-hill. There is another symbol, bird-on-tree, but the bird is not identified there. The Uluka or Owl is, therefore, a new bird-symbol disclosed for the first time on the punch-marked coins.

The five symbols on the obverse of this coin are the Sun (?) the *Shadachakra*, Crescent-on-hill, Four fish in the tank and the Uluka (Owl). The reverse is blank.

The obverse of the coin is illustrated in **Pl. IV. B, 1**

NEWS, NOTES AND COMMENTS.

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

NEW SĀTAVĀHANA COINS.

The Bhārata Itihāsa Maṇḍala, Poona, is to be congratulated upon the discovery of some new Sātavāhana coins, that was made during the trial excavations carried on by it at Karhad in Satara district, which was a famous centre of learning during the first millennium A.D. The excavations could be carried out only for about three weeks. They have however led to the discovery of the foundation of some ancient structures in the mud fort situated at the strategic place on the confluence of the Krishna and the Koyana rivers. Among the antiquities recovered are some coins also, three of which deserve to be brought to the notice of the readers of *this Journal*. One of them is a small coin, having the Horse on the obverse and Bow-and-Arrow on the reverse. The coin is uninscribed and so cannot be definitely attributed. Both the Horse and the Bow-and-Arrow are motifs well known to be occurring on the Sātavāhana coinage, but the present is the first piece, where they are seen to occur together. Karhad is close to Kolhapur, where the Bow-and-Arrow type coins of the Sātavāhanas were found. It appears that along with this well-known type, the Sātavāhanas also issued another type, where the horse occurring on the south Indian coins was associated with the Bow-and-Arrow occurring on the Kolhapur coins.

A second coin found at Karhad seems to have migrated to it from distant Malwā, for it bears Ujjayinī symbol on one side and a running Elephant on the other. The speciality of the coin lies in a tauine being attached to each of the knob of the Ujjayinī symbol.

The third coin worth mentioning here has Lion standing on one side and Three-arched-Hill on river on the other. It bears a striking resemblance to the coin of Mula Sātakarṇi published by me in *Num. Suppl.*, XLVI, pp. 15-19. It is probably a piece issued at Chitaldurg in Mysore state.

The fact that coins issued in Mālwa and Mysore should be found at Karhad, midway between them, shows that it was a famous centre of learning, Brahmanas from which were visiting these distant places.

Owing to some technical difficulties the excavations at Karhad had to be discontinued within three weeks. It is

to be hoped that these difficulties will be removed and the Maṇḍala will be enabled to continue its work, which will throw light on Sātavāhana history and coinage.

A NEW VARIETY OF KUSHĀNA COINS.

Kushāna coins with Śiva standing by the side of the Bull were well known. Recently two gold Kushāna coins have been found showing, King standing and offering sacrifice on the obverse and a Deity standing by Elephant on the reverse. One of these coins is purchased by the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, and the other by the Benares Hindu University. A paper on these coins will soon be published in this *Journal*.

A NEW TYPE OF KUSHANĀNO-ROMAN COIN.

The Archæological Department of the Union Government is to be congratulated upon the discovery of a very interesting gold coin in its excavations at Shishupalagadh near Bhuvaneshvara in Orissa. The obverse of this coin has a Roman bust and a fragmentary legend in Greek script, and the reverse shows King standing as on Kushāna coins, offering oblations on altar by right hand and holding a sceptre in the left. There is a Brāhmī inscription on this side, giving the name of the issuer, who is described as *Maharajadha*, i.e. Mahārāja-rājādhirāja, as in several Kushāna inscriptions. His name is indistinct but appears to be Damadhamadhara.

The present coin belongs to the 3rd century A. D. and would suggest that some local rulers in Orissa, probably of the Muṇḍa dynasty, were issuing coins, imitating the types on the Roman and the Kushāna coins, which were both sometimes reaching the province. It is to be hoped that the excavations will be pursued further, for they will throw considerable light on the history of Orissa prior to the rise of the Guptas.

RHINOCEROS-SLAYER TYPE OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I.

The readers of this *Journal* already are acquainted with the discovery of four coins of the Rhinoceros-slayer type of Kumāragupta I, which were found in the Bayana Hoard of Gupta coins. A fifth coin of this type has been recently found, agreeing in all respects with the four coins already known to us. This new coin was originally discovered somewhere in Sitapur district of the U. P. and purchased by a shroff there for Rs 70. Later on he took it to Lucknow, where four coin-dealers purchased it in common for Rs 500. It

was subsequently bought by the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, for Rs. 2,250. We shall soon publish a paper on this coin.

GOLD COINS OF BUDHAGUPTA

The absence of the gold coins of the powerful Gupta Emperor Budhagupta, who had ruled for about 20 years and issued silver coins, was a very mysterious circumstance. The present writer had tried to explain the mystery by suggesting that the gold coins of Prakāśāditya might be attributed to Budhagupta, as it was impossible to believe that he should not have issued any gold coinage. Mr. S. K. Sarasvati had suggested that the coin in *B. M. C. G. D.*, Pl. XXI, 23, which had been attributed to Puragupta, should be attributed to Budhagupta, as the legend under the left arm appeared more like *Budha* than *Pura*. But as the letters were blurred, one could not be sure as to whether the reading of Mr. Allan was to be preferred to that of Mr. Sarasvati or vice versa.

The whole mystery has been now completely solved by the discovery of two gold coins, giving clearly the name Budha under the left arm. They are of the same type as the coin in *B. M. C. G. D.*, Pl. XXI, 23 and show that Mr. Sarasvati's conjecture was right. One of these two coins has been purchased by the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares, and the other by the Benares Hindu University. The legend on the coin in the Bharat Kala Bhavan is absolutely clear and distinct; that on the Hindu University coin is nearly so. The Hindu University coin has also a circular legend. These two coins now make it absolutely certain that Budhagupta had issued gold coins with the title of Vikrama and the heavy weight coins with no legend under the left arm and with the reverse legend *Śrīvikrama*, published in *B. M. C. G. D.* Pl. XXI, 24-26 are probably to be attributed also to Budhagupta. Both these coins will be soon published in this *Journal*.

COIN HOARDS IN THE U. P. DURING 1946-7.

Six hoards of coins were disposed of by the Coins Committee of the Province. All the coins were either in silver or billon, except one Mughal coin, which was in gold, and found in Bareilly district. The most interesting among these hoards was the one found in the village Rasra in Ballia district, consisting of 14 coins of the Pathan kings Nasiruddin Muhammad and Allauddin Muhammad Shah, which have been all acquired for the Provincial Museum, Lucknow. These coins were in good condition and supplied pieces necessary to fill the known gaps in dates of the coins

in that Museum. This hoard contained an interesting coin of Sultan Ilyas Khan of Bengal issued from the mint of Sunaragaon. The hoard found in Bilari in the district of Moradabad consisted of 87 silver coins of Pathan kings, including those of Nasiruddin Mahmud I, Ghiyasuddin Balban and Muizuddin Kaikobad. Coins of this hoard supplying fresh dates have been acquired for the Provincial Museum. The hoard of 157 coins found in the village of Bhaogaon in Aligarh district consisted of the issues of later Mughal emperors, Aurangzeb, Farruckshiyar, Muhmad Shah and Ahmad Shah Bahadur. Coins of Ahmad Shah Bahadur from Islamabad mint have been acquired for the Provincial Museum, Lucknow. The hoard found in Gonda district consisted of billon coins of the Pathan kings, which were of the ordinary type. A hoard of 29 silver coins of the East India Company was discovered in Allahabad district, which contained no specimens of importance.

COIN HOARDS IN THE U.P. DURING 1945-6.

During the year 1945-6, six hoards were recovered in the U.P., consisting of two gold, 82 silver and 248 billon coins. The Barabanki hoard consisted of 13 silver coins of the Mughals, the Allahabad hoard, of 9 silver coins of king Ferdinand VII of Spain, the Lucknow hoard, of 26 silver Mughal coins, the Basti hoard, of 34 silver coins of the same rulers, Fatehpur hoard, of 2 gold Mughal coins. A hoard of billon coins, numbering 218, was also found in the Basti district. Among the noteworthy coins acquired for the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, were the two gold coins found in Fatehpur district. The first of these was an issue from the Ahmadnagar mint in the regnal year 9 and the second from the mint of Aurangabad issued in the regnal year 13. The hoard of nine silver coins of king Ferdinand VII of Spain was found in the village Alemenand, Police station Koh Khiraj, district Allahabad. They bear dates from 1806 to 1817 A.D. and must obviously have been brought by some merchant or tourist as curios. The coins are 1.55" in diameter and 460 grains in weight. Among the 248 billon coins found in the hoard in the Basti district there were some bilingual coins of Alauddin Muhammad Shah II Khilji, bearing on the obverse the legend Sri Sultan Allauddin and on the reverse the date in the Nāgarī numerals ranging from A.H. 697 to 711.

COINS DISCOVERED IN HYDERABAD STATE.

The Hyderabad Museum received 882 silver and 1342 copper coins under the Treasure Trove Act, which are being

scrutinised at present. Among these there are some coins of the Golkonda dynasty bearing the Hijri date 1095. Mr. Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, the Curator of the Museum, thinks that the date of these coins would justify their ascription to Abul Hassan Tana Shah, the last ruler of Golkonda. 321 punch-marked coins were also found in the state, which are intended to be published in a monograph.

INDORE STATE.

During the last three years a number of small hoards were found in the state of Indore. They were mostly of the later Mughal period or the early Victorian time.

NEW COINS FROM MALWA

Mr. Parameshvarilal Gupta of Benares has recently purchased several coins from a coin dealer from Bhelsa, which include a large lot of a new type of copper punch-marked coins, small in size and weighing about 20 grains. Smaller denominations of the punch-marked coins usually have one or two symbols only; but these coins have as many as four symbols. Some other copper coins are hardly heavier than three or four grains and remind us of the tiny currency of the Mālava republic and the silver *māshakas* weighing two or three grains. It is not quite certain whether all the coins purchased by Mr. Gupta were found in one place or hoard. If such was the case, they would attest to the transition of power from one state to the other in the first millennium of the Christian era. We have the punch-marked and cast coins of the first two or three centuries of Christian era, then Kshatraps and Gupta coins, then the coins of the Indo-Sassanian type, then Gadhia coins, and then the Muslim coins. These coins will be published in due course in our *Journal*.

COLONIAL AND BRITISH COMMONWEALTH COINS

Mr. H. Alexander Parsons, F. G. N. S., has sent to us a communication, stressing upon the need of a work on the coins of the British Commonwealth and Colonies. He points out that the last work written on the subject was published nearly 50 years ago by J. Atkins,—*The Coins and Tokens of the Possessions and Colonies of the British Empire*; naturally a lot of new material remains to be surveyed. Mr. Parsons recognises that the subject has now become a vast one, and that the different parts of the old British Empire have now become practically independent

nations. It is therefore in the fitness of things that each Dominion should bring out a standard work dealing with its own coinage. The currencies of Australia have been adequately dealt with by A. Andrews in his valuable work, *Australasian Tokens and Coins*, 1921; but the coinage of Canada and South Africa yet remains to be properly treated. Mr. Parsons pleads that though the different books may be written by different writers for the different dominions, they should as far as possible, follow a common plan and exclude jettons, medals and purely advertising tickets, and strictly confine themselves to coins and currency tokens.

Mr. Parsons has appealed to the Numismatic Society of India to arrange for the preparation and publication of a Volume of British Indian Coins and Tokens. Having regard to the great political changes that have taken place, he points out that the present is no doubt a proper time to publish such a work.

STANDARD WORKS OF REFERENCE ON INDIAN NUMISMATICS.

I have informed Mr. Parsons that the Society has such a volume under contemplation, but it will take some time to come out, as it will be the last volume in our series contemplated to be published as Standard Works of Reference on Indian Numismatics. Mr. Parsons has himself observed in his letter to me, 'India is rather an exceptional country because of its non-British currencies ranging over such a long period of time, and these are so extensive that no doubt they cannot be dealt as a whole, but must necessarily be divided into separate sections. It is suggested that British Indian coins may form such a separate work.' I entirely agree with this view and that is the view of the Numismatic Society of India as well. The Society has tentatively planned six volumes on the subject and naturally the volume on the coinages of the Western Powers in India will be the last in the series to be published. Not only is this arrangement chronologically inevitable, but it is most desirable otherwise as well. The study of the Ancient Indian Coinage, for instance, is not only necessary for the students of Numismatics, but is indispensable for the students of Ancient Indian History as well. There are many dynasties and centuries of Indian history, where history has to be reconstructed almost entirely from coins. This is hardly the case with the history of any modern country. Vast material has

been accumulated since the standard works written on the subject by Cunningham, Rapson and Allan were published ; it is high time that we should have fresh works summing up our present knowledge to replace the works of earlier scholars, which are not only naturally out of date but also out of print. The Numismatic Society of India, I have assured Mr. Parsons, is actively pressing forward with its arrangements for the publication of the Standard Works of Reference on Indian Numisantics. The first two volumes dealing with Ancient India will be ready for the press in less than twelve months. One of them is complete and some of its blocks have also been prepared. It is hoped that the remaining blocks will be ready in four months' time, when the printing work can start. The first two volumes will deal with the coinages of all the republics and dynasties of ancient India, describing each type and variety and illustrating the important ones among them.

THE CATALOGUE OF THE BHARATPUR HOARD OF GUPTA GOLD COINS.

The above Catalogue is now almost complete along with its introduction and the Maharajasaheb of Bharatpur, who has already paid to the Numismatic Society a donation of Rs. 5,000, has also very graciously agreed to meet the entire cost of the work and to get it published under his auspices. The work will cover more than 500 pages and will be illustrated by nearly 40 plates. It will naturally take considerable time to print. It is proposed to publish the rare and unique coins of the hoard in this *Journal* in the next number.

REVIEWS

BHĀRATĪYA SIKKE (in Hindi): By Mr. Basudeva Upadhyaya, M.A., Bhārata Darpaṇa Grantha Mālā, Vol. 2; pp. 259; plates 19; two maps; published by Bhārati Bhaṇḍāra, Allahabad; 1948, Price Rs. five.

There is a great dearth of handy books on Numismatics both in English and Hindi. In English the only handbook on Indian Numismatics is *Indian Coins* by Brown. This book however is rather sketchy and is now out of date. The scholarly works written by Rapson, Bhandarkar and Chakravarti confine themselves only to Ancient India. The first of these is very sketchy and the last two rather deal with problems than give a systematic account of the different series of coinages current in Ancient India. In Hindi the only book on this subject is Banerji's *Prāchīna Mudrā*; it however deals only with Ancient India and is now out of date. The publication of the present volume by Mr. Upadhyaya is thus meeting a great and long felt need.

The book is divided into fifteen chapters. The opening chapter discusses the problem of the antiquity of the coinage in the country, the importance of its knowledge both for the historian and the cultured reader, and the different ways in which coins were manufactured. The next eight chapters deal with the coinage of Ancient India, and the author gives a succinct review of the coin series issued by the Indian and foreign rulers, by monarchies and republics, by the states both in south and north India. Before dealing with the coinage of each state, the author has also given the necessary historical background. The main types of kings are described and the important ones among them are illustrated in the accompanying plates. Chapters 10 to 14 deal with the coinage of the Muslim powers and the chapter 15 describes the issues of the East India Company. The book has got a detailed contents and a good Index.

The great difficulties which the publication of a book has to encounter in the present times are reflected in the present work. The plates could not apparently be prepared by the time the book was being printed and so in the body of the book there are no specific references to the particular plate and its numbers with reference to coins illustrated in them. The difficulty can be partly overcome, as the plates are put

in the binding as near the pages which deal with the coins concerned. Some of the plates are also very defectively printed; for instance in Pl. IX, coin No. 1, which gives the unique Rhinoceros-slayer type of Kumāragupta I. has been printed in an absolutely indefensible and shabby manner.

There are also some mistakes occurring in the book, partly due the inaccuracy of language, and partly due to the haste in which the book has been brought out. Some times the language is rather sweeping. Thus on p. 140 समुद्रगुप्त ने सारे भारतवर्ष में दिग्विजय कर should have been बहुतांश भारतवर्ष में, and तीसरी सदी में नवीन साम्राज्य का should have been राज्य का (p. 140), for the Gupta state was a kingdom and not an empire in the 3rd century A. D. Sometimes it is inaccurate; इन्होंने जनता में प्रचलित ब्राह्मी लिपि का उपयोग किया (p. 25) should have been इन्होंने प्रायः जनता में &c.; for Kharoshthi also figures on some coins of the Audumbars. गुप्त सिक्कोंपर उपगीति छंद में सब लेख छंदोबद्ध किये जाते (p. 25) should have been बहुतांश लेख, for some legends are in prose and some use other metres. मालव संघ के सिक्कों की नकल आन्ध्र में की गयी p. 33 should have been मालव प्रान्त के सिक्कों की नकल. On p. 145 the author should have stated उत्तर कुशाण सिक्के सदा मिश्र धातु के बनते and not कुशाण सिक्के, because the coins of the earlier Kushāṇa emperors were not adulterated.

The views expressed in some places are also untenable. Thus Pantaleon has not used the Bull on his coinage (p. 12), Kharashthī was introduced on the coinage not by Apollodotus, (p. 23), but much earlier than his time by Demetrius. It is difficult to understand how punch-marked coins can prove the existence of republics.

The book under review is a pioneer book of its kind and its shortcomings above indicated are far outbalanced by its merit as a work, which for the first time places before the Hindi public a comprehensive yet succinct account of the coinages of India, giving the reader not only a valuable knowledge of the subject, but also acquainting him with the complexity of the subject and the controversies in which it is still obscured. We have no doubt that it will serve the useful purpose of stimulating the interest of the public, to which numismatics as a science is hardly known. The author has admirably solved the problem of coining fresh technical terms in Hindi language. It would have been better if a glossary of these terms had been given at the end for ready reference.

A. S. ALTEKAR

NUMISMATIC LITERATURE. Edited by Sawyer McA; Mossor. Published quarterly by the American Numismatic Society, Broadway between 155th and 156th streets, New York 32. N. Y. Subscription price 1 dollar per year postage paid. Single current issue 35 cents each.

During the period of over half a century from 1880 to the opening of the second war, there was being published in Germany a numismatic periodical entitled *Numismatisches Literatur-Blatt*. The purpose of that journal was to supply a single journal of reference for the use of librarians, students of numismatics and scholars interested in the progress of the science. For the last few years, however, since the cessation of the German publication, there was a keen necessity felt for such a publication. Now the American Numismatic Society has undertaken the publication of the Quarterly under review to fill up this lacuna. It would record the literature of numismatics and would afford a clearing house for numismatic publications from all over the world. The Society deserves our thanks for undertaking such a useful publication.

The first issue was published in October last year and we have now three issues before us. The first number is devoted to the listing, with few comments, of numismatic books, pamphlets, catalogues and articles which have appeared in the non-numismatic periodicals during the period from 1940 to 1945. The entries are arranged only under broad headings. European coinage is classified into Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Visigothic, Medieval and Modern. Islamic, Indian, Far East, United States, Latin American are other headings of classification. Medals, paper money, mint reports, and periodicals are separately listed. The second and third issues give the bibliography of the works published during the last three years with their brief but adequate reviews. There are also sections devoted to cleaning of coins, odd and curious money, decorations and tokens. These issues have also listed reviews of the numismatic books and papers which have appeared in various periodicals. Obituaries of numismatic scholars, which have appeared in periodicals, are also included in a separate section.

The amount of labour in preparing and publishing such an exhaustive list deserves our appreciation. But we regret to note that proper attention has not been given to Indian numismatics. While the second and third numbers have no entry about Indian coins, the first issue has only four entries on the subject. Of them three are from non-Indian journals and

the fourth concerns a book, the contents of which can hardly come under the purview of numismatics. No less than two to three dozens of articles have appeared in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* during this period. Among the obituary list, the name of Dr. Bhattashali is absent, though it is published in the *J.N.S.I.*, which is listed among the periodicals.

We hope that the editor would take adequate notice of Indian numismatics in future and would seek the cooperation of Indian scholars and the Numismatic Society of India to make the journal useful.

P. L. Gupta.

OBITUARY

SIR RICHARD BURN, M. A., Kt., C. S. I., F. R. A. S. B.

The death of Sir Richard Burn, M. A., Kt., C. S. I., F. R. A. S. B., at his residence in Oxford in July 1947, will be deeply mourned by numismatists in England and India. It has given me a rude shock, because shortly before his demise he wrote to me about his failing eyesight. He was almost in normal health in July and died in sleep. It is, however, a great satisfaction that he died full of years and honours.

Mr. Burn came out to India in 1891 as a member of the Indian Civil Service. By his talents he made his mark and distinguished himself as an able officer of versatile genius. He was history personified. He had a special taste and yearning for numismatics. He formed a Coin-Committee in the United Provinces with a view to deal effectively with the coin hoards discovered in various districts of the Province. The first members of this committee were V. A. Smith, Dr. Hoey, Major Vost and Mr. Burn himself. The latter was the secretary of the committee, and its first report for 1899-1900 is in his own handwriting. His report on 491 silver coins found in Naini Tal in 1899 is very valuable. With the exception of a short break in 1907-9 he remained Secretary of the Coin-Committee upto 1911-12, when he was succeeded by Mr. W. E. M. Campbell, I. C. S. During his secretaryship of the Coin-Committee he disposed of a number of treasure trove finds and contributed valuable articles for publication in the *Numismatic Supplements* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the *Numismatic Chronicle* of Great Britain and Ireland and other periodicals. These papers or memoirs are masterly pieces of scholarly production and are very well illustrated.

Particular attention may be drawn to his papers on the list of Mints of the Mogul Coins (1904), the coins of Maukharis and kings of Thaneshwar and the Mirzapur hoard of Gupta coins. His scholarship was characterised by minuteness, accuracy and coordination. His researches have illuminated many a dark corner of the ancient and mediæval history of India.

Like Prinsep, Cunningham, Smith and Rodger, Burn was a giant of the numismatic world. He was courteous and full of enthusiasm and energy. I had the proud pri-

vilege of meeting him very often. I remember, even in parties at Government House, he would show or talk of some remarkable coins. He was always ready to assist young scholars in their efforts to master history and numismatics.

The Numismatic Society of India owes him a particularly heavy debt. The Society was founded at his initiative at Allahabad in 1910. He was one of its founder members. He was a prominent figure at the second meeting of the Society held on 9th December 1911 at Delhi in the camp of the Lt. Governor of the United Provinces at the time of the Coronation Darbar.

He had the proud privilege of being elected the president of the Numismatic Society for three times, in the years 1916, 1917 and 1919. In 1922 he presided a fourth time in the absence of Prof. S. H. Hodiwala, the president-elect. His presidential addresses showed a masterly survey of the work done by members and constructive suggestions for the pursuit of numismatic research in fruitful channels. He had an abiding and life-long interest in the welfare of the Society and never spared himself to promote its interests.

In fact he laid the foundation of the Society so well and truly that its superstructure has not only continued to endure so far, but has grown from strength to strength. His interest did not wag with his departure from India.

He continued to be its member and contributed occasionally to its *Journal* in spite of his failing eye sight. Only as recently as 1946, he contributed a paper on the coinage bearing the names of Indian queens.

Sir Richard Burn was intimately connected with the U. P. Historical Society ever since its foundation in 1917. When he was Chief Secretary to Government, he contributed a paper to this Journal of the Society in 1922 on an inscribed picture of Emperor Farukh Siyar published after his retirement in 1926. He was actively connected with the editing of Vol. II of the Cambridge History of India, which alas, has not yet been published.

In his death the world of historical studies has lost a valuable and competent authority and the Numismatic Society of India a trusted and able guide and well-wisher.

PRAYAG DAYAL.

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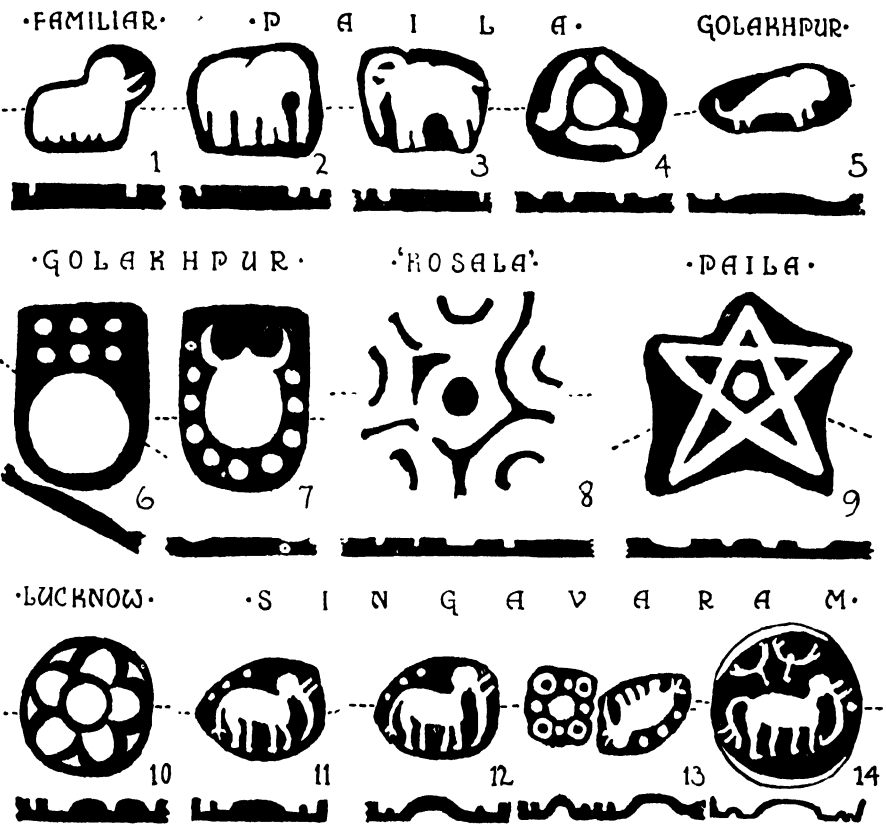
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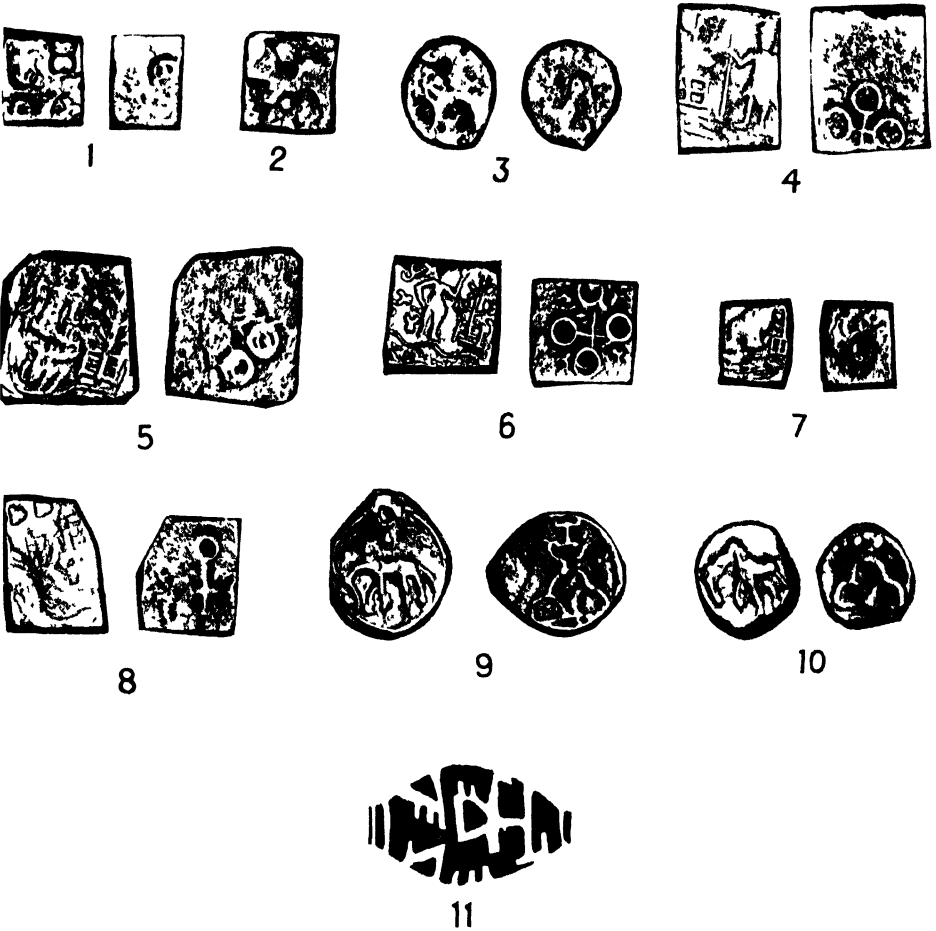


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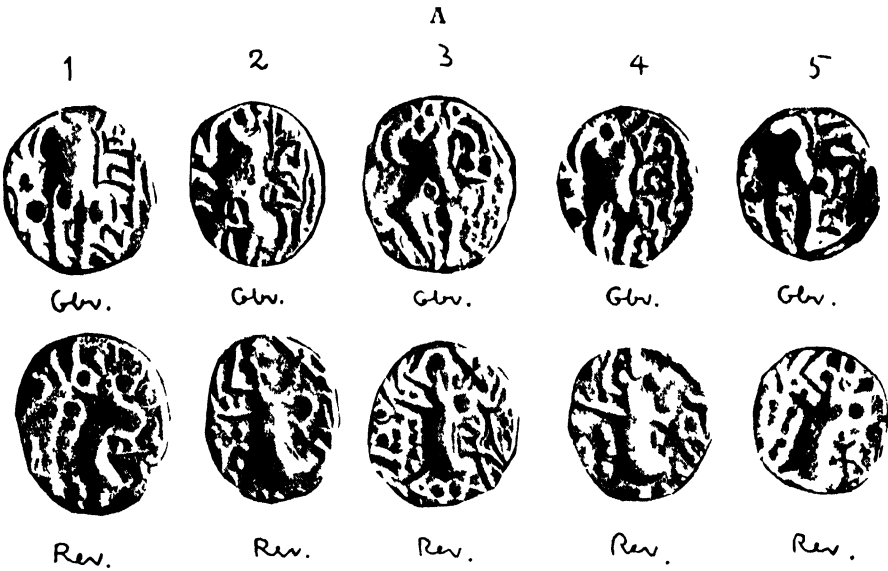


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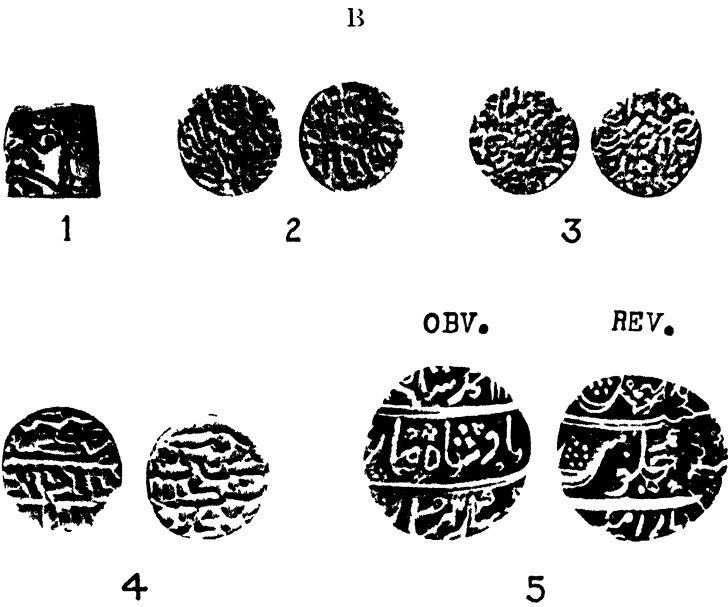




COINS FROM KASARWAD AND A BEAD.



SRI-PRATĀPA COINS.



COINS: ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL.

RARE AND UNIQUE COINS FROM THE BAYANA GUPTA HOARD

DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

Since a preliminary report about the contents of the Bayana hoard was published in this *Journal* in Vol. VIII, pp.180-4, a number of enquiries are being made of me about many of the rare and unique types mentioned in it. An exhaustive Catalogue of the hoard is being prepared by me and will be soon sent to the press; the enquirers will have to wait till its publication to get full satisfaction of their curiosity naturally excited by this unique find. Though the Maharaja Saheb of Bharatpur is keen on getting this Catalogue published at an early date, the well-known difficulties about paper and printing may postpone the publication by some months. I have therefore decided to publish a series of articles giving a brief account of the rare and unique types and illustrating them as well. The first of these articles is being published in this number.

A NEW COIN-TYPE OF KĀCHAGUPTA.

16 out of the 17 coins of Kācha found in this hoard are of the usual type, but the 16th is of a new variety. On this variety also the king is standing to left and offering oblations on the altar in his front. But he is wearing Indian *dhoti* and not Kushāṇa trousers. The most striking new feature of the type, however, is the presence of a Garuḍadhvaja in front of the king. Garuḍadhvaja did not appear on the coins of Chandragupta I, as also on those of Kācha. It was therefore argued that Kāchagupta should be placed before Samudragupta, as he was not aware of this innovation introduced by that ruler¹. This new type of Kācha, however, shows that Garuḍadhvaja was not unknown to him. The object in the left hand of the king is not quite well-preserved on this specimen, but it is almost certainly the usual Chakradhvaja. So on this type we have both Garuḍadhvaja and Chakradhvaja.

The reverse of this type is the standing goddess, but the usual flower in her right hand is replaced by a noose, which is a new feature. The legend is truncated, but it was obviously the usual one, *sarvarājōchokhetā*.

1. *Heras* in *J. B. R. S.*, 1948, pp. 19-23.

I shall now describe the coin.

Metal, gold ; size, .75" ; weight 119.4 grains.

Obverse : King, nimbate, standing to left, wearing a short sleeved coat, *dhōti*, ear-rings, necklace and wristlets, holding in left hand, Chakradhvaja, partly visible, and offering by right hand oblations on an altar ; Garuḍadhvaja, behind the right hand of the king. Under king's left arm *Kācha*, with a notch above the letter Kā. Circular legend, off on the right side ; on the left side at IX *bhu* [ru] *ttamu* [īr] *jjaya* [ti].

Reverse : Goddess, nimbate, standing to left in the walking posture, wearing necklace, ear-rings, *sāri*, close fitting bodice (*kañchukī*) and an upper garment, holding cornucopiae in the left hand and noose in the right. Symbol, remarkably simple in composition,¹ on the left.

Legend on the right is truncated, but the last two letters of the usual legend *sarvarājochchettā* are fairly well preserved.

Pl. V. 1.

SAMUDRAGUPTA.

A new variety of the Standard Type.

The coins of this variety are small in size, neat in execution, with their dies carefully carved so as to show all the medial vowels. The coins of this type weigh between 119 and 121 grains and do not show any specimens weighing 114 or 117 grains. The folds of the *sāri* of the goddess on the reverse are always collected between her legs ; they are not covered by one of the ends of the *sāri*.

I shall now describe one representative specimen out of the 18 coins belonging to this variety.

Metal, gold ; size, .72" ; weight, 121.6 grains.

Obverse : King to left, wearing a coat and a *sakachohha dhōti*, holding standard or lance in the left hand and offering oblations with the right on the altar in his front. Garuḍadhvaja behind the right hand.

Under the left arm, *Samu*[dra]

Circular legend, beginning at a I, *Samaraśatavatata... raparajito diva*[m] *ja*[yati]

Reverse : Goddess, seated on high-backed throne, whose two legs and right side back is visible, wearing *sāri* with

1. Usually the symbols on the coins of Kācha are remarkable for their complexity.

its folds collected between the legs, upper garment, necklace, bangles, and a circular pearl ornament round the forehead. Symbol on the left; *Parā-kramah* on the right.

Pl. V. 2

TIGER-SLAYER TYPE

The Tiger-slayer type is among the rarest types of Samudragupta, there being only two coins of this type in the British and two in the Lucknow Museum. Our hoard also contains only two coins. The coins in the Lucknow Museum are not illustrated in its Catalogue and only one of the two coins in the British Museum is in a state of good preservation. Both the coins in the Bayana hoard are much better preserved and, therefore, I am illustrating them here.

The coins of the Tiger-slayer type are among the most artistic issues of the Gupta period. They show no vestige of foreign influence either on the obverse or on the reverse. The king discards the Kushāṇa overcoat and trousers and wears Indian *dhoti* and turban. The conventional seated goddess on the reverse is replaced by a slim standing figure, gracefully attired and standing on a *makaru*. She is most probably the river Gaṅgā, standing on her usual mount *makara*. The goddess, however, has a lotus in her left hand, which may suggest her identity with Lakshmī.

The king's attitude is grim and energetic and the ferociousness of the lion, which is about to collapse, is well depicted.

The simple title *rājā* prefixed to the king's name on the reverse of variety A of this type has given rise to several conjectures. Smith thought that this legend showed that the coins were issued when Samudragupta was a mere crown-prince¹; Jayaswal conjectured that they were struck when Samudragupta was temporarily reduced to the feudatory status by the Vākātakas.² Both these views are untenable. The reverse legend gives the short title *rājā* to Samudragupta, simply because numismatic convention required a short legend on the reverse; a long legend like *Mahārājādhirājah Samudraguptah* was out of question on that side. It may be pointed out that the reverse legend on the Swordsman type of Kumāragupta is simply *Śrī-Kumāraguptah*. Are we to conclude on its evidence that the coins of this type were issued when Kumāragupta was not even a ruler of a

1. J. R. A. S., 1889, p. 65.

2. *History of India*, p. 118.

feudatory status? It would be quite unsafe to determine the status of a Gupta ruler from the short legend on the reverse of one of his coin types.

I shall now describe the two coins.

VARIETY A: Different legends on both sides.

Metal, gold; weight, 117.6 gr.; size, .85".

Obverse: King, nimbate, standing left, wearing high bejewelled turban, *sakachha dhoti*, necklace, ear-rings and armlets, trampling upon a tiger which falls back gaping its mouth in agony and terror as the king shoots it with bow in left hand, right hand drawing the string back upto the ear; behind the tiger, crescent-topped (Chandradhvaja) standard adorned with fillets.

Ornaments on the king's body are not so clear as on *B. M. C. G. D.*, II, 4, but his figure is more graceful and energetic on the present specimen. The tiger is also more fully visible here than on the piece in the B.M.

Legend on the r., *Vya(ā)ghrapara(ā)kkramaḥ* very clear on this specimen.

Reverse: Goddess Gaṅgā standing to l. on crocodile (*makara*), wearing a *sāri*, a close fitting *kañchukā*, a scarf over head, necklace, earrings, bangles, armlets and anklets and holding lotus with long stalk in left hand, right hand bent and outstretched being empty. On the left crescent-topped banner adorned with fillet.

No symbol.

Legend on the right, *Rājā Samudraguptaḥ*. Pl. V. 3.

VARIETY B: *Vyāghraparākramaḥ* on both sides.

Metal, gold; size .8"; weight, .8.

Obverse: As on No. 1 above. Crescent-topped banner is clearer on this coin. The protruding tongue from the gaping mouth of the tiger is clear. Legend is less complete than that on No. 1 (Variety A); *Vya(ā)ghra[pa]ra(ā)kra[maḥ]*.

Reverse: As on No. 1 above. The figure of the goddess is slim and graceful; she stands cross-legged on the *makara*, which is only partly visible on this coin.

Her hands are as on No. 1 above.

Crescent-topped banner is clear.

No symbol.

Legend to r., *Vyāghraparākramah*, completely clear. The *B.M.C.G.D.* Pl. II. 15. has only the concluding letters *kramah*. Pl. V. 4.

The reverse of the present coin is much better preserved than that of the above coin in the *B. M.*, Pl. II. 15.

AŚVAMEDHA TYPE

The Bayana hoard contains twenty coins of the Aśvamedha type of which four are being illustrated in this paper. The Aśvamedha coins were probably originally issued for giving the *dakṣiṇā* in gold to the two lute players, who were to sing of the king's exploits throughout the year preceding the celebration, of the Horse sacrifice, and to the priests who were to preside over and participate in its performance.¹ Samudragupta took considerable credit for himself for reviving the Horse sacrifice and it appears that the best artists were commissioned to cut the dies from which the coins of the Aśvamedha type were to be struck. The Aśvamedha coins are undoubtedly among the best specimens of the numismatic art of ancient India. The horse on the obverse looks noble and graceful; it seems to have resigned itself to its impending doom. The *Yūpa* in its front is artistically engraved. The figure of the queen on the reverse is slim and graceful; her attitude is one of alertness as befits her role.

The horse on the Aśvamedha coins of Samudragupta is always uncaptured. In some cases, e. g. Pl. V, 5-6, beads are plated into its mane; this is in accordance with the sacred texts which lay down that all told one hundred beads were to be strung; those on the head were to be strung by the crowned queen, those on the mane by the favourite queen and those on the tail by the discarded queen.² Our specimens show beads over the head and the mane, but not over the tail. On some coins there is a string of beads above the horse as well, see

1. Cf. *वीणागायित्र्यां पृथक् शते ददाति । Kātyāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra*, XX. 17;

तेभ्यश्चत्वारि सहस्राणि ददाति क्षतमात्रांश्च तावत्तः *Ibid.*, XX. 6.

क्षतमानं दक्षिणा सौवर्णम् । *Ibid.*, XX. 27.

2. अभयमानामणीस्सौवर्णानेकक्षतमेकक्षतं केसपुच्छेषु आचर्यति भूमुंः स्वरिति प्रतिव्याहति ।

PI V, 6-7. It is probably only an ornamental decorative motif suggested by the sacred texts.

The platform under the horse is most probably the *vedī* or the altar. In some cases e. g. **PI. V, 6-7** the *vedī* is connected with the *yūpa* by a perpendicular line; but in most cases the base of the *yūpa* partly intrudes over the *vedī* (**PI. V. 5, 8**). The sacred texts state that if the *yūpa* were entirely within the *vedī*, the sacrificer would win only the world of gods, if it were entirely outside it, he will win the world of men; if it were partly within and partly without the *vedī*, he would win both the worlds.¹ Coins like those on **PI. V. 5, 8** seem to be influenced by the above observations in the Vedic texts.

In their representation of the *yūpa*, the artist in the Gupta mint-master flouted the sacred texts. The latter expressly state that the *yūpa* should have no platform; the ground round it was to be made even by beating down.² The artistic considerations, however, dictated that the *yūpa* should have a proper and graceful platform and the Gupta die-cutters decided to supply it in spite of the sacred texts to the contrary. Penons flying at the end of the *yūpa* also appear to be due to the artistic instinct of the Gupta die-cutters; they are not referred to in the Vedic texts, though described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (I. 14. 22-27).

In all other respects the Gupta die-cutters have generally followed the sacred texts. For instance, they require the *yūpa* to be bent both in the centre and at the top in the same direction. This can be clearly seen in all the four coins selected for illustration (**PI V. 5-8**). The *yūpa* on the coin being too small, it could not probably be shown as eight cornered as required by the sacred texts. The *yūpas* have all of them the *raśanā* or the sacred girdle, but its ends are not shown as tied into a knot enclosing the *yūpaśakala* as required by the sacred texts. This was probably difficult to show on the small die.

Two ball-like objects appearing towards the end of the *yūpa* (**PI. V. 5-7**) together constitute the *chaṣhāla*, which was a wooden ring, ten fingers in length and very narrow in the centre.³

1. *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, V. 6-4.

2. ब्रह्म वनित्वा इति पांसुभिः पर्युहति ।

3. अप्राचवर्षालं पृथामात्रं (दशांगुलं) अद्याभि मध्यमसंगृहीतम् ।

Kātyāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra VI. 1. 27 8

Com. says मध्ये उल्लसलवत्संकुचितम् ।

The slim graceful figure on the reverse is obviously Dattadevi, the crowned queen of Samudragupta, who is ready with the *chouri* in her hand to attend upon the horse. The sacred texts expressly state that the queen was to fan and wash the horse. Our coins always show the queen with a *chouri*, but never with a gourd or *kalāśa*. On Pl. V. 14 of *B. M. C. G. D.*, Mr. Allan states that there is probably a gourd near the feet of the queen. But the plate does not show the object distinctly. There is no gourd to be seen on any coin of the Aśvamedha type in the Bayana hoard.

The object looking like a small piece of cloth in the left hand of the queen is probably a towel for cleansing the horse after its bath.

The perpendicular spear-like object in front of the queen has given rise to a number of conjectures. Smith thought that it was a standard or a staff; Mr. Allan has suggested that it may be a sacrificial spear.² The sacred texts, however, do not refer to a spear in connection with the Horse sacrifice, nor has a spear a handle near the neck like the perpendicular object in front of the queen.

After the horse was killed, the sacred texts lay down that the three queens were to extensively puncture its body in order to facilitate the passage of the sword into its body. The crowned queen was to use a golden needle, the favourite queen a silver one and the discarded queen a copper one.³ I think it very probable that the spear-like object before the queen is this sacrificial *sūchi*. A handle near its neck like that shown on the coins was very necessary, if the tough body of the horse were to be punctured by the queens. Otherwise the needle would have slipped from the hand.

For a long time the entire legend on the obverse of the Aśvamedha type could not be read with certainty. Mr. Allan had suggested it to be

*Rājādhirājah prithivīmavitā
divam jayatyaprativārgavīryah.*

A new coin aquired by the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, enabled Dr. Venis⁴ to correct the concluding portion as

1. *I. M. C.*, I, p. 101.

2. *B. M. C. G. D.* p. lxxviii.

3. तिलः पत्न्यः अतिपथान्कल्पयन्ति, अश्वस्य सूचिभिः ।

Kūṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra XX, 7.

Com. states. अश्वस्य शरीरे असेः सुखेन प्रवेतार्यं सूचिभिर्वितुष त्वर्षं
उज्जरां कुर्युः ।

4. *J. A. S. B.*, 1914, p. 176.

divaṃ jayatyāhṛitavājimedhaḥ. Mr. Allan also accepted this reading.¹ The concluding letters however are not quite distinct on the Balia coin, which suggested this correction; in the Bayana hoard there are some coins which show the letters of the concluding word *vājimedhaḥ* beyond any dispute (Pl. V. 5.7). The variation of this legend *prithivīm vijītya* can be seen on one coin of the hoard not illustrated here.

So far the circular legend on the obverse of the Aśva-medha coins was known to begin near the top of the *yūpa* (Pl. V. 5) or at VIII near its basis (Pl. V. 5.7). The Bayana hoard now discloses some coins where the legend begins at VI near the hind legs of the horse as well (Pl. V. 8).

I shall now proceed to describe the four coins selected for illustration.

1ST AŚVAMEDHA COIN

Metal, gold; size, .9"; weight, 115.7 grains.

Obverse: Uncaparisoned horse with beads plated into its mane standing to left on *redī* before a *yūpa* having a double stepped platform; one end of the *raśanā* is falling behind the *yūpa* and the other in its front; *chashāla* is near the top end of the *yūpa* and a pennon is flying over the horse; crescent above its haunch. Letter *si* is below the horse. Circular legend beginning at XI *Rājādhiraja*[*h*] *pritha(i)va* (*i*) [*m*] *va(i)tva(ā)* *da(i)va*[*m*] *ja*[*yatyāhṛita*] *va(ā)* *ja(i)ma(e)ḍha*[*h*]

Reverse: Queen, nimbate, standing to left upon an ornamentally bordered carpet holding a *chouri* in the right hand resting over right shoulder; towel is hanging from the left hand, *sūchī* stands in her front.

No symbol.

Legend on the right, *Aśva-medhaparākramaḥ*. Pl. V. 5

2ND AŚVAMEDHA COIN

Metal, gold; size, .8"; weight, 114.2 grains.

Obverse: As on the first coin, string of the beads is above the horse and detached from it. Circular legend begins at VIII near the pedestal of the *yūpa*. It is blurred but of the usual type and stands for *Rājādhirājaḥ prithivīmavitvā divaṃ jayatyāhṛitavājimedhaḥ*.

Reverse: As on the first coin.

Pl. V. 6

3RD AŚVAMEDHA COIN.

Metal, gold ; size, .85" ; weight 111 grains.

Obverse : Beads strung into the mane of the horse and a bead of string also above it.

Legend beginning at X or XI and ends at VIII ; between V and VIII one can clearly read the letters *hatavujimadhah* standing for *hritavājimedhaḥ*.

Reverse : As on the first coin. The legend is half blurred, *Aśvamedhaparākramah*. **Pl. V. 7.**

4TH AŚVAMEDHA COIN.

Metal, gold ; size, .8" ; weight, 112 grains.

Obverse : As on the above coins ; but there is a strap round the neck of the horse. The legend begins at V near the hind legs of the horse below the *vedī* ; *Rājādhiraja* [h] *pritha*.

Reverse : As on the earlier coins. The queen's figure is rather short and plumpy and the legend is half blurred.

Pl. V. 8.

CHANDRAGUPTA II.

I now proceed to describe some of the rare and unique types of Chandragupta II. The most unique of these types is the Chakravikrama type, of which only one specimen was found in the hoard. This type was so far quite unknown, and we have no other instance in ancient Indian numismatics of a deity manifesting itself before its devotee, the king, in order to offer *prasāda* to him. Chandragupta II was a Vaishṇava, and the coin shows god Viṣṇu, distinguished from the king by a double ornamental halo, manifesting himself before Chandragupta and offering him *prasāda* in the form of three sweetmeats, which the king is about to receive by his extended right hand. The obverse bears no legend ; on the reverse we have a short legend *Chakravikramaḥ*. The name of Chandragupta is not expressly given, but when we remember how *vikrama* was a peculiar epithet of that emperor, and how it figures in different combinations like *simhavikramaḥ*, *ajitavikramaḥ*, etc. on his different coin types, we can confidently suggest that *Chakravikramaḥ* also refers to him.

I proceed to describe the coin.

CHAKRAVIKRAMA TYPE

Metal, gold ; size .76"; weight 116.7 grains

Obverse : God Vishnu is standing to r. with double halo round his person above the knees. The two haloes are joined by rayed lines between them and the outer one is surrounded by a beaded border. The deity is bare-headed and bare-bodied, wearing *dhoti*, necklace and wristlets, holding mace (*gada*) in the left hand hanging by his side and offering by right hand, bent and raised up, three round objects, held in his palm, to king standing facing him, nimbate, bare-headed, and wearing earrings, necklace, armlets, tunic and trousers with prominent folds round the legs. He is extending his right hand, bent up, to receive the divine gift ; his left hand is placed on the hilt of a sword hanging by the left leg. The sword is fastened by a strap to the king's waist, which passes through a hole in the hilt. No legend on the obverse.

Reverse : Within dotted border, Lakshmī, not nimbate, standing three fourths to left, on a lotus, wearing *sāri*, upper garment and earrings, right hand bent and extended, its forefinger apparently pointing at something, left hand hanging down, slightly bent, and holding a lotus with a long stalk having a bud as well. A conch below the right hand and symbol above it. Legend on r., *Chakravikrama*(*h*).

Pl. V. 9 ; VII. 10

Pl. VII 8 (Enlarged)

ARCHER TYPE.

The coins of the Archer type were issued on the mass scale ; in the Bayana hoard we have 973 coins of Chandragupta II, of which as many as 839 belong to this type. The mint-masters were however trying to introduce several interesting variations in the main type and some of these, unknown so far, are illustrated in this paper.

The coins of the Archer type with throned goddess on the reverse having *chandra* written vertically between the bow and the bowstring were known, but the bowstring in each case was inside. In the Bayana hoard a new variety has been found, where the bow string is outside. The legend on this unique coin begins on the left and not on the right, as is usually the case. I now proceed to describe the coin,

Metal, gold ; size .8" ; weight 119.4 grains.

Obverse : King, nimbate, standing to left wearing coat and trousers, holding arrow in the right hand and bow in the left grasped at the top. *Chandra* is written vertically between the bow and the bowstring, the string being outside. Garuḍadhvaja, rather crude, in front of the king. Circular legend beginning at VII, *Sri-Chandragupta*

Reverse : Goddess, not nimbate, seated on throne, with carpet under her feet, holding noose in the right hand and lotus in the left, both being bent up. She wears a necklace, bangles and a graceful circular pearl ornament round the forehead. Symbol on the left. Legend *Śrīvīkramaḥ* on the right. Pl. V. 10.

ARCHER-HUNTER TYPE.

The Archer type coins of Chandragupta II, where a hunter is hanging by the side of the king, were not so far known. The Bayana hoard has disclosed 18 coins of this variety and I am illustrating one of them here.

Metal, gold ; size, .8" ; weight, 126.3 grains.

Obverse : King standing to left as on the usual type, a hunter hanging from a loop attached to the belt along the left leg. The staff of the hunter can be clearly distinguished from its thong at its end. Under the left arm *Chandra* ; circular legend mostly off the flan.

Reverse : Goddess Lakshmi seated on lotus, right hand extended and holding a noose, left hand resting on the knee and holding a lotus with a long stalk. Symbol on the left. Legend on the right, *Śrīvāhrama*. Pl. V 11.

ARCHER-SWORDSMAN TYPE.

In the Archer type of Chandragupta, we had not so far come across any specimens where the king was having a sword hanging by his side ; we have discovered ten coins of this type, of which I am illustrating one below.

Metal, gold ; size, .8" ; weight, 127.3 grains.

Obverse : As above, but there is a sword hanging by the side of the king instead of the hunter. The hilt of the sword can be clearly distinguished at its top. *Chandra* under the left arm ; circular legend off the flan.

Reverse: As above, but symbol on the left is different.
Legend truncated.

Pl. V. 12.

ARCHER TYPE: INTERESTING REVERSE

Four coins of the Archer type show the goddess on the reverse seated on a lotus, but her left leg is tucked up and the right leg is hanging down. I am publishing here one coin of this variety.

Metal, gold; size, .75"; weight, 120.8 grains.

Obverse: King standing to left as on the above coins. Under the left arm *Chandra*; circular legend, *Davaśra-maharajadha*.

Reverse: Goddess Lakshmi as on the above coin, but the lotus has its petals turned up and the left leg of the goddess is tucked up and the right one is hanging down. Symbol on the left; legend, *Śravak-rama*.

Pl. V, 13.

ARCHER TYPE, WITHOUT CHANDRA ON THE OBTVERSE ARCHER TYPE, WITH CHANDRAGUPTA ON THE REVERSE.

No coins of the Archer type of Chandragupta II are so far known where the name of the king Chandra does not occur on the obverse under his left arm. In the Bayana hoard we have discovered one such coin which is therefore unique in this respect.

Similarly on no coin of Chandragupta II, we come across the personal name of the king Chandragupta on the reverse. The reverse legend usually gives the *biruda* of the king *vikrama* either alone or in combination with some other word like *ajita*, *simha*, etc. On one Archer coin of the Bayana hoard, we have *Chandra* under the left arm, as usual, and *Chandragupta* on the reverse instead of *Śrivikrama*, the usual legend. The legend Chandragupta is rather blurred, but quite distinct on the original piece. I describe and illustrate both these coins below.

ARCHER TYPE; NO CHANDRA UNDER ARMS.

Metal, gold; size, .8"; weight, 117.7 grains.

Obverse: King, nimbate, standing left, wearing cap, coat, trousers, high leather shoes, earrings, necklace and armlets, holding arrow in right hand and bow with string outside in the left hand, resting on waist, bow passing over shoulder and being held at its middle.

Garuḍa standard on left behind the right hand.

No legend under the left arm.

Circular legend incomplete, *Davaśramahara*.

Reverse : Goddess, nimbate, facing, seated on lotus, wearing a *sāri*, upper garment, earrings, necklace and bangles, both hands outstretched, holding *pāśa* in the right hand and lotus with long stalk touching the ground in the left hand. Symbol on the left. Legend, *Śravikrama*. Pl. V. 14.

ARCHER TYPE : CHANDRAGUPTA ON THE REVERSE

Metal, gold ; size, .8''; weight, 129.6 grains.

Obverse : King standing to left, nimbate, curly hair on head, bare body, wearing a *dhōṭi* and sash, holding arrow in right hand and bow in the left at the top ; *Chandra* written vertically under the arm.

Legend, *Śrī-Chandragu* [*ptah*.]

A crack in the edge of the coin at III.

Reverse : Goddess Lakṣmī, nimbate, seated facing on lotus, right hand extended holding an uncertain peaked object, left hand bent up and holding a lotus. No symbol. Legend on right *Chandragupta*, rather blurred, but clear on the original. Letters *gupta* are sufficiently clear in the plate.

Pl. V. 15

LION-SLAYER TYPE OF CHANDRAGUPTA

There are 39 coins of this type in the Bayana hoard, of which I am selecting four for publication in this paper.

On the obverse of this type, we find the king either confronting the lion whom he is shooting, or he is trampling upon it ; in some rare instances the lion is shown as retreating from the king. The king faces sometimes to right and sometimes to left. On the reverse there is a remarkable diversity in the posture of the goddess and that of the lion. The lion is sometimes couchant to right, sometimes to left ; sometimes its head is raised ; sometimes it is walking to right and sometimes to left. I am illustrating today four coins of this type. There was some doubt about four letters in the middle of the legend of this type, but the first coin published here shows that the letters in question are *raṇo raṇe* ; the

legend therefore can now be confidently reconstructed as
Rājādhirājaḥ prathitarāṇo raṇe jayatyajeyo bhuvi śiṃhaviḥkramaḥ.

FIRST COIN OF THE LION-SLAYER TYPE

Metal, gold ; size, .8'' ; weight, 124.2 grains

Obverse : King to left, holding bow in the right hand and stringing it by the left, right leg trampling on the lion, left leg bent up, as if to jump behind after the shooting, if necessary. Circular legend beginning at I, *Nara(e)ndrachandra* [h] *pratha(i)tarāṇo raṇe.*

Reverse : Goddess seated facing on lion couchant to left, wearing a *nāri* and an upper garment, holding a noose in right hand and a lotus with long stalk in the other. Symbol on the left. Legend on the right, *Śaṃhaviḥkrama.*

PI. VI. 1.

SECOND COIN OF THE LION-SLAYER TYPE.

The interesting point about this coin is the fact that the lion, the mount of the goddess on the reverse, is walking to left and that the goddess is also seated facing left, her left leg is dangling over the lion's head and the right one is folded up.

Metal, gold ; size, .75'' ; weight, 119.6 grains.

Obverse : King standing to right, trampling the lion by his left leg implanted on the beast's belly and shooting at the lion by the bow held in the left hand and strung by the right.

Circular legend, *Narendrachandra* [h] *pra.*

Reverse : Goddess seated on lion walking to left ; she is facing left ; right leg folded up and the left one dangling over the beast's head. She is holding a *pāśa* in the right hand and lotus with long stalk in the left. No symbol. Legend, *śaṃhaviḥkrama.*

PI. VI. 2.

THIRD COIN OF THE LION-SLAYER TYPE.

This coin has not on the obverse the usual legend beginning with *Nar(e)ndrachandraḥ*, but has the prose legend *Devāśrīmahārājādhirājaḥ Śrī Chandraguptaḥ*, which was so far known to occur only on the Lion-retreating coin of the Lucknow Museum.

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Metal, gold ; size, .78" ; weight, 118.6 grains.

Obverse : King facing left and trampling the lion by the right foot.

Circular legend beginning at I, *Devaśrīmahara...śrī Chandragupta*.

Reverse : Goddess seated facing with both legs folded upon lion walking to right.

No symbol.

Legend, *Śiṃhavikramaḥ*.

PI. VI. 3.

LION-RETREATING TYPE.

Coins of the lion-retreating type are rare and so I am publishing the one specimen of this variety occurring in the Bayana hoard.

Metal, gold ; size, .80" ; weight, 122.3 grains.

Obverse : King to right, wearing *dhōṭī* (shown clinging ornamentally to the legs) and sash, left leg straight and right leg bent up, having a peculiar semi-circular dotted line below the foot. The lion is retreating away and its head is not visible.

Circular legend, mostly off the flan, but between VI and IX ; *jayatyajeyo* is faintly visible.

Reverse : Goddess seated facing, with both her legs folded up, on lion couchant to left, holding noose in the right hand and lotus with long stalk in the left. Symbol on the left. Legend [*Śi*]ṇhavakrama. PI. VI. 4.

CHHATRA TYPE.

Coins of the Chhatra type with the goddess on the reverse standing on a pedestal are rather rare. I am therefore publishing one of the two coins of this type from the Bayana hoard.

Metal, gold ; size, .73" ; weight, 119.7 gr.

Obverse : King standing to left, wearing a cap with a knob at the top and a pearl-string behind, and offering oblations by right hand over an altar in his front. Dwarf standing behind the king holding a *chhatra* by both the hands ; it is however off the king's head.

Circular legend beginning at I, *Kaṭimava.....*

Reverse: Goddess facing three fourths to left and standing on a pedestal, holding a noose in the right hand and a lotus with long stalk in the left.

Symbol on the left. Legend on the right ;
Vikramādityah.

PI. VI. 5.

COUCH TYPE.

There were three coins of the couch type in the Bayana hoard of which I am publishing two herewith.

The first of these coins belongs to that rare variety, so far known from a single specimen in the Lucknow Museum. Our coin, however, is a better specimen, as it shows very clearly that the king is offering a lotus bud to some object of worship in his front, which has not come out on the specimen. The second specimen shows the king holding a flower in the right hand, but not offering it to any object of worship.

VARIETY A.

Metal, gold; size, .8"; weight, 118.4 grains.

Obverse: King not nimbate, bare-headed with curly hair, wearing *dhoti*, but otherwise bare-bodied, seated three fourth to left with both feet folded up, on a high backed couch, whose back is decorated with beads or pearls and all of whose legs are visible. King's left elbow rests on the back of the couch, and he is offering by the right hand a lotus bud apparently to an object of worship, which is but half visible and cannot be identified.
Circular legend, *Paramabha(ā)gavatamaha(ā)[rājādhirājaśriChandragupta]*.

Reverse: Lakshmi, nimbate, seated facing left on a lotus-covered backless throne, three of whose legs are visible, holding lotus with long stalk in right hand, the left one hanging by the side and resting on the couch. Right leg of the goddess is raised up on the couch and the left leg is hanging down.
Foot-stool under the couch.

A line between the goddess and the legend reminiscent of the back of the throne. No symbol.
Legend, *Vakramadatya (Vikramādityah).* PI. VI. 6.

VARIETY B.

Metal, gold; size, .8"; weight, 119.5 grains.

Obverse : King, nimbate, bare-headed, wearing a short *dhoti*, but otherwise bare-bodied, seated three fourths to left on a couch with a reclining back whose three legs are visible. Right hand is bent up and holds a lotus ; the left hand, which hangs down, rests on the couch.

Circular legend, beginning at VIII, *Da(e)vaśra(ī) mahā[rājādhirāja] śra(i)[cha]nadragu[ptasya]*.

Reverse : Goddess Lakshmī, seated facing on throne without back, her feet resting on a lotus, holding a lotus in left hand bent up ; right hand, which also is bent up, is empty. Goddess wears *sāri*, upper garment, beaded forehead ornament, earrings, necklace and bangles. Symbol on the left. Legend on the right, *Śravakramaḥ (Śrīvikramaḥ)*. Pl. VI. 7.

KUMĀRAGUPTA I.

I now proceed to describe some of the interesting and unique coins of Kumāragupta I. His Archer type, though numerous, does not show that striking variety, which is so characteristic of that type of his father. One coin, however, is interesting as it shows the symbol on the reverse at the centre of the left side, and not in the upper left quadrant as is usually the case. Its legend is *Jayati mahitulan Śrī Kumāraguptaḥ*.

ARCHER TYPE

Metal, gold ; size, .8'' : weight, 127.3 grains.

Obverse : King, nimbate, standing to left, bare-headed, wearing coat and *dhoti*, holding arrow in the right hand and bow at the top in the left with string inside.

No *Ku* or *Kumā'a* in the field. Circular legend beginning at VIII, *Jayata (i) maha (ī) tala [m] Śra (ī) Kumu(ā)ragapa(guptaḥ)*. Name of the king begins at I.

Reverse : Goddess, nimbate, seated facing to left on lotus with legs folded, holding a flower in right hand bent up and a cornucopie in the left resting at the waist. Symbol on the left at the middle.

Legend, *Śrīmahendraḥ*.

Pl. VI 8.

LION-SLAYER TYPE.

There are some coins of peculiar interest and importance

among the fifty coins of the Lion-slayer type of Kumāragupta I. But today I shall content myself with illustrating only one of them, where the king is facing left and wearing a short buttoned coat and trousers. The legend is blurred and incomplete, but the last five letters look like *ruttamai-rjjaya*. The preceding three letters however do not look like *karmabhi* or *sucharitai*. Until we get a better specimen of this variety, the legend will remain uncertain. I now describe this specimen.

Metal, gold ; size, .85"; weight, 127.4 grains.

Obverse : King standing to left, not nimbate, bare-headed and with frizzled hair, wearing buttoned coat of short sleeves, half pant and sash, necklace and earrings, shooting at lion in his front with bow held in right hand, left hand stringing it behind to the ear. Circular legend blurred and incomplete ; the last four letters appear to be *ruttamaijjaya*[^{ri}].

Reverse : Goddess seated facing on lion couchant to right, right leg hanging down, holding some indistinct object in right hand bent up and a lotus with long stalk in the left resting on knee. Symbol on the left at the centre (and not at the top). Legend, *Śra(i)-maha(e)ndrasimhaḥ*.
Pl. VI 9

HORSEMAN TYPE.

The Bayana hoard contained 302 coins of the Horseman type. They enable us to complete several incomplete legends. Thus the legend on the variety *a* of the *B. M. C. G. D.*, which could not be completely read, is now found to be *Prithivīlāmbaraśaśi Kumāragupto jayatyajitah*. I now illustrate two coins which between themselves will be seen to be almost completing the legend.

Metal, gold ; size, .8"; weight, 127.3 grains.

HORSEMAN TYPE : FIRST COIN

Obverse : King on horseback, facing right, not nimbate, bare-headed, wearing necklace, armlets, coat with buttons, half pant and sash flying behind ; carrying no weapons, foot attached to the horse by a stirrup. Horse is well caparisoned ; its mane is plated.

There is a circular leather ornament, below the neck strap of the horse and a starry one, represented by seven dots on its haunch. Circular legend, beginning at 1, *Prithivīlāmbaraśaśi Kumāragupto*

jayatyajitah. On this coin we can read *Prithi* between the head of the king and the head of the horse, *vatalambaraśa* after the head of the horse.

Reverse : Goddess, nimbate, seated on wicker stool, facing left, holding a flower, probably lotus, with a long stalk with leaves and buds in the right hand, left hand empty resting on waist.

No symbol.

Legend on right, *Ajitamahendrah*

Pl. VI. 12

HORSEMAN TYPE, SECOND COIN.

Metal, gold ; size, .8"; weight, 126.3 grains.

Obverse : As on the first coin. The legend in front of horse is blurred, but the letter *ku* in the king's name can be seen between the horse's legs. Between IX and XI, one can clearly read *pto jayatyajitah*.

Reverse : As above.

Plate VI. 11

HORSEMAN TYPE, THIRD COIN.

Here we have the legend *Guptakulāmalachandro mahendra-karmājito jayati*. There is no symbol on the reverse and the goddess is feeding a peacock. The specimen selected for illustration is unfortunately not a good one. The Catalogue will illustrate a number of beautiful coins of this variety.

Obverse : King, nimbate, riding on caparisoned horse to left, bare-headed and with curly hair, holding bow in the right hand, its end being visible between the head of the horse and the head of the king. The king holds a sword in the left hand.

Circular legend, *Guptakulamalachandra*.....

Reverse : Goddess seated to left on a wicker stool offering grapes to a peacock in her front. No symbol. Legend on the right is blurred ; it was *Ajitamahendrah*.

Pl. VI, 10

HORSEMAN TYPE, FOURTH COIN.

In this variety the king is riding to right, holding no weapons, and the legend is *Guptakulavyomaśaśi jayatyajeyo jitamahendrah*. One specimen is being illustrated here.

Obverse : King, nimbate, riding to right. The horse is caparisoned and its mane is artistically plated ; circular legend, *Guptakulavyomaśaśi jayatyajeyo*....

Reverse: Goddess as above. No symbol. Legend, *Ajita-mahendra*.

HORSEMAN TYPE, FIFTH COIN.

On this type the king is riding to left, holding a bow in the left hand. It has a circular legend, unknown from any earlier specimen; it runs from VIII and reads *Prithivīśvara-rendrḥ Kumāragupto jayatyajitah*. On the specimen illustrated here the legend is rather blurred but the letters *talaśvarandra-kamara* are fairly distinct between IX and XII. The reverse of this variety has a symbol, which is rather unusual on the Horseman type.

Obverse: King on caparisoned horse riding to right, bare-headed and with curly hair, wearing buttoned coat and probably trousers, holding the bow in the left hand, sword hanging by the right side.

Legend, beginning at VIII, *Prithavatalaśvarandra Kumara*.

Reverse: Goddess feeding peacock as above, but no twig attached to the fruits.

Symbol in the left upper quadrant. Legend to right, *Ajitamahendra*, blurred. Pl. VI, 14.

HORSEMAN TYPE, SIXTH COIN.

On several coins of the Horseman type, there was occurring the legend, *Kṣhitipatirajito vijayī Kumāragupto jayatyajitah*. On a coin in the Bayana hoard, we get its variation ending with *dava jayata*, which obviously stands for *divam jayati*. This is a new variation in the legend.

Metal, gold; size, .8"; weight, 127.3 grains.

Obverse: King, not nimbate, riding on caparisoned horse to right, bare-headed, with curly hair falling on the neck, wearing coat and trousers, but having no sash, and holding no weapons.

Circular legend, beginning at I, *Kṣhatipata.. dava jayata*.

Reverse: Goddess, nimbate, seated facing left, on wicker stool, offering an object held between the thumb and the fore-finger to peacock, whose neck only is just visible. She holds lotus with long stalk in the left hand resting on waist. No symbol.

Legend, *Ajitamahendra*.

Pl. VI. 15.

'APRATIGHA' TYPE

The mystery surrounding the solitary specimen of the type conveniently described as the *Pratāpa* type by Mr. Allan is but partially removed by the discovery of seven of its specimens in the Bayana hoard. The specimens in our hoard show that the legend on the reverse is *Apratighaḥ* (PI VII, 9.) and not *Śrīpratāpa*, as suggested by Mr. Allan. The reverse shows Lakshmī seated facing on a large, beautiful, full-blown, double petalled lotus, both her hands being empty. The symbol is on the left at the centre and there are four dot-like objects above it.

The obverse shows three figures standing. The central one is a male figure standing facing, with hands folded on chest. He wears a simple *dhōṭī* with its folds hanging between the legs. There is either a protuberance on the head, as on the Buddha figures, or the hair is tied in a knot on the top of the head. The figure wears no ornaments or royal insignia and looks more like a Buddhist layman or monk, but is expressly described as Kumāragupta in a legend written vertically, but to be read horizontally, partly on the right and partly on the left of the standing figure. To the proper right of Kumāragupta is a male figure standing profile to right and apparently holding a shield in the left hand and a *Garuḍa* standard by the right, which can be seen between the two figures. To the proper left of Kumāragupta, there is a female figure standing to left with the right hand bent up in the attitude of *vitarka* or argumentation.

The significance of the obverse showing Kumāragupta in non-regal dress with a military attendant on one side and a lady arguing with him on the other is very difficult to understand. The mystery could have been perhaps solved, had we been able to read the obverse legend. This however is not yet possible, though we have now got seven specimens of the type. I would tentatively suggest that the scene may refer to Kumāragupta's abdication of the kingdom and renunciation of the worldly life. The female on the right may be his queen expostulating with him on this point. The figure on the right may be his commander-in-chief, who may have also come for the same purpose. The king with hands folded on his chest apparently expresses his inability to comply with their wishes. He thus proves himself firm and invincible in his resolution and is therefore rightly described on the reverse as *Apratighaḥ*. As against this interpretation, it may be pointed out that there is as yet no other evidence to show that Kumāragupta had abdicated

from the throne and had become either a Hindu Sanyāsin or a Buddhist monk.

I am unable so far to offer any coherent reading of the legend on the obverse. In order to facilitate the task of the scholars, who would like to try their hand on the problem, I am publishing along with this paper enlargements of the obverse of all the seven coins. Letters have thus become fairly clear, but they are indistinct. There is no doubt that the same legend is to be seen on all the coins; for instance, letters with two long tails can be seen on all the coins between VI and VII; a letter like a *pu* is to be seen at the top. I am not yet able to read the legend, but am making some tentative suggestions. Beginning at XII, we have *papyata* or *pushyata* fairly clear on No. 1. Next four letters are clear on No. 3, and they apparently read *paparapa*. Three symbols following look more like numerals than any Gupta letters; they are quite distinct on Nos. 3 and 7 and seem to stand for 50, 50 and 2. The first of these can also be taken as a defective symbol for 100. The next four letters are clear on No. 7 and look like *prapupatu*. The next three letters, clearest on No. 7, appear like Kumara, but the second of these letters also looks like *kha*. One expects this to be the king's name. But the next two letters, again clear on No. 7, are certainly not *gupta* or *gapa*; they appear to be *pava* followed by *pu*. Letters on the left hand side appear very indistinct. I hope to publish a tentative reading of the legend at a later time.

APRATIGHA TYPE.

FIRST COIN.

Metal, gold; size .75"; weight, 123 grains.

Obverse: A male figure standing in the centre, wearing a *dhori*, with folds hanging between the legs; hands folded at the waist, a protuberance on the head as on the Buddha images, or hair tied in a knot. To the right a female figure standing to left, hair tied in a knot on the head, wearing a *sāri* and a tight *kañchukī*; left hand on the waist, right hand bent up and raised in the attitude of *vitarka* (argumentation), fingers almost touching the face of the central figure; another figure, a male, standing to right, wearing a close fitting cap, left hand holding a shield in front of the torso, right hand bent up and holding *Garuḍadhvaja* just behind the central figure. Legend written horizontally, but in lines placed

vertically between the central figure and the figures on his either side; on right side, to be read from top to bottom, *Kumara*; on the left side to be read from bottom to top, *gupta*. None of the figures is nimbate.

Reverse: Within dotted border, goddess Lakshmī, nimbate, seated facing on a beautiful, full-blown, double-petalled lotus, her left hand on waist akimbo, right hand bent up and holding a lotus (crudely represented by four thick dots) with long stalk having two lotus buds at the bottom. Symbol at the centre screening the lotus stalk. Crescent in the right upper corner in most cases.

Legend on the right, *Apratigha*.

PI. VII. 9.

PI. VII. 1. (for the enlarged obverse)

SECOND COIN.

Metal, gold; size .72"; weight, 121.4 grains.

Obverse: Palms folded at the chest not so clear as on No. 1. Staff of the *Garudadhvaja* is clearer than that on No. 1. *Kumaragupta*, written as on No. 1, the *visarga* at the end being very distinct.

No crescent above the king's head.

PI. VII. 2.

Reverse: Lower bud on the left side slightly truncated. Crescent on the right in the upper corner.

Legend, *Apratigha*. (Not illustrated).

THIRD COIN.

Metal, gold; size .72"; weight 121.5 grains.

Obverse: The bump (*kakud*) or the knot of hair on the head is very prominent, *Garudadhvaja* is clear. No crescent above the king's head. Legend, *Kumaragupta*, as on No. 1.

PI. VII. 3.

Reverse: Crescent in the upper right corner. Lotus bud on the left, but partly visible. Legend, *Apratigha* (Not illustrated).

FOURTH COIN.

Metal, gold; size .72"; weight, 120.7 grains.

Obverse: No crescent above the king's head. *Kumaragupta*, as on No. 1.

PI. VII. 4.

Reverse : Crescent in the upper right corner. Legend : *Apratighah*. Medial vowel of *ti* is quite distinct. No border of dots. (Not illustrated).

FIFTH COIN.

Metal, gold ; size 73" ; weight, 121·5 grains.

Obverse : Crescent above the central figure.

Kumaraguptah, rather blurred.

PI VII. 5.

Reverse : Crescent in the right upper corner.

Legend, *Apratighah*, slightly truncated.

(Not illustrated)

SIXTH COIN.

Metal, gold ; size 71" ; weight 121·1 grains.

Obverse : As on No. 1, but a crescent between the central figure and that on the right.

Kumaraguptah, as on No. 1.

PI. VII. 6.

Reverse : No crescent in the right upper corner. Dotted border on the left.

Legend, *Apratighah*, very distinct.

(Not illustrated).

Obverse : As on No. 1, but a crescent between the central figure and that on the left as on No. 6 above.

Kumara is quite blurred and there are faint traces of *guptah*.

PI, VII, 7.

Reverse : The flan was illadjusted on the left and as a result only one of three lotus buds has come out on the left, the symbol is truncated and only three out of the four dots above it are visible.

Legend, *Apratighah*, very clear.

(Not illustrated)

THE ART OF GUPTA COINS.¹

BY B. S. SITHOLEY.

(Lucknow)

THE FICTION OF FOREIGN INFLUENCE.

"Experience proves that the contact or collision of diverse modes of civilisation is the most potent stimulus to intellectual or artistic progress, and, in my opinion," says Vincent Smith, "the eminent achievements of the Gupta period are mainly due to such contact with foreign civilisations...; the imitation of Roman coins by Gupta kings is...obvious."² Contact of this kind generally occurs through commercial intercourse. In regard to influences anthropologists, however, hold a view different from that of historians. Professor G. Elliot Smith observes: "For a correct understanding of the principles involved in the spread of culture it is essential that we should face as fully as possible the elementary facts of human nature. Men are by disposition not prone to adopt customs and beliefs which they do not understand, and this is especially the case when there appears to be nothing intrinsically attractive about them. As a consequence, in the vast majority of cases, mere intercourse between peoples of different cultures is not by itself sufficient to bring about the adoption of alien practices. Before a real diffusion of culture can be effected, such novel ideas must be introduced into the new region by a group of immigrants who settle there and actually proceed to live according to their own customs, customs which themselves gradually became altered in character through the influence of new circumstances and different economic conditions."³

There is no evidence that Roman immigrants ever settled in Magadha⁴, or in Mālwa and Surāshtra, the con-

1. I am indebted to Dr. Altekar, the Editor, who voluntarily placed at my disposal three plates, Nos. V-VII, of Gupta coins from the Bayana find for illustrating this paper. He has also allotted a full plate, No. VIII, for the illustration of some coins in my collection. His advice on certain matters connected with the paper is also gratefully acknowledged.

2. Vincent A. Smith: *The Early History of India*, 1914, p. 306.

3. Prof. G. Elliot Smith: *In the Beginning (The Origin of Civilization)*, pp. 95-96.

[4. A fairly large number of sealings of the Gupta period have been found at Rajghat, near Banaras, having the device of Greek deities like Heracles and Pallas on them. It is not impossible that there may have been a foreign colony at holy Banaras, or these sealings may have sealed letters received from Rome by Banaras silk merchants. A. S., A.]

quest of which latter provinces towards the close of the 4th century by Chandragupta II is said to have opened up ways of communication between Northern India and the western countries. And it is to be noted that before such conquest the coins of Chandragupta I and Samudragupta were already in existence. Also Chandragupta II's silver coins were modelled on those of the Western Kshatrapas whom he subdued, and were not imitations of Roman coins.

There is always a mutual repulsion of civilizations, a concrete instance of which is given by M. de Gobineau : "The relations of Greeks with Persian culture were manifold and inevitable. A large part of the Hellenic population was concentrated in the towns of the Syrian littoral, and in the colonies of Asia Minor...; Greece proper was always in close contact with the cities of the Asiatic coast...The Greeks regarded their powerful enemies as barbarians, and their contempt was probably returned with interest. The two nations were continually coming into contact, but their political ideas, their private habits, the inner meaning of their public rites, the scope of their art, and the forms of their government, remained quite distinct."¹

The gulf between Indian art and Greek-Roman art was always very wide. In Greece "sculptors were commissioned by cities or private individuals to execute statues of athletes and warriors or of deceased relatives none of whom made any pretence at divinity...The most original creative period of Greek art was over before 400 B. C. Decadence set in precisely at the point when economic expansion had slowed down.... So in the fourth century there was no outlet for the overflowing and dispossessed rural population save to sell their bodies as mercenaries to the King of Persia or other 'barbarians'..."² Probably from the descendants of these mercenaries Kanishka hired sculptors (hardly better than stone-masons)³ to carve statues connected with Buddhism. In this work (Gandhāra art), though the theme was Indian, the Indian ideal could not be expressed by the foreign artists. This was because Greek art "interests were largely centred in gymnasium...In Greek art Man and God are indistinguishable, for they depend not on their function but on their appearance...Rome, heavier,

1. M. Arthur de Gobineau : *The Inequality of Human Races*, pp. 174-175.

2. Prof. Gordon V. Childe : *What Happened in History*, pp. 202-204.

[3. This is perhaps an extreme view and many may differ from it. A.S.A.]

emptier, less creative, could neither add anything to what the Greeks had said nor had she any desire to break away from it."¹ The ideal Buddha was not the achievement of any gifted Gandhāra Greek artist, but was later visualised and created by the Gupta and subsequent Classical art. Indian art being essentially transcendental, it is difficult to conceive how the purely materialistic influences of the west,—supposing there were any,—could inspire the Indian artists with spiritual outlook of the highest order. Greek and Roman influence on Gupta achievements and Gupta coins therefore exists in imagination rather than in a reality; no concrete examples have yet been pointed out in which the assimilative steps of foreign influence can be seen in sequence.

GUPTA PERIOD, AN AGE OF FLORESCENCE AND NOT OF REVIVAL.

The Gupta period is usually described as one of revival of Hinduism, of literature, science, and art. This is a superficial view, because there is nothing to show that the continuity of the ancient Brahmanical learning and culture was ever broken. Buddhism at one period was dominant but Brahmanism (later known as Hinduism) never at any time ceased to flourish or was dormant. It existed side by side with Buddhism—only not in prominence; and when the Buddhist doctrines, the result of a schism but deriving their strength fundamentally from the parent Vedic source, merged by evolution into the main stream of Brahmanical thought, attention was shifted to Hinduism. The predominance of Brahmanism or Buddhism depended on which side the rulers leaned to; but their impartial treatment by the Guptas accelerated the pace of fusion, and in the centuries following, Buddhism automatically disappeared from India. Since revival necessarily implies a previous state of extinction or inactivity, obviously the stage of revival, akin to that of convalescence, cannot possess the vigour requisite for great endeavours. What had happened was that in the Gupta epoch all the former inherited tendencies converged to a focus, producing a concentrated intellectual and aesthetic upsurge. The accumulated knowledge and experience of centuries, directed in all their power and intensity to the creative function, led to very high achievement. It was thus not a revival or renaissance, but a culmination and consummation, a florescence of the genius of the race. The creative impulse attaining its zenith brought forth works, specially in the sphere of art, whose influence spread so far afield as Ceylon, Tibet, Burma, Java,

1. Erio Newton : *European Painting and Sculpture*, p. 50.

Siam, Cambodia, China and Japan, stimulating in the last countries the productions of the T'ang and Nara epochs. This cultural wave swept not only all eastern Asia but spread over a considerable part of the Pacific region. Produced in this context, Gupta coinage is purely Indian in inspiration and treatment.

SALIENT FEATURES OF GUPTA ART.

There is no separate origin of what is distinguished as Buddhist art and Brahmanical art; it is the same fundamental race art made to subserve various sectarian and hieratic requirements. The distinction is arbitrary; and Vincent Smith admits that "the relation is so close that even an expert feels difficulty in deciding to which system a particular image should be assigned."¹ In its natural development, however, corresponding to the evolution of race civilization, Indian art has had its phases. The Gupta phase is outstanding for its classical quality, owing to the increased æsthetic consciousness of the times. The characteristic definition in Gupta art was obtained by refining and perfecting the technique of the earlier Mathurā school. The dominant element of religious ritualism was moderated by accommodating with it in balanced measure the element of worldly life, thereby making the art a medium for the expression of all kinds of experience. The unity so achieved between the purely spiritual and the temporal made it possible for the entire range of creative knowledge to be systematized and formulated, enabling all ideas and sentiments to be expressed through art with ease and completeness. Gupta art is at once energetic and serene. In it the image or figure, rough and unwieldy in the Kushāṇa period, becomes refined and also enters into the decorative scheme.

GUPTA COINS AS SOURCE OF CULTURAL HISTORY.

The importance of Gupta gold coins is not so much epigraphic as cultural in the revelation they make by their art of life in the Gupta age. Necessarily, only the activities of the rulers are depicted, yet representing national life at its highest and best, they afford a genuine picture of the times. One of the most remarkable features of the Gupta coinage is that it provides through an unusual and very restricted medium a wealth of historical material which it would be difficult to collect otherwise. History

1. Vincent A. Smith : *Early History of India*, p. 302.

is not merely dates of wars and conquests, and assumption of power by this individual or that, but trends and movements, life as it was actually lived, and action that shaped such life and contributed to the advancement or retardation of civilization.

THEIR HIGH ARTISTIC MERIT.

Gupta gold coins, (with which only this paper is concerned), are sculptures in bas-relief on a minute scale, produced by die-cutting. The factual statements in them about the Guptas are rendered in a setting of decorative devices, which not only emphasize the purpose of the statements but give them in this integration dignity and a peculiar refinement. Masterpieces of design and artistic technique, the coins are a class by themselves. Immensely superior to Indian coins of any other period, by the variety and originality of their motifs, the outcome of rich creative imagination, by their aesthetic quality and superb craftsmanship, and by the life they unfold, testifying to the high level of culture attained, they rank in their sphere as unapproached works of art. Such excellence could only emerge from the cultivated taste of the Guptas, under whose patronage art rose to national status and became a vehicle for the expression of thought and feeling. Gupta coinage may be said to be the personal achievement of its creators, whose distinction lies in conceiving its possibilities and giving them concrete shape with a realism and adequacy it seems impossible to surpass. Within its intrinsic limitations it constitutes one of the most characteristic series of Indian documents extant, a product worthy of a great civilization and culture.

With the foregoing background the coins will now be described. Only the coins from Chandragupta I to Skandagupta, being sufficient for the purpose, will be taken. Except where otherwise stated, references will be to the coins illustrated in Allan's *Catalogue* and, for brevity, the following method is adopted. The first numeral in the brackets stands for the plate number, the others for the coin numbers: thus (3—10, 14) means plate No. III of the *Catalogue* and coins Nos. 10 and 14. The obverse or reverse will become apparent from the context. Four plates of Gupta coins are being published in this number, **Plates V-VIII**, and references to them have been added in bold type immediately after the references to the coins published in the *British Museum Catalogue*.

THE LION-AND TIGER-HUNTER TYPES.

The above designation, being more precise, would be

proper instead of the Lion- and Tiger-slayer types commonly used. The sporting Guptas, as known from their coins, were Samudragupta, Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I. Samudragupta is shown left-handed, the others as ambidextrous. But as he is right-handed in his other types, it is reasonable to infer that the kings were not ambidextrous, but that the coin-designers permitted themselves an artistic licence in order to exhibit certain postural peculiarities and create diverse designs.

In actual life the beasts are rarely at such close quarters as shown in the coins. Juxtaposition, however, not only makes the decorative element coherent but stresses the relativity of the action between the hunter and the hunted. Indian art is both conventional and realistic according to need. The primary interest here is the action, and this is presented vividly, so that we get the essence and not the irrelevances. For similar reasons, the king trampling on the lion is not to be taken literally ; it is symbolical, for none can tread on a wounded lion without being fatally mauled. 'The kings' valour is manifest by their shooting lions and tigers with bows and arrows, on foot and within range of the animals, in comparison to shooting them with modern weapons from a safe distance.

Various situations occur in hunting dangerous game, and there is animated portrayal of some of them on the coins. In (9—7, 8) the king, apparently in advantageous position, is unperturbed. In (8—11, 13, 15), (14—4), and (Pl. VI. 9) the vigorous action on his part indicates critical developments, which, heightening in (8—16, 17) and (9—1), reach their climax in (9—5). Here the king is fighting a rear-guard action, ready to jump back should the lion leap at him. This is a dangerous moment : the mind concentrated, the body tense, he is meeting the crisis in which a false step may prove fatal. The surcharged atmosphere is suggested with great artistic skill and the king's pose is strikingly dynamic. This coin is one of the most remarkable ones in the hunting series.

(14—2, 10) are handsome attitudes which attain classic grace in (9—6, 3) and (Pl. VIII. 5). The king's noble bearing and the subdued animality of the lion impart to the design an uncommon significance. Here there is a subtle blend of idealism with realism, a sense of repose in action, the ambient in which physical combat acquires a symbolical and spiritual quality. (9—3) is decidedly the finest coin in the whole range of Gupta coinage. For grandeur of conception and its perfect expression the world's coinage has perhaps no piece to show comparable to this supreme

example of numismatic art. It is a masterpiece of sculpture. This coin is happily chosen for the crest of the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*.

The ferociousness of the lion is depicted with much power in (9—1, 13); in the latter the king is attacking with the sword. Here, of course, both have to be close, but the sword is a more effective weapon. The king appears confident of his skill and strength. (2—14), (14—14) and (Pl. V. 3-4) show the tiger at bay and in his most dangerous mood.

The lion backing, (9—11, 12) represents a plain fact. It is wounded and is retiring, which all wild animals do unless the hunter is close, when they charge. Nothing could demonstrate more convincingly the fine sporting spirit of the Guptas than their allowing an escaping lion to be depicted on the coins.

The *Agni Purāṇa* mentions different attitudes assumed in drawing the bow. The following are observable on the coins. A. *Sampada*, (9—8, 9), standing with legs and feet even, the ankle, heel and great toes being closely opposite each other. B. *Vaiśākha*, (15—1, 3), balancing on toes, knees slightly bent. C. *Ālīḍḍhī*, (9—3, 6), right thigh and knee kept unbent and feet apart, assuming somewhat the shape of a plough. D. *Pratyāñīḥa*, (8—14, 15) contrary to *Ālīḍḍhī*. E. *Jāta*, (9—5), left leg in crooked position and distant from the right foot. F. *Danḍāyata*, (14—6, 10), and (Pl. VI. 4), left knee straight, the right advanced, bent and firmly fixed. The coins show various modes of drawing the bow; the most perfect is considered to be that of aiming with the arrow drawn in line with the eye to the ear (*ākarnṣandhāna*), shown in (9—5), (15—1, 4).

The hunting coins disclose that the Guptas were not case-loving pleasure seekers but preferred an energetic life. They were not afraid to expose themselves to danger. In dress their outlook was rational. Much clothing is an impediment in hunting, so mostly they wear only a dhoti in defiance of convention and false prestige. All of their attitudes and movements, being natural, are graceful. Even in trampling on a lion there is no attitudinizing or self-consciousness. Above all, there is dignity. The art shows this because life was actually such. There is no false statement, the unstudied art guarantees the veracity of the life portrayed. Manly, simple in habits, unassuming and rational—such were the Guptas.

THE HORSE-RIDER AND AŚVAMEDHA TYPES.

Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I only are shown as riders. The latter and, before him, Samudragupta issued the Aśvamedha type. Gupta horses on the coins were apparently of the Pañchāla breed, which is mentioned in the Mahābhārata and is traceable to the Śiwālik fossil ancestor.

The horses display various movements, the most common being one in which the animal's right or left fore-leg is lifted and contracted, (9—15-17), (10—4, 10), (13—4, 14), (PI. VI. 13, 15) and (PI. VIII 7, 9). This movement is elegant: "those horses are good which run with legs thrown from a height, like tigers, peacocks, and ducks."¹ Horses in *pluta* movement, (10—2, 13), run leaping with all the four legs like the deer. In the *valgita* gait, (13 14) and (PI VIII. 7), the neck is raised like that of the peacock. The *dhārā* movement is very fast, (13—9). "That horse is beautiful which has a high neck and low back,"² (10—7), (13 - 14), (5—10, 12), (PI. VIII. 6, 7).

The horses on the coins of Hippostratos, Azes, Gondophares, are disproportioned and wooden; those on the coins of Eukratides and Alexander, though in action, do not impress; the horse on the mediaeval coins of Spalapatideva, notwithstanding the dynamic quality and superiority over the Indo-Greek by the vigour of its line, is calligraphic rather than representational. Gupta horses, on the other hand, are full of animation and possess a grace and a style all their own.

The straight, easy, self-confident attitude of the royal riders evidences their masterly horsemanship. No stirrups were used, none being discernible, and the horse was controlled only with the bit and bridle; a fact about Indian equestrian practice noticed earlier by Megasthenes.³ Despite the *Sukranīti* insisting on a rider equipping himself with a whip, the Guptas appear to have dispensed with it.

With heads plumed and manes braided and rich caparisons of diverse designs; in a variety of attitudes and measured movements true to life; comely, elegant, and almost humanized; these Gupta horses, with their accomplished riders, are so harmoniously picturesque in the judiciously placed lettering encircling them that they appear like jewels set in delicate filigree. The Aśvamedha horses, (5—9, 10, 12), stand unadorned and in isolation beneath and

1. *Sukranīti-sāra*, transl. by Prof. B. K. Sarkar, p. 228.

2. *Ibid*, p. 222.

3. McCrindle's Translation : Fragment XXXV, p. 89.

in front of the sacrificial banner and post with the commanding majesty of a lion. (Pl. VIII. 6) shows an impressive example. There is no other coinage in which the horse motif has been rendered with such rich imagination, artistic skill, sympathetic insight and comprehensiveness. Along with the Lion- and Tiger-Hunter types the Horse series comprises by far the most striking Gupta coinage.

CHANDRAGUPTA I—KUMĀRADEVĪ AND SKANDAGUPTA—LAKSHMĪ (?) TYPES.

A design of a full male and female figure in apposition conversing in the natural manner of actual life is at once rational and of human interest, and immeasurably superior to the conjugate stylized busts of king and queen, as on the coins of Hermaios and Kalliope. Even if we knew nothing about the specific circumstances of Chandragupta's marriage with the Lichchhavi princess Kumāradevī, the coins bring before us their romance in no uncertain manner and with a delicacy arising from their refined lives. The few coins available of this type tell quite plainly that, if anything, the Guptas believed in behaving like human beings, and were far removed from the pompousness and affectations of persons of rank and status. The figures, seeming to stand out from the flan, are most effective by their point to point balance. The nuances in the queen's mood are no doubt due to the different artists' individual reaction to a specific feeling. An art of such calibre, with no transitional stages from previous examples, springing up all of a sudden argues not an influence but the urge of genius for self-expression. The surety of touch comes from deep conviction, and is not the result of experimentation. Being the very first, this type shows the decided independence of Gupta coinage.

The so-called Lakshmī type, (19—8, 9), is so described because the lady in front of the king holds a lotus flower, an attribute of goddess Lakshmī. This is a generalization which, however, is contradicted when Chandragupta II holding a lotus flower on one of his coins is not recognized as Vishṇu, whose attribute also is this flower. However, if the lady be Lakshmī, she appears twice on the coins, a practice not allowed by any of Skandagupta's predecessors. Art has something different to reveal. Standing with his arm akimbo, the king is not very reverent, and Lakshmī, too, slightly coquettish, is not quite behaving like a goddess. The absence of decorum between the king and the lady is evident, a relation appropriate between a

man and his woman, not between man and a goddess. Gupta art, not being anti-social, was both representational and formally religious; so that here if a goddess were meant, she would not have been depicted as an ordinary woman. Vincent Smith was therefore not wrong in recognizing the lady as the queen. In view of the evidence of art this question needs further investigation. 'Lakshmi' here is less refined than Queen Kumāradevī. The æsthetic loss is the inevitable reflection of the environmental conditions of the times: the empire had begun to wane, and the art consequently followed suit.

KĀRTTIKEYA TYPE.

Known as the Peacock type, this type could well be named after Kārttikeya, who is more important than his vehicle. The type clearly demonstrates a religious conviction. Kumāragupta here comes out with the God of his choice. Kārttikeya is, however, not figured as six-headed, as required by religious iconography; this is indicative of a shift in emphasis from the formally religious to the secular in art.

The king, shown standing or walking, possesses splendid physique and a distinctive individuality (15—5, 7, 8, 13, 14). On the reverse, Kārttikeya's dignity as a god is fully established by his imposing attitude, (15—6). There is a grandeur about the composition, suggestive of the shrine of a majestic temple. Full of atmosphere, this is a very fine type.

THE VĪNĀ TYPE.

This is erroneously called the Lyrist type, because the *vīṇā*, which is the instrument represented, is confused with the lyre, or lute, or guitar, all these three being entirely different and not Indian instruments at all.¹ The *vīṇā* Samudragupta is playing on is of the old type² and, with some

1. For illustrations of these instruments see A. J. Hipkin's *Musical Instruments: Historic, Rare and Unique*, and Carl Engel's *The Music of the Most Ancient Nations*.

2. "We have a very large number of representations, ranging backwards from the late Gupta period to the beginning of the second century B. C. (Bhājā and Bharhut) in which the *vīṇā* is consistently depicted as a kind of harp. It is obviously with reference to this harp-*vīṇā* that the word as it occurs in classical Sanskrit and in Pāli and early Prakrit literature is used. We may safely assume that the same harp-*vīṇā* is referred to in the still earlier Vedic literature; partly because of the *a priori* probability of a continuity of the tradition backward, partly because harps of various kinds actually existed in very early times (as recent discoveries at Ur have demonstrated), and also because the Āraṇyaka sources give us the same terms and imply the same forms as those later current. It is true that in some places various kinds of *vīṇā* are mentioned; but aside from this fact the descriptions

modifications, still survives in Burma. The coins are in two varieties: fine broad pieces, and thicker small ones, the former being decidedly superior. Hitherto Samudragupta was known to have issued them, but some issued by Kumāragupta have been found in the recently discovered Bayāna hoard. The type discloses the finer side of the character of the monarchs, the character of men not scorning the world but conscious at the same time of the higher and refined aspects of life.

The sheer artistry of the type arises intrinsically from the theme as well as absence of affectation in its presentation. The skilful modelling, expressiveness and chaste ornamentation give a dignity to the composition and place the coins amongst the finest examples of coin art. (5—3, 4, 5) and (PI. VIII. 4) are exceptionally beautiful coins.

The position of Samudragupta's right-hand fingers in PI. VIII. 4 is most important. In playing the *vīṇā*, whether of the early or modern type, microtones (the *śrutis* of Indian music) can be produced only by controlling the vibrations of the notes. For such control the vibrating string is touched for the minutest instant; or on occasions the string is struck simultaneously by the fore and middle fingers from opposite directions, the latter finger-stroke being suitably adjusted; or sometimes the finger is rapidly glided along the string; more often the string is deflected. These are extremely difficult and delicate operations, calling for the highest precision and sensitiveness of touch. Samudragupta's fingers being in the first of the above mentioned manipulative positions, we have here numismatic evidence of his proficiency in music.

THE ARCHER TYPE.

This type was issued by all Gupta monarchs with the exception of Chandragupta I. In view of its great antiquity and rich associations with the heroic age, the bow was a favourite weapon; and the sensitive Gupta artists have in this type brought out its archaic atmosphere in contrast with its utilitarian character in the hunting series of coins. The kings' figures are accordingly largely formalized, (4—1-4,6), (6—10), and (PI. VIII. 1). By gradual variations, however,

(Continued from the last page)

and actual representations are so consistent and so much in agreement that we are justified in speaking of the harp-vīṇā here described as the old Indian vīṇā. This old Indian vīṇā is a harp without a post; it has a hollow belly covered with a board or stretched leather: this belly is broad towards the back, where its end is rounded, and tapers towards the front."—Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy: *The Parts of a Vīṇā in Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 50, pp. 244-245.

the unconventional is reached in (7—10). Some of the phases are very attractive, (6—15), (7—12), (19—1). All through the harmony of design is consistently maintained.

THE STANDARD, KĀCHA, BATTLE-AXE, AND CHHATTRA TYPES.

Artistically, all these types are similar, the first two more closely. The introduction of a second figure in the third and fourth and greater freedom of pose in the latter are the only points of difference. The Standard and Kācha types are formal and stylized, a certain relaxation in expression, however, being perceptible in (1—12) and (2—9). The Battle-Axe type represents a transitional stage to the Chattra which, in the best specimens, (8—7, 8, 10), approaches the higher types.

THE COUCH, ELEPHANT-RIDER AND SWORDSMAN TYPES.

In the Couch type, leaning on the left arm, the king is resting. The posture is most unassuming, and it is astonishing that he allowed himself to be depicted in so informal a manner. No wonder Gupta culture reached its peak in the time of Chandragupta II. The type is of considerable importance as bearing testimony to an appreciation of values, a sane view of life, and a measure of contempt for outward show, in the Gupta age. Incidentally, (Pl. VI. 6) shows a spittoon placed beside the couch.

The Elephant-rider type has nothing particular to indicate. It is reminiscent of mural paintings and those on old Indian round playing-cards.

Different from the bolt-upright, rigid attitude of military men, in the Swordsman type the king wears his sword with ease and an air of distinction. (12—15, 16) are attractive coins.

REVERSE TYPES.

Some of these being common to several obverse types, they can be considered by categories, which are few.

The throned "goddesses" are conventional in style. Though largely formal, the figures are not unattractive, (1—1), (4—1, 2) and (Pl. VII. 10). The design is harmonious.

Lakshmi seated on the lotus is in conformity with the religious iconography. The posture is fixed and ritualistic, but not without feminine grace, (6—11), (7—13), (Pl. VI. 8). The lotus petals in (Pl. V. 13) are distinguished from others

by being vertical; also the posture, by having one leg down instead of the usual crossed legs.

The ladies seated on the lions repeat the throned figures. Some of the postures are unusual and charming, (9—10), (14—9), (Pl. VI. 9).

Those seated on wicker chairs in the *Vīṇā* type again repeat the throned figures, the position being sideways. Similarly seated ones in the Horse-rider type, however, make a departure by emerging into the freedom of natural action. Seemingly the same, there are gradations in action and differences of mood. Some of the ladies are slim and dainty, some full-bodied, some voluptuous, but all are lively and graceful, and to this the designs owe their beauty, (5—8), (9—16, 17), (10—1, 2, 4, 13), (13—1, 8, 11, 13, 14), (Pl. VIII. 11, 12) and (Pl. VI. 11).

Of the standing female figures, those in the *Kācha* type are derived from the throned figures, as those in *Kumāragupta I's* Tiger-Hunter type are from the figures in his Horse-Rider type, and the front-view ones in the *Chhattra* type from the lotus-seated *Lakshmi*. The other figures in the *Chhattra* type, along with that in *Samudragupta's* Tiger-Hunter type, and those on the *Aśvamedha* coins, comprise a distinct class. Finely proportioned and lissom, full of marvellous grace and with faces sweetly serene, they are compellingly winsome, (8—7), exquisitely willowy, (2—14). (5—9, 12), (8—9), (Pl. V. 5), represent these beautiful women, beautiful physically and in their refinement and dignity.

* * * *

The art of the coins, which the life of the times inevitably created, has given us some glimpses of that life. Its keynote was rational living, with full consciousness of higher purposes. The free and vigorous spirit reflects a general feeling of security, in which alone could be developed all those activities that go to form a highly advanced civilization and culture. Racial and sectarian distinctions were adjusted, and the wordly life united with the spiritual.

Gupta coins have much more to disclose than this. Only a few leading features have here been adumbrated, and further research is needed. In what way Gupta coins are artistic, what led to their being so, and what purpose their art had to serve, can be appreciated adequately only when we have searched for their meaning as fully as possible. And the meaning arises from the thought and feeling of the race itself.

READING OF DATES ON SOME WESTERN KSHATRAPA COINS

BY J. N. BANERJEE, M.A., PH.D., CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

It is a fact well-known to all numismatists that most of the Satrapal coins found in Western India contain dates in Śaka era, which have thrown a flood of light on their history. Generally, these dates are clearly legible; but there are cases where the numeral signs are imperfectly preserved and indistinct. This has led to doubt and confusion regarding particular points of Satrapal chronology. Thus, one sign on a coin of Jivadāman, son of Dāmaghsada, issued by him as a Mahākshatrapa, stands distinctly for '100', but we are not certain whether there were no further symbols on it standing for a 'unit' and a 'ten.' This and other considerations have led to difference of opinion among numismatists regarding the chronological order of Jivadāman and his uncle Rudrasimha, a second son of the great satrap Rudradāman I. This problem of succession has not been satisfactorily solved as yet.

I wish to point to two other dates, one on a coin of Saṅghadāman as Mahākshatrapa, and the other on an issue of Viśvasimha in the same capacity. Saṅghadāman was the son of Rudrasimha I, and succeeded to his brother Rudrasena I, another son of the latter, as Mahākshatrapa. His reign seems to have been a short one, for his silver coins usually bear dates 144 and 145. He could not have held the office long after the expiry of a few months of the latter year, for coins of the next Mahākshatrapa Dāmasena, another brother of Rudrasena I, bearing the date 145 are known. Now this particular coin of Saṅghadāman, to which reference is made here, is in the collection of the Watson Museum, Rajkot, and Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar read the date 149 on it.¹ But there are legitimate grounds for doubting this reading, for, as we have just shown, Dāmasena who succeeded his brother Saṅghadāman in the year 145, held the office until 158, the dates on his coins falling between 145 and 158.

Much later in the line of Chashtaṇa, we find Viśvasimha, the son of Rudrasena II, serving as Kshatrapa under his father from the years 197 to 199. According to Rapson, he held the lower office till 200 or possibly 201. Rapson could

1. *A. S. I. A. L.*, 1913-14, p. 232.

not read dates on any of the coins struck by Visvasimha I as Mahākshatrapa; but Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar read 200 on one such coin, now in the collection of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. His rule as Mahākshatrapa, however, was short-lived. The Sarvania hoard contains a few coins issued by his brother—successor Bhartridāman with the date 204. Thus, on the face of this evidence, it seems that Viśvasimha ruled as a Mahākshatrapa only for 3 or 4 years. Now here comes the other coin, the reading of the date on which is untenable. This was one among a hoard of 520 coins in the Junagadh State treasury, on which Mr. G. V. Acharya read the date as 211.¹ But we have just now shown that Mahākshatrapa Viśvasimha was succeeded by his brother a little before 204, and Viśvasimha could not have been ruling as Mahākshatrapa as late as the year 211. Thus, Mr. Acharya's reading of the date on this particular coin of Mahākshatrapa Viśvasimha is also suspect.



1. *Numismatic Supplement*, XLVII, JRASB, 1937, pp. 97-8.

A UNIQUE GOLD COIN OF NASIRUDDIN MAHMUD, SULTĀN OF MĀ'BAR.

C. R. SINGHAL, PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM, BOMBAY.

The detailed history of the Sultāns of Mā'bar is given by the traveller Ibn-Batūta and other contemporary works, which have thrown some light on the remote and short-lived life of this dynasty. For the information of our readers it would be sufficient to state that the rulers of this dynasty, who could wield power for about 50 years in the 14th century A. D., were masters of the long strip of land on the Eastern coast of Southern India including the town of Madura. It is said that although parts of Southern India were in the possession of the Hindu kings, Madura remained a dependency of Delhi until the earlier portion of Muhammad Tughlaq's reign and this fact is proved by a unique gold coin of this ruler wherein the mint name is Mā'bar and it is dated 730 A. H. (D. M. C.No. 476B). The name of Governor of Mā'bar, who threw off his allegiance to the throne of Delhi, and thus founded the dynasty of the Sultāns of Mā'bar, was Jalālud-din Ahsan Shāh. Ahsan Shāh, who was the father-in-law of the traveller Ibn-Batuta, made Madura his capital in the year 1336 A. D. and reigned for 5 years. He was succeeded by a line of about nine rulers and Sultān Nasiruddin Mahmud Ghāzi, whose coin forms the subject of this paper, was sixth in the order. He was a domestic servant at Delhi and when his uncle Dāmghān Shāh became the ruler of Mā'bar, he disguised himself as a beggar and ran to Mā'bar. After the death of his uncle, who left no male issue, he succeeded him in the year 745 A. H. 1344 A. D. He inaugurated his reign by killing those officers whom he thought to be in his way, among them the husband of his uncle's daughter, whom he married forthwith. It was during his reign that Ibn-Batuta left the shores of Mā'bar forever. He was succeeded by three more rulers whose history is shrouded in mystery, and it was the rising Hindu state of Vijayanagara which put an end to the ephemeral Muslim kingdom of Mā'bar in the year 1378 A. D.

The subject of the coins of this kingdom was first touched by Captain Tufnell in his "Hints to Coin-Collectors in Southern India" as early as 1889. In 1894 Mr. C. J. Rodgers contributed an excellent paper to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 64, in which he described and illustrated 36 coins sent to him by Rev. J. Tracy of Kodaikanal. In the

Indian Antiquary for 1902 Messrs. Rangachari and Desikachari gave a list of 25 coins, about half of which belong to the Sultāns of Delhi. These coins were not illustrated. It was in the year 1909 that Prof. E. Hultzsch contributed an exhaustive article on these coins to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. In this article he has dealt with the short history and coinage of these rulers and has illustrated 22 coins. Last but not the least, Moulvi Shamsuddin Ahmed contributed an article on "Some New Dates and Varieties of the Coinage of the Sultāns of Madura", in the Numismatic Supplement No. XLV (319) for 1934. In this article he has described and illustrated three coins of Ahsan Shāh and two of Mubārak Shāh. All these writers have described most of the coins in copper with a few exceptions in silver, but none of them have described a single gold coin. Prof. Hultzsch has given the legend of a gold coin, which is supposed to have been struck by the founder of the dynasty, Ahsan Shāh. He says that this coin has not been recovered so far, but that it was actually struck by Ahsan Shāh is testified by his son-in-law Ibn-Batūta. Looking to these facts Mr. R. G. Gyani, the Curator of the Prince of Wales Museum of Bombay, who acquired this unique coins, deserves our congratulations.

The full features of the coin are described below :—

Weight, 169 grs. Size, one inch.

Obverse	السلطان الاعظم	Reverse.	وارث
	ناصر الدين والدين	In Circle.	ملك سليمان
	ابوالمظفر محمود غازي		ناصر امير
	دامغان شاه		المومنين
	السلطان		
	In margin.	ضرب هذه السكة بعضرت دارالملك معبر	
		سنة ست واربعين و سبعمائة	

Pl. X. 1 (pencil rubbing)

Pl. X. 2 (photograph).

Translation of Obv.: The supreme Sultān, helper of the world and religion, father of the conqueror, Mahmūd Ghāzi Dāmghān Shāh, the Sultan.

Translation of Rev: In circle. 'Heir to the country of Soloman, helper of the Commander of the Faithful.

In margin: This coin was struck at the capital of the country of Mā'bar, in the year 746 A. H., 1345 A. D.

The date on this coin is also unique because the coins of this ruler published so far bear the date 745 A. H.

only. The name of the country of Mā'bar is also noteworthy on this coin. Instead of inscribing the mint name Madura, where the coin must have been actually minted, the coin bears the name of the country and not the name of the capital town. This is a very curious incident in the history of numismatics and is not found on any other coin of this country. This also shows that though the capital of the country was Madura, the name of this small territory as Mā'bar was more popular than the capital itself, and hence the coin was struck in the name of the country and not in the name of the capital town. Prof. Hultzsch says that these Sultāns should be called the Sultans of Madura and not of Mā'bar, as said by other authors. To support this point he argues that the capital town of the Sultāns was Madura, and Mā'bar was the name of the country which comprised Coromandal Coast and some other places. But the discovery of the name Mā'bar on this coin proves that though Madura was the capital town, the coastal area on the East was popularly known by the name of Mā'bar in the 13th and 14th centuries of our Era. Hence these rulers should be called the Sultāns of Mā'bar and not of Madura. It is said in history that the coasts of India, which are known by the name of Coromandal and Karnatak, were called as Mā'bar by the Arabs and Persians during the 13th and 14th cent. A.D. It was also called the Key of India by another author.

KHAIRTAL HOARD OF THE COINS OF MAHENDRĀDITYA

BY V. P. RODE, M.A., NAGPUR.

On the 5th of August 1948 one Manglu of the village Khairtal in the Balodā-Bazar tahsil of the Raipur District, C.P., discovered a lot of 54 gold coins in the field of one Mst. Chandā of that village, while he was ploughing it.

The Sub-divisional officer, who is dealing with this case, sent the whole lot to Nagpur Museum for expert examination. But before it could be sent to the Museum one coin was melted away and one was cut into three pieces. There are now only 52 entire coins in the lot.

All these 52 gold coins are in an excellent state of preservation. They are round in shape and are manufactured from thin sheets of base gold. They are all single-die coins with the device and the legend embossed on the obverse. The reverse is blank. They measure from .78 to .87 inches in diameter and weigh from 19 to 20.2 grains each. They bear on the obverse, inside the circle of dots along the edge, Garuḍa standing on a horizontal line with wings spread out. To his proper right are the Crescent-Moon and a Chakra encircled by dots and to his proper left the Sun symbol and a Śaṅkha. Below the line is the legend "*Śrī Mahendrāditya*" in the box-headed characters of the 5th-6th century A.D. Below the legend are a cluster of seven dots and a letter 'ru'(?); in one case the latter looks like *u* or *d*.

A coin of this type is in the Lucknow Museum. But its provenance is not known. Shri Prayag Dayal published it in the *N.S.* XLIV. He has identified it as a gold token of Kumāragupta I. Shri. Ajit Ghose, who wrote a note on it in the *N.S.* XLVI, suggested its ascription to Kumāragupta of the Bhitari seal.

The present coins show two varieties of the above coin-type. The coins of the first variety, which is an earlier variety, are coming to light for the first time. The find contains eight specimens of this variety. This new variety differs from the known variety in that it has the figure of Garuḍa which may be mistaken for that of a winged lion. The Chakra looks like a lotus-flower with a short stalk. The Śaṅkha has the opening on the left (Pl. IX-B, 1). The legend on these coins is in the box-headed characters which resemble

those of the Pīpardulā grant of king Narendra of Śarabhapur family.

The coins of the second variety, to which the Lucknow Museum coin belongs, show a crude representation of the figure of Garuḍa. The Saṅkha of this variety has the opening on the right. Forty-two pieces belong to this variety. They can be divided into two groups. The coins of the first group (Pl. IX B, 2-5) bear the legend in the early form of the box-headed characters, while those of the second group (Pl. IX B, 6-9) have the legend in the later form of those characters. The characters of the legend on the coins of the first group resemble those of the copper plates of Narendra, Mahā-Jayarāja, Mahā-Sudeva, and Mahā-Pravararāja and those of the coins of Prasannamātra. The coins of the second group bear the legend in the characters which resemble those of the Rājīm and Balodā plates of Tīvaradeva (c. 530-550 A. D.).

Shri. Prayag Dayal ascribed the Lucknow Museum piece to Kumāragupta I. Shri Ajit Ghose, who rejected its ascription to Kumāragupta I on palæographical grounds, suggested that it may be ascribed to a ruler of the 6th-7th century, who may have taken the title of "Mahendrāditya", possibly Kumāragupta of the Bhitari seal. In the absence of my coin of this type bearing the legend "Śrī Mahendrāditya" in the box-headed characters of the 5th century, we could not definitely ascribe this coin-type to Kumāragupta I. The present find contains the coins of the early variety of the type, which are coming to light for the first time, and which can be taken as the issues of Kumāragupta I, who may have issued them towards the middle of the 5th century for circulation in the Dakṣiṇa-Kośala province. We know that Mahendrāditya was the title of Kumāragupta I and coins of this variety bear the legend in the characters of the 5th century A. D. We can therefore ascribe these pieces to him.

The coins of the second variety appear to have been in circulation in the 5th and 6th century A.D. They must have continued to be minted for over a period of 150 years. The specimens of the first group must have been current along with the coins of Prasannamātra. The later specimens may be taken as the currency of Tīvaradeva and his successors, whose other coins are so far not known.

Prin. Mirashi in his article on the gold coins of the three Nala kings has shown that they resemble in many

respects the silver coin of Prasannamātra, published by Pandit L. P. Pandeya, and the Lucknow Museum piece bearing the legend "Sri Mahendrāditya". As the provenance of that piece was not known, the type could not be assigned to any particular area. Now as we know that the present coins have been found in Chhattisgarh, we can assign it to that area. We have seen that this coin-type was current in Chhattisgarh for a fairly long period. Its influence is clearly seen on the issues of Prasannamātra and the three Nala kings. Prasannamātra imitated for his coinage the type which Kumāragupta I had first introduced on his thin gold issues.

The find is interesting as it contains the specimens of the hitherto unknown variety of the type of Kumāragupta I's thin gold coins. It is important as it throws a new light on the history of the coinage of Dakṣiṇa-Kośala or Chhattisgarh.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

There is a cleavage of opinion as to whether the coins or tokens discussed in this paper were issued by Kumāragupta I or by some other ruler, either belonging to the Gupta or some other dynasty. I think that under the present circumstances it is difficult to arrive at any definite conclusion on the point. The following considerations would suggest that the pieces were issued by the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I :—

1. The palæography of the coins shows that they were issued in the 5th century A. D. We know of no other king in any other dynasty in southern Kośala or Central India or C.P. who bore this name, who could have issued these coins. King Mahendrāditya of South Kośala, defeated by Samudragupta, would be too early for this type.

2. In the Gupta dynasty, there were two and perhaps three Kumāraguptas. But later Gupta kings generally contented themselves with a slavish imitation of the Archer type; they did not venture on any numismatic innovations. Kumāragupta I, on the other hand, introduced a large number of absolutely new types, as is now shown by the coins of the Bayana hoard. He may therefore well have issued the present type as well.

3. The type is an imitation of the device occurring on one of the copper coins of Chandragupta II, where we have the reverse field divided into two parts, the lower part being occupied by the legend giving the name of the

king and the upper part showing Garuḍa with outstretched wings, as we find on the present series of coins, see *B.M.C. G.D.*, Pl. XI. 1-9.

4. The Nala kings Varāharāja, Bhavadatta and Arthapati, who flourished in South Kośala at about the middle of the 5th century, are known to have copied this type, only substituting Bull, the emblem of their dynasty for Garuḍa, which was the emblem of the Guptas. So far no contemporaries of the Guptas are known to have issued any gold currency of their own. It is unlikely that the Nala mint masters could have shown the capacity to evolve this type independently. It is more probable that Kumāragupta I had first issued the type and that it was later imitated by the Nalas.

The above arguments however are not conclusive. Thus as to No. 1, it may be observed that Mahendrāditya is not an unusual name and some king or kings of other dynasties also may have adopted it. As to No. 3, it may be pointed out that Gupta types have been imitated by the Hūṇa kings for their silver and copper issues; and so the mere occurrence of the Gupta device need not be taken as a conclusive proof of the coin being issued by a Gupta emperor. As to No. 4, it may be pointed out that the Nala kings may themselves have borrowed the type from the kings of Śarabhapura, one of whom Prasannamātra is also known to have issued a coin of this type. Prasannamātra may not have been the only king of the dynasty to issue coins; others also may have done the same. As to No. 2, it may be pointed out that though it is unlikely that Kumāragupta II or III could have issued these coins, it seems improbable that Kumāragupta I could have issued them, though he is famous for the originality of his coin types. The following arguments may be adduced in support of this view :—

1. The Gupta gold coinage has some definite characteristics; no king is known to have issued a type weighing less than 100 grains, or having a blank on one side. It is therefore unlikely that the coins of the present type, which weigh only about 20 grains and are blank on one side, could have been issued by any Gupta emperor.

2. Supposing that Kumāragupta I had issued these coins, it is rather difficult to explain why their coin type should not have been continued by his successors. They were hard hit by the Hūṇa invasions and other troubles and were driven to issue a currency, heavily adulterated. Had Kumāragupta I already issued these light gold pieces, they

would have certainly not failed to follow his example in order to tide over their financial difficulties.

3. The types of Gupta silver coinage were often local ; the Guraḍa reverse was not current in the home provinces or the Fan-tail peacock reverse in the western provinces. But the types of the gold coinage were not local ; they were current throughout the empire. It is therefore difficult to understand that if Kumāragupta I had really issued the present type, why its specimens should not be found elsewhere in the Gupta empire. In the Bayana hoard, we have found about 600 coins of Kumāragupta I ; they disclose many new types, but no specimen of the present type is known. It is difficult to understand that the unknown owner of the Bayana hoard, who seems to have taken care to include almost all known types of the Gupta gold coins, should not have collected and kept at least some of this type. In the Bharsar hoard found in Benares district there were 160 gold coins ; a large number of them belonged to Kumāragupta I, Skandagupta and Prakāśāditya. But the hoard did not have a single coin of the present type. The hoards found at Hughli, Tanda (U. P.) and Mirzapur (U. P.) also contained coins of Kumaragupta I, but none of them was of the present type ; *B.M.C.G.D.*, pp. cxxvi ff.

4. It is now definite that the present type was confined to south Kośala, and there is no sufficient evidence to prove that this province was included in the empire directly administered by Kumāragupta I. Samudragupta had defeated its king but had reinstated him.

5. If, therefore, we suppose that these coins were issued by Kumāragupta I, the present evidence would tend to suggest that they were current only in south Kośala, which was not included in his kingdom, and were altogether unknown in the provinces directly governed by him. This would look improbable.

6. The present type bears the closest resemblance to the silver coin of Prasannamātra, published by Mr. Pande in the *Proceedings of the 5th (Lahore) Session of the Oriental Conference*, pp. 466 ff. It is no doubt in silver, but it has Guraḍa in the upper half as on the present coins. Mr. Pande's view that the main emblem on this coin may be either Guraḍa or Lakshmī is untenable ; it is decidedly Guraḍa as on the present coin. Further, as on the present coins, on the coin of Prasannamātra there is a *Sankha* or conch on one side and *chakra* or discus on the other. No doubt, Prasannamātra's coin has no crescent and sun as on the present coins, but that is a minor variation.

All things considered I am at present inclined to think that the present coins were not issued by any Gupta emperor, but were the issues of some ruler in Mahākośala, who had adopted the *biruda* of Mahendrāditya. It is not improbable that he may have borrowed the device from the Gupta coinage. But this also is not quite certain. The device was confined to the very scarce copper coinage of Chandragupta II. Copper coins do not travel long and it may well be doubted whether the above copper coins of Chandragupta had ever been known to the residents or rulers of South Kośala. The seals on the plates of the house of Prasannamātra were like the present coin type divided into two parts, the upper one having a Garuḍa or Gajalakṣmī, and the lower one the name of the issuer. It is quite possible that the idea of the division of the field into two such parts may have occurred independently to the Guptas and the rulers of South Kośala.

I do not think it possible to agree with Mr. Rode in thinking that the coins of this hoard can be sub-divided into two varieties, the first one being issued by Kumāragupta I and the second by kings of South Kośala, who ruled in the 5th and the 6th centuries. I do not think that the Garuḍa on the first variety looks like a winged lion, as maintained by Mr. Rode. The palæographical difference between this variety and the second one is not so striking as to justify their ascription to a period about 100 years later. Further, palæography in the case of coins is rather an inconclusive argument, when the difference is only of about a hundred years. There is not sufficient evidence to show why the coins of Mahendrāditya should have been blindly copied by a number of kings of Kośala, without even a change of name. No gold type of any famous Gupta emperors like Samudragupta or Chandragupta II is known to have been mechanically copied by the rulers of any later house for a number of generations without even introducing the names of the issuers. It is no doubt true that the conch in the first variety is opening to left and that on the other varieties is opening on the right. But such a variation is possible on the sub-varieties of one and the same ruler as well. It is true that in Indian numismatics some coin types like those of Sāmantadeva were no doubt mechanically copied by succeeding kings. But the present type does not appear to me to be belonging to that rare category.

SOME GOLD COINS OF THE KADAMBAS OF GOA

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The five gold coins, published in this paper, are from the coin cabinet of Rao Raje Vasudev Atmaram Deshprabhu, of Pedne, near Goa; they were found by him while doing some repairs to a temple in that place. At my request, Mr. Deshprabhu kindly supplied me with lac impressions of these¹, and I am indebted to him for kindly allowing me to publish them here.

(1) A COIN OF JAYAKESIN II

Size, .8"; weight, 89 grains.

Obv : Within a circle of dots near the margin, Lion facing left with one of his front legs upraised. On the left legend in old Kannaḍa characters,

Angira.

Rev : Within a circle of dots, legend in Nāgarī characters :—

1. श्री सप्तको-
2. टीशलब्धवर-
3. विरजयकेशि-
4. देव मलव-
5. हरमरि

Pl. X, 3

The fabric of the coin is the same as that of the other coins of this ruler published before. It differs from them in having the cyclic year Angira on the obverse. Hitherto his coins struck in the years Pramoda² and Vijaya³ only were known. This coin therefore is a new variety.

1. As the coins could not be sent out of the Portuguese territory on account of the Customs regulations, impressions from these were taken on lac, treating each coin as if it were a signet ring and impressing it on hot sealing wax. Plaster casts from these were made at Poona and used for illustrations.

2. Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, Plate II, No. 71.

3. Moraes, *Kadamba-kula*, Plate 51. On Pl. 50 in this book a coin is ascribed to Jayakesin II, which however belongs to Śivachitta. See G. H. Khare, "Numismatic Notes", *BISMQ*, Vol. XIX, p. 162. The cyclic year on this coin appears to be a jumbled spelling of बहुधान्य which is written as बा ब (हु) न्य. Or is it the name of शिवचित्त ?

(2) A COIN OF SOYIDEVA (?)

Size, .8" ; weight, 62 grains

Obv : Within a dotted border, lion facing left as on No. 1 above.

Nāgarī legend to left, **श्री**

Rev : Within a circle of dots, Nāgarī legend,

1. श्री सप्तको-

2. टीक्ष्णचरण-

3. लब्धवरीर-

4. सोयिदेव

Pl. X, 4

This coin is somewhat worn and the reading is not altogether free from doubt. Its fabric however is similar to another coin of Soyideva, published by Elliot.¹ The cyclic year, which appears to be different, is written in old Kannaḍa characters and not in Nāgarī.

(3) UNIDENTIFIED COINS OF THE LATER KADAMBAS

Size, .45" ; weight, 45 grains.

Obv : Lion walking to left, with a flag-staff and flowing banner in front.

Rev : Within a dotted border, symbol at the top and legend in Nāgarī characters :—

1. श्री मलह-

2. रमारि

Pl. X, 7

No. 4.

Size, .43" ; weight, 43 grains.

Obv : Lion standing left in front of a temple with tall spire.

Rev : Same as on No. 3. Pl. X, 5

,, No. 4.

No. 5.

Size, .45" ; weight, 43 grains

Obv : Lion standing left in front of a *Chhatra* with staff.

Rev : Same as on No. 3. Pl. X 6

Though the name of the king or the dynasty does not occur on any of the three coins, their provenance and the title on the reverse makes it certain that they belong to one of the later Kadamba kings of Goa ; exact attribution however is uncertain at present. The title *Malaharamārī* was first used by Jayakeśin to mark his victory over the

1. Elliot, *op. cit.*, Plate II, No. 69.

Malavas and has been adopted subsequently by his successors.

Prof. G. M. Moraes has published another coin¹ of this series, where the Lion has in front of him triangular objects at either ends of a stick which has been described as an *ankuśa* (goad).

The *Chhatra* and the banner appearing in front of the Lion indicate sovereignty and the temple in case of coin No. 5 probably represents the shrine of Sapta-koṭiśvara, of whom all the Kadamba kings of Goā were great devotees.

1. Moraes, *op. cit.*, Plate 53.

KASRAWAD HOARD OF SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS.

By D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A., INDORE.

There are thirty-six silver punch-marked coins in the Indore Museum. Twenty-nine of them are said to have been found in the excavations at Kasrawad near Maheshvar in the Indore State during 1936-38 and seven of them were transferred from the Huzur Jawahirkhana Indore to the Museum, in 1939. It is not known when and where the punch-marked coins in the Huzur Jawahirkhana were found. Unfortunately, there is no record to enable us to distinguish the two collections, and they have been intermingled now. It is, therefore, not possible to be definite about the provenance of any particular coin in this collection. But as a majority of these thirty-six coins were found in the excavations at Kasrawad, which have also yielded a number of punch-marked copper coins, uninscribed cast copper coins and 'Ujjain' copper coins, as also many Buddhist antiquities, definitely assignable to the third or second century B. C.¹ they possess both chronological and geographical importance.

Out of the thirty-six coins, one coin is indistinct. The remaining coins, though worn out by use, can well be deciphered. But some of the coins, which are of baser silver, are in an excellent state. Except four coins which are round, they are all square or rectangular.

A close examination of the punch-marked coins, especially when a number of them belong to one variety, is helpful in many ways. It seems that one coin is rarely like another and differs from the others in points of thinness, weight, form and size of the symbols and even in the quality of silver. The minute variants of the symbols of the Sun and the *śaḍdarachakra* are already well known. But some other symbols on the obverse, if minutely observed, also show slight variations. The human figure or Naigameśa, for instance, apparently with the goat (?) head and holding

1. It is now found that the copper coin of Vijayamagha reported to be found in the Kasrawad excavations (*J. N. S. I.*, Vol. VIII, p. 90) was brought from Kosam and intermingled with the copper coins found in the excavations at Kasrawad and kept in the Museum. The difficulty as to how to account for the existence of a coin of Vijayamagha in the Kasrawad hoard of 'Ujjain' coins, which was somehow explained by us, in a back number of this *Journal*, (Vol. VIII p. 90), is now removed and the Kasrawad hoard can definitely be assigned to the 2nd cent. B. C.

a cudgel in the left hand, is of different sizes and forms. The symbols on the reverse however do not show any variations.

The second point to be noted is that though on some coins the five symbols on the obverse are distinctly and separately punched, in majority of cases there is an overlapping of adjacent symbols, which consequently become partly indistinct. This however sometimes enables us to know the order of the punching of the symbols on the particular coin. The symbols of the Sun and the *Shadurachakra* are, with rare exceptions, usually found on each coin in our hoard. One may be therefore inclined to assume that they must have been punched before the rest. It is however found that they are sometimes punched later and on other symbols. So, not only do we find the Homo sign punched on the Sun and the *Shadurachakra*, **Pl. IX A, 4, 5.** and the Dog on the Sun (**Pl. IX A, 6**), but we find that the Sun was punched on Elephant and the Crescented hill (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4) **Pl. IX A, 1** and the *Shadurachakra* was punched on the Mountain (No. 6), on Tree (No. 25), and on Elephant (No. 35) **Pl. IX A, 10.** This adds to the difficulty of fixing the order of the five symbols in a particular variety. But still the order of succession of the five symbols can best be settled by examining carefully a very large number of coins of a particular variety in different hoards, e. g. 337 coins in the Rairh hoard corresponding to Class 2, gr. II, var. 2 of *B. M. C. A. I.*

The third point to be noted is that the difference in weight even in the coins of the same variety cannot be attributed either to the wear and use or to the different denominations. We know that the punches were first punched into a silver plate, not of uniform thickness or of the same touch of silver and afterwards the required pieces, expected to weigh near about the standard weight, were roughly cut out of the plate by scissors. As a result of this, very often the piece cut out could preserve only parts of the symbols. Secondly, while cutting out the piece, it was not possible to be quite accurate about the weight of the pieces. It seems therefore that the people in those days were not very particular, if a piece weighed slightly more or less than the standard weight. But if the weight was considerably more than the required weight, a portion of the corner of the piece was cut. The bankers might have been doing the business of testing the silver and calculating the weight of the coin, as was upto recent times being done when they had to deal with

coins of different Indian States. It seems that in the days when the punch-marked coins were in circulation, it was the policy of the State, Imperial or Provincial, not to interfere with the banking business of the people. This would explain the slight difference in weight between different pieces of the same variety, which are equally well preserved and do not show any perceptible difference of wear and use. We know that the coins of class II, group X variety b, for instance of the Patraha hoard¹ vary in weight between 46.6 and 53 grains, having the difference of 5.4 grains. Similarly, the ten coins of one variety in the present hoard vary in weight between 54 and 48 grains and nine coins of another variety vary in weight between 52 and 48 grains. This difference in weight is so much that it cannot be attributed to the wear and use, as suggested by Mr. Parmeshvarilal Gupta², as the good condition of most of the coins shows. This difference in weight is again so little that it cannot be explained by the theory that the pieces concerned belong to different denominations, as suggested by Mr. S. N. Chakravarti³. But it is not to be supposed that different denominations of the punch-marked coins did not exist. Some copper punch-marked coins with identical symbols are found, which weigh 58.37 and 30 grains. Such a difference cannot but be due to different denominations. Similarly silver punch marked coins weighing about 25 grains are obviously half *kāraḥāpaṇas*⁴. Silver punch-marked coins also were therefore of different denominations. But the question requires to be studied more carefully, especially by the examination of a number of coins of one variety.

The fourth point to be noticed is that the quality of the metal is not always the same even in the same variety of the type of coins. There are some coins in the present collection in the lot of ten (Nos. 9 to 18), which are apparently of impure silver. Curiously enough, these coins as far as the metal is concerned, closely resemble some coins in the other lot of nine coins which are of a different variety (Nos. 25 to 33). Can it not be supposed from this that these two varieties belonged to Mālwa?

The mystery of the symbols is still unsolved. If they were put by bankers, should there be only five symbols on the coins issued by thousands of bankers trading throughout the country, when communications were very difficult

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1. *Memoirs of the A. S. I.* No. 62 p. 41.
 2. *J. N. S. I.* Vol. VIII, p. 120.
 3. *J. B. B. R. A. S. N. S.*, XX, p. 84.
 4. *B. M. C. A. I.* pp. 4-7.

and monarchies were many? Who laid down this convention? If the punch-marked pieces carried the metal value only, where was the necessity of the symbols? All such questions require careful consideration.

I now proceed to describe the coins.

Variety 1; coins Nos. 1, 2, 3. No. 2 is Pl. IX A, 1.
Size¹: 6", .5", .6". Weight: 48½, 50, 49½ grains.

The obverse symbols are, Sun, *Shadurachakra*, Crescented three arched hill, Elephant and Dog, and on the reverse Crescented three arched hill. Two varieties of the symbol of the Sun are found in this collection, one having the central portion as a solid circle and the other having a dot within a circle. The symbol of the *Shadurachakra* has similarly two forms at the central portion. It is also seen that if the form of the Sun is solid, that of the *Shadurachakra* is also the same. Three varieties of the symbol of *Shadurachakra* are found on the coins in this collection, the most common one having in addition to the usual three arrow heads, three taurines. But sometimes the three hollow Ovals (coins Nos. 4, 9, 34) and sometimes three Ovals containing very small taurines inside (coin No. 8) are found. Since a very large number of symbols are found on the punch marked coins, and one symbol again has many varieties, it may be suggested that time has now come for the numismatists interested in the punch-marked coinage to sit together and prepare an authoritative list of the various symbols punched on the coin for easy reference to the students of the subject.

Variety 2; coins Nos. 4, 5, 6.
Size: .7", .7", .6"½. Weight: 48, 52, 50 grains.

These coins have the same symbols on the obverse and the reverse but the last coin has the additional symbol of triskelis in a circle.

Variety 3; coin No. 7. Pl. IX A, 2.
Size: 7½", weight: 47½ grains.

This coin has on the obverse and reverse the same symbols as the above coin No. 1, except that in the case of the fourth symbol on the obverse, there is on our coin a Bull instead of an Elephant. The Bull is facing left, which is unusual. The present coin therefore presents a new variety which may be placed after B. M. C. Class I. var. d.

1. As the sizes are irregular, only the maximum length is given.

2. Same as B. M. C. A. I. Cl. I gr. I B but with different reverse.

3. Cf. B. M. C. A. I. Cl. 2, gr. II, var. a, Patraha hoard II, ii. a. Durgaprasad, pl. XVIII, No. 10.

Variety 4 ; coin No. 8.

Size : .5". Weight : 43 grains.

This coin has on the obverse Sun, *Shadaraachakra*, Crescented three-arched hill, Peacock on mountain, and Steel-yard, and on the reverse, Peacock on mountain. Although we have only one coin of this variety, it is very extensively represented in the Rairh (Jaipur State) hoard, where out of the total of 3075 coins, as many as 337 pieces of this variety were found.

Variety 5 ; coin No. 9.

Pl. IX A, 3.

Size : .7". Weight : 48 grains.

This coin in all respects is like the preceding coin and like the coins of this type in the hoards noted above. But the Steel yard on this coin is facing right, whereas that on the previous coin and on the other coins, it is facing left. My attention was drawn to this minute difference by Mr. P. L. Gupta, who has also pointed out that the variety of this symbol is known only from the Patraha hoard. Though the steel yard of this type is illustrated by Pt. Durga Prasad as symbol No. 114, no coin with it is so far illustrated.

*Variety*¹ 6 ; coins Nos. 10-19. Pl. IXA, 4 is No. 15 and

Pl. IXA, 5, is No. 19.

Pl. IX A, 4, 5.

Sizes : .7", .5", .6", .5", .5", .6", .5½", .5", .6", .6".

Weights : 54, 52, 52, 51, 50, 49, 49, 48, 48, 49 grains.

These ten coins have on the obverse Sun, *Shadaraachakra*, Caduceus, Crescented hill and Homo sign and on the reverse Caduceus.

The symbol of Caduceus is always shown with three circles touching each other on the coins in this collection. The human figure which seems to have a goat's head and a cudgel may represent the god *Naigameśa*². Mr. Allan has however identified the figure as *Kārtikeya*. Mr. P. L. Gupta has suggested that this variety, owing to the presence of the symbol of the human figure, which is also found on 'Ujjain' copper coins (*B. M. C. P.* 248), may be attributed geographically to Central India, more especially because no coin of this variety is found elsewhere in India.

Variety 7 ; coin No. 20.

Size : .5". Weight : 50 grains.

This coin has on its obverse all the symbols as the preceding ones, but has on its reverse the symbols of two

1. *B. M. C. A. I. Cl.* 2, gr. III.

[2. The peculiar head may be due to a crude and unsuccessful effort to show the *śikhā* on the head. *A. S. A*]

Triskelis in addition to the symbol of Caduceus. It has therefore to be taken as a new variety which may be put between *B. M. C. Class 2, group III, vars. f & g, B. M. C. A. I.*, pp. 29, 30.

Variety¹ 8 ; coin No. 21.

Round ; size : .5". Weight : 52 grains.

This is a small round coin. It has on the obverse Sun *Shaḍuraśhakra*, a Jackal looking up at a tree in railing, a sitting Bull with two fish and a Dot surrounded by four taurines, and on the reverse a symbol similar to the last one with a dot surrounded by four taurines. The symbols are considerably overlapping.

Variety² 9 ; coin No. 22.

Round ; size : .6". Weight : 46 grains.

This coin having on the obverse Sun, *Shaḍuraśhakra*, Three-arched crescented hill, a peculiar symbol in a square resembling a haystack on posts (*B. M. C. Intro. p. xxxv Section 36, No. 4*) and a Tree in railing with five taurines around it (*B. M. C. Intro. p. xxxiii, Section 32 No. 2*) and on the reverse a Knob surrounded by taurines (*B. M. C. Intro. p. 59*).

Mr. P. L. Gupta suggests that the fifth symbol is a female figure over a railing with two taurines on each side, and we find on a coin in the Raich hoard (Pl. XXIXA, last var.)

Variety 10 ; coin No. 23.

Round ; size : .7", weight : 52 grains.

Pl. IX A, 6

This coin having on the obverse the Sun, *Shaḍuraśhakra*, a Knob surrounded by taurines, Three-domed symbol, the central dome being taller, and a Dog seizing a hare³ and on the reverse Tree within railing and a Star resembles class 2, group VII, var. k of the *B. M. C.* (p. 50), or Durga Prasad's coin illustrated in *Numismatic Supplement* No. XLV pl. 17, 90. But the symbol of *Shaḍuraśhakra* is differently shown on the latter⁴. The symbols on the reverse of the coins in the *B M C A. I.* are indistinct, while those of Durga Prasad's coin are Leaf, Square with dots inside and an Elephant. Our coin has on the reverse a Tree within

1. Cf. *B. M. C. A. I.*, cl. 2 gr. IV, var. m ; Patraha hoard II, VI, C.

2. Cf. *B. M. C. A. I.*, cl. 2, gr. IV-var. a

3. A copper coin of the Ujjain type found at Kasrawad has an exactly similar symbol of a dog seizing a hare. See *J. N. S. I.* Vol. VIII. pl. VI-8.

[4. In the Introduction at p. lxiii, Mr. Allan corrects the symbol on this type as given at p. 50 of the Catalogue. It is the usual symbol with three arrow heads and three taurines. *A. S. A.*]

railing and a Star. Our coin is round, unlike Durga Prasad's, which is rectangular. It may also be mentioned that on the reverse of our coin a faint Sun mark is also visible, but it is not regularly punched.

Variety 11 ; coin No. 24.

Size : '6" ; weight : 47 grains.

This coin having on the obverse Sun, *Shadurachakra*,¹ Raised grain store, Three in railing and Two fish with a spear head between them, and on the reverse a tree, resembles class 2 group X var. b of *B. M. C. A. I.*, (p. 55, pl. XLII, 25), No. 40 pl. XII of Durga Prasad and II-XII-f of the Patraha hoard. But the tree on the obverse of our coin is within railing, while that in the *B. M. C. A. I.* variety is without it. Secondly in the *B. M. C. A. I.* variety there are two symbols on the reverse, viz. Tree within railing and a flat W-like symbol (*B. M. C. A. I.* p. xxxviii), while on our coin there are only three dots on the reverse, probably representing a leaf of a tree. Four coins of this type found in the Bahal hoard (Bombay Presidency) are noticed by S. N. Chakravarti in his group B class XI and group C class III (*J. B. B. R. S.* Vol. 20, p. 86).

Variety 12, coins Nos. 25-33. Nos. 27 and 33 are *Pl. IX A*, 7, 8.

Size : '7½", '6", '5½", '5½", '5½", '6½", '5", '5½", '5".

Weight : 50, 52½, 50, 50, 48, 49, 49, 49, 49½ grains.

These nine coins having on the obverse Sun, *Shadurachakra*; Tree-branch, *Dhvaja* with a hollow² centre and a Rectangular enclosure containing a *Svastika* and on the reverse, Triskeles and Dumbell. This variety is like *B. M. C.* class 2, group XI var. c (p. 56, pl. VI-22) and Durga Prasad No. 85 pl. XVI. But instead of the symbols of fish in the tank, there are symbols of a *Svastika* and a taurine in the so-called tank in all the nine coins in this collection. The type is more like Durga Prasad's Pl. 16, No. 85 in which only one *Svastika* is contained in the enclosure. Mr. P. L. Gupta informs me that this symbol containing in a rectangular enclosure a *Svastika* and a Taurine is found on a coin from Hinganghat³ in C. P. and on some coins in the coin cabinet of the Bhārat Kālā Bhavan, Benares.

The presence of a *Svastika* and a Taurine in a rectangular enclosure leads us to suppose that what is called a tank may not be a regular tank, but only a square or rectan-

1. This symbol is different from that on the other coins.

2. Only one of the coins has a solid centre.

[3. The *B. M. C.* coin is from Hinganghat and Mr. Gupta is probably referring to it. *A. S. A.*]

gular board on which emblems of fish or taurine or Svastika etc. are painted, sometimes independently or in combination. See *B. M. C. A. I.* p. 301. In one symbol (*B. M. C.* p. 55) there is an arrow between two fish in a socket like enclosure. Another symbol (*B. M. C.* p. xxxiii, pp. 52-3) has a mountain and dumbell combined with two fish in a rectangle (*J. B. B. R. A. S.* Vol. 20, 1944, pl. 1-44). A third symbol (p. xxxiii, p. 39) has a taurine and a dumbell in a rectangle. Some other symbols are seen in which taurines or hare or haystack are contained in a square. In some of Babu Durga Prasad's coins (*Num. sup.* XLV. pl. 16) fish in combination with a bull is shown in a square. Such symbols other than fish dumbell cannot be expected to be in a tank. It is therefore better to name the symbol as a board painted with emblems like fish dumbell, etc, rather than a tank with fish. The symbol of a river with fish, so often found on tribal coins is, of course, out of consideration. The presence of *Svastika* emblems on the Kasrawad coins is significant. For we know that the *Svastika* was very commonly used on copper coins and potsherds found in the excavations at Kasrawad.

Variety 13; coin. No. 34.

Size: round, .75"; weight 31 grains.

Pl IX A, 9

This coin having on the obverse Sun, *Shadaraachakra*, Elephant, *Dhvaja* with solid centre and with two taurines and Mountain with four taurines and on the reverse, various punches, one of them being a tree, is like *B. M. C.* class 6, group 1, var. h. (p. 63, pl. VIII-21). Our coin is round and of thin and broad fabrication. Two coins of this variety are found in the Bahal hoard (A-III-1).

Variety 14; coin No. 35.

Size: .6", weight: 52 grains.

Pl. IX A, 10.

This coin has on the obverse Sun, *Shadaraachakra*, *Dhvaja* with a solid centre and with two taurines, Bull on mountain and an Elephant. On the reverse there are three symbols, one being a hill and the other two being flowers. It is like *B. M. C.* class 6, group II var. e (p. 65) though Mr. Allan has identified the bull only and has missed the hill portion thereof. This variety is well known and is found in the Taxila, Patraha, Rairh and Bahal hoards and from Durga Prasad's collection¹.

1. I am thankful to Dr. A. S. Altekar and Mr. P. L. Gupta for kindly going through my article and making valuable suggestions. Dr. Altekar's anxiety to see every statement made in the article accepted for publication in the Journal to be as faultless as possible is well known.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS,

(At the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India held at Delhi University on 27-12-1948.

BY DR. N. P. CHAKRAVARTI,
Director-General of Archæology in India.

It gives me great pleasure to be associated with this distinguished gathering of Indian numismatists to-day and to inaugurate this annual session of the Numismatic Society of India. I recognise the special importance of your subject as occupying an important place in the field of Indian archæology. Unfortunately it is not often appreciated that coins in gold, silver, copper and any other metal constitute the most authoritative, varied and interesting source of the history of a country. With the establishment of an agency to investigate and survey the ancient historical material of India in the latter half of the 19th century under the direction of Sir Alexander Cunningham, Indian archæological material began to be assembled with astounding richness; and a very important share of this material was in the form of the monetary issues of many dynasties and rulers that have ruled this land of ours. From about the 6th century B. C. to the period of the East India Company, the flood of the numismatic material that was pouring in made every one realise at the very outset that the subject of numismatics was destined to play a conspicuous role in the reconstruction of Indian history and therefore must be cultivated on firm scientific lines under the same accredited methods as applied to the other branches of archæology.

The realisation of this truth was responsible for the foundation of the Numismatic Society of India by early savants and historians; and the small team of foundational members who assembled at Allahabad in 1910 to organise this body must have felt amply pleased that the sapling of the knowledge which they planted with such care has today grown into an important tree of which the fruits for the promotion of science of national history have been very valued. Speaking on behalf of the Department of Archæology I can state with assurance that all the officers and workers of the Survey are one with you in appreciating the high value of this branch of knowledge and on behalf of the Department I assure you its co-operation to the fullest extent.

There is no doubt that the Numismatic Society of India representing as it does the united voice of the many museums, archæological departments and research workers in the country, have now reached a stage when we should not only take stock of its past achievements as to how much has been accomplished, but at the same time map out an even more glorious future. In this connection I would like to make three suggestions for your worthy consideration. Our first need is an exhaustive survey of the material that is deposited in the various coin cabinets¹. This work of the exploratory character must be undertaken as being preliminary to all subsequent research. It is known to many of us that hoards of coins and stray specimens have been pouring in every year and getting deposited in the public and private coin collections but as most of us realise, all this material has not been subjected so far to scientific examination in an exhaustive and comprehensive manner. As a notable instance of this truth, it may be pointed out how the worthy editor of the *Journal of the Numismatic Society*, Dr. A. S. Altekar, by careful scrutiny of the coin cabinet of the Allahabad Municipal Museum, was able to discover the coins of a number of new rulers of Kauśāmbī and surrounding regions and supplied important materials to fill up the so-called dark period of the Indian history after the break of the Kushāṇa Empire. When I had been to Kashmir a few months back, I found several big hoards of coins lying there for the last twenty-five or thirty years without being examined. One good thing is that the hoards have been kept intact and not distributed. I am pleased to be told that Dr. Altekar with his characteristic enthusiasm is carrying out his task ably, though single-handed, and wish that every one of us who is connected with the custody of coins should be infected with the same enthusiasm for the recovery of new and unpublished coin material.

The second suggestion that I would venture to make before you, is the publication of the Corpora of numismatic material relating to the important dynasties of India on the lines of work done elsewhere. You will admit that a stage has been reached in the progress of numismatic research of the country, where such work has become an urgent need and must be fulfilled. I am glad to know from your past deliberations that the Society has already given thought to

[1. It may be pointed out that the Numismatic Society of India has undertaken this work since May 1948 and the collections in the Museums at Lucknow, Bombay, Gwalior and Nagpur have been already scrutinised. The results of this examination have been fruitful and will be soon published in this *Journal*. A. S. A.]

I humbly beg to suggest, besides the plates of coins, plates giving the facsimile of the Kharoshthi, Brāhmī, Kushāna, Pahlavi and Nāgarī legends occurring on the illustrated coins, just as J. de Morgan has done in his *Manuel de Numismatique Orientale*, Paris 1923-1936.

It is regrettable that very few Parsis have become members of the Numismatic Society of India, and that it is rather difficult to persuade others to do so. I think the reason for this seeming apathy is not far to seek. It is the lack of activity of the Society. Except the annual meeting, there is hardly another meeting in the whole year convened for the members in a centre like Bombay, in which new finds of coins, fresh arrival of coins with dealers in coins and antiquities, and such other items can be discussed. Further, the coins, ancient and modern, are not so well exhibited in our different Museums that they can attract the curiosity and awaken interest in the visitors. Our Journal is *per force* too technical and deals rather exclusively with ancient Indian coinage, and therefore, it does not attract ordinary coin-collectors. Of course, Dr. Altekar, the Editor of our Journal, is at present experiencing difficulties with the paper quota and, therefore, cannot afford to waste paper on articles of popular interest. But we rest assured that with the change of this abnormal situation, he will do the needful in this matter.

I shall now give a survey of the Treasure-Trove finds made in different parts of India.

[The address then referred to the new coins discovered in the excavations at Karhad in Bombay presidency and at Shishupalgarh in Orissa, and to the new coins found as Treasure-troves in the U. P. during 1945-7, an account about which has already been subsequently published in the last number of this *Journal* in the Editor's paper on News and Notes, Vol. X, pp. 76-82].

COINS DISCOVERED IN THE HYDERABAD STATE.

The Hyderabad Museum received 882 silver and 1312 copper coins under the Treasure Trove Act, which are being studied at present. Among these, there are some coins of the Golconda dynasty, bearing the Hijri date 1095. According to Mr. Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, the Curator of the Museum, the dates on these coins would justify their ascription to Abul Hasan Tana Saheb, the last ruler of Golconda. A hoard of 321 punch-marked coins was also found in the state.

Mr. Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad writes to me that the mint-name occurring on two coins of Muhammad Shah (1131-

1161 A. H.), which has been deciphered by Dr. Panna Lall as Taramati (*J Num. Soc. of India*, VIII Dec. 1946, pp. 175-176, Pl. XII, Nos. 5 and 6), has not yet been identified and could not be traced in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. He mentions in this connection that Mr. Abdul Wali Khan, Keeper of the coins, Hyderabad Museum, has discovered a similar coin, while scrutinising a hoard of coins found at Pachod in the Shahgadh Jagir, Aurangabad District, which has the mint-name Baramati. This place has been identified by him as a town of the same name in the Bhimthadi Taluq of Poona District, about 50 miles south-east of Poona City.¹ According to the information supplied to him by the Collector of Poona Baramati boasts of an old dilapidated fortress, known as the "Kot" of Babuji Naik (Joshi), the reputed money-lender of the Peshwas built in 1743. Thus a new name has been added to the list of Moghul Mints.

COINS FOUND IN THE INDORE STATE.

During the last three years small hoards of coins were recovered in the Indore State. They were mostly later Moghul coins of the early 19th century.

GOLD COINS OF ŚRĪ MAHENDRĀDITYA

On August 5th 1948, a hoard of 54 gold coins of the Gupta period was discovered at the village of Khairtal in the Baloda Bazar Tahsil of the Raipur District, bearing the legend *Śrī Mahendrāditya* in the box-headed characters. R. B. Prayag Dayal of the Lucknow Museum has identified a coin of this hoard as a gold token of Kumāragupta I. Dr. S. S. Patwardhan, Curator of the Nagpur Museum, informs me further that this is the first find of gold pieces bearing the above legend to be discovered in the Central Provinces and Berar, and that the find is interesting, because it has brought to light several varieties of the type for the first time. I have received in this connection a letter, dated 7-12-48, from Mr. L. P. Pandeya, Hon. Secretary, Mahākośala Historical Society, in which he writes that these gold coins of the Khairtal hoard may safely be attributed to Mahendra, ruler of South Kośala, whose full name might have been *Śrī Mahendrāditya*. Mr. Pandeya quotes the *Raipur District Gazetteer* by A. E. Nelson, vol. A. p. 38 as follows: "Emperor Samudragupta directed his attention to the conquest of the south and the

[1. Khwaja M. Ahmad's paper on this subject was published in April 1949 in *J.N.S.I.*, pp. 61-63 *A.S.A.*]

kingdom of South Kosala, the old name of Chhatisgarh, was the first country he conquered . . . overthrowing its king *Mahendra*", Mr. Pandeya refers to *Kauśika Mahendra* in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. He does not think it convincing to take these coins as tokens of Kumāragupta I on the basis of the identification of a piece of this type of coins by Mr. Prayag Dayal. He writes further that copper-plates in his possession are written in the box-headed script and that on a silver coin in his cabinet, there is the legend *Śrī Prasannamātra* also in box-headed characters, and that the sons and grandsons of this Prasannamātra Mahāpravararāja, Mahāsudevarāja and Mahājayarāja issued their grants from their capitals. Mr. R. G. Gyani, whom I have consulted in this matter, agrees with Mr. Pandeya in taking this Mahendra occurring on the gold coins of Khairtal as the king of South Kosala.¹

COINS DISCOVERED IN ASSAM IN 1947-48.

Mr. P. D. Chaudhuri, Curator of the Assam Provincial Museum, informs me that the following coins were found in the province in the year 1947-48. A square silver coin of Akbar, on which the date and the mint were missing, was found at Jorhat in Assam. It was received for the Museum through the courtesy of Sayed Shams-ul-Huda, Assistant Inspector of Moslem Education, Assam. Further, three gold and five silver coins were found at Demow Rover, Moran Tea Estate. They were received for the Museum through the Manager of the Estate. The silver coins were of the later Moghuls : one coin of Shah Alam, mint Arkat, dated the 4th regnal year, i.e. 1123 A.H., four coins of Muhammad Shah one being of mint Surat, dated the 6th regnal year, two of mint Arkat, dated the 24th and 26th regnal year, and one with mint missing, dated the 23rd regnal year. One of the above-mentioned gold pieces was struck by Gauri Simha and the other two by Lakshmi Simha, two well known Ahom kings of Assam. One coin of Lakshmi Simha is dated Saka 1692 ; on the other the date is missing, whereas that of Gauri Simha bears the date Saka 1707.

CHINESE COINS DISCOVERED IN THE RAIGARH DISTRICT

Dr. V. S. Agrawala, Curator of the Central Asian Antiquities Museum, New Delhi, informs me that three Chinese coins were recently found at Balpur in Raigarh District of C. P. He thinks that they belong to the 11th-12th

[1. Mr. V. P. Rode's paper on this hoard and my observations upon it appear in this number on pp. 139 A.S.A.]

century A. D. and may be treated as evidence of trade relations between India and China in the middle ages.

COINS DISCOVERED IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY

In the course of 1948, the following coins of interest were added to the Government Museum, Egmore, Madras : 63 silver punch-marked coins found as Treasure-trove in the Dharampur Taluk of Coimbatore District, and one gold single-*swāmi* pagoda coin issued by the East India Company, found as Treasure-trove in the Tirukkkoilur Taluk of South Arcot District.

LATEST ACQUISITIONS OF THE PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM.

The coin cabinet of the Prince of Wales Museum is enriched by the following three rare coins purchased recently: A unique gold coin of Mahmud Shah, nephew of Damghan Shah, one of the Sultans of Ma'bar, dated 746 A. H. ; one rare copper coin of Bhāmaka, Kshaharāta ruler of Saurashtra. There exists only one type of this coin in the British Museum. Mr. Singhal will read a note on these coins in this meeting. The third is a rather rare silver coin of Habibullah II of Afghanistan, better known as *Bacha Sago*, who usurped the Afghan throne in 1929.

TREASURE-TROVE FINDS IN BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

In a hoard of 34 gold coins discovered at Targod Hill, Taluka Siddhapur, Kanara District, with the exception of a coin of Tipu Sultan of Mysore, all the rest were of Vijayanagar.

A rare silver coin of Kaumbux, minted at Toragal, was found in a hoard of 262 silver coins discovered at Rahimatpur of the Satara District. All other coins of this hoard were struck by later Moghul Emperors, from Shahjehan to Ahmad Shah.

Two hoards of copper coins were discovered in Bombay Presidency ; one of these contained 290 pieces, of which 43 were struck by Firuz Shah Taghlaq, and the rest were issued by Hoshangshah of Malwa. The other hoard was found in the Hoshangabad District and contained 25 coins of Akbar.

RARE COINS OF HUVISHKA FROM U. P.

Mr. M. M. Nagar, Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow, informs me that a hoard of 110 copper coins of the Imperial Kushānas was found at the village of Bhidwal, Azamgarh.

District, among which there were some rare coins of Huviska holding bow and arrow, and a new type on which the deity could not be identified.

NEW ACQUISITIONS OF THE PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, LUCKNOW.

Mr. M. M. Nagar, Curator of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, informs me that the following rare coins have been acquired for the Museum: (1) A copper coin of Sri Rudra, who is referred to in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, found in Kosambi, District Allahabad; (2) two new coins of Jayamagha also from Kosambi; (3) a gold coin of Huviska, bearing on the obverse bust of the king wearing an Indian Pagdi and on the reverse, four-armed Oesho or Śiva; this type is new and so far unknown; (4) a gold quarter Mohur of Humayun, so far unknown; (5) A gold coin of Aurangzeb-Alamgir from the unknown mint of Blakkar; (6) a gold coin of Shah Alam Bahadur of Multan Mint. This is the second specimen of this coin; one is known to be in the collection of Sir John Stanley.

Notes on these six and other three coins mentioned by me above will be published by Mr. Nagar in the *J. Num. Soc. of India*.

From the brief survey of the new discoveries of stray coins and coin-hoards, you must have judged their importance and historical value. With this in view, I appeal to you, members and friends of the Numismatic Society of India, to be always on your alert on spotting the provenance of the coins offered to you for sale as to whether they come from a treasure-trove find or from a collection about to be dispersed, and above all from saving them from the melting pot. Colonel Allotte de la Fuye, the leading French numismatist and orientalist, used to buy the whole lot of coins of treasure-trove finds, e. g. the coins of Elymais, from the study of which he could systematically classify the coins of different kings and write a memoir on the Kings of Elymais. Similarly, the 178 coins of Tabaristan, which I purchased in 1934 in Teheran, led me to study all coins of this little known series existing in ten great museums of Europe and in private collections in Iran and India and publish the result of this study in *Coins of Tabaristān* in 1938.

Mr. R.G. Gyani has recently come across a very interesting Persian manuscript, consisting only of about two dozen folios, in the library of the Kalabhavan of Benares. It has on the fly-leaf the title تاریخ بی نظیر تذکیرۃ سکرک i. e. "Unrivalled

History—A Memoir on Coins” The last page has a colophon in Urdu giving the date of the manuscript and the name of the author of the memoir, but not the name of the copyist himself. The manuscript contains short descriptions of ancient Indian coins of the Hindu and Muhammadan dynasties. Instead of the illustrations of coins by means of their exact drawings the author has written the legends of their obverse and reverse in the spaces enclosed by linear circles. The readings of legends occurring on Hindu coins are not trustworthy, and whenever the author was unable to decipher them, he has written only Rām Rām in their place. But the readings of the legends of Muhammadan coins are exact. While describing the Zodiacal coins of Jehangir, the author has written in the spaces for the obverse only the names of the signs instead of giving their illustrations. The manuscript ends with the coins of the later Moghul Emperors. Mr. Gyani will shortly publish the results of his study of this interesting and perhaps unique manuscript of the Kalabhavan of Benares.

There is in the Museum of Antiquities of Kabul a similar manuscript reproducing exactly the Musulman coins of Afghanistan with their legends of the obverse and the reverse copied in the *Khūsh Khāṭ*. The legends of the gold and silver coins are written in gold and silver inks on gold and silver backgrounds so artistically that the illusion of real coins placed on the pages of the manuscript is perfect. It is a masterpiece of Sheikh Muhammad Keza, the celebrated painter and calligraphist of the nineteenth century. He has also deciphered and copied the old tomb-stones of Ghazni.

It is very desirable that the authorities of the Indian Central and Provincial Museums, to whom coins of treasures are sent for inspection, should inform all members of the Numismatic Society of India, whenever duplicate coins of these hoards are offered to the public for sale. For the information of these authorities, our Society should draw a list of those members who are collecting coins of one or more series, and send to them copies of the same. In these days of import restrictions, it is impossible for coin-collectors to purchase from abroad coins in which they are interested. Again, the prices demanded by local coin-dealers are so exorbitant that they have no other recourse but of purchasing coins from official sales. I regret very much to say that I was absolutely ignorant of all the finds mentioned by me just now before the Curators of the Central and some Provincial Museums had kindly responded to my enquiries regarding recent coin-discoveries addressed to them through Mr. Gyani.

Now, I should like to make an humble suggestion, viz. that our Numismatic Society of India should publish, space permitting, catalogues of important collections of coins made by the members of our Society, so that the labours which they have bestowed in making these collections might not be lost in vain with their eventual dispersal after the demise of these collectors. Such a fate had befallen the collection of the late Mr. Framji Thanawalla who was a member of our Society. Such publications might surely arouse interest in other members and induce them to take to the study of new series of coins which might have remained unknown to them. I make this suggestion with two important collections of Parthian and Sassanian coins in view, one of the late Mr. C. D. F. Kathok and the other of the late Mr. F. D. J. Parukh, who were both members of our Society. Mr. Parukh had compiled long before his death a catalogue of his unique collection of Sassanian coins, which remains upto date a representative collection of this series. Therein coins of thirty-two rulers with the greatest number of mint-marks and years of issue are found. The collection of the late Mr. C. D. F. Kathok, at present in possession of Mr. Lovjibhai Wadia of Bombay, contains coins of the following series: Greek, Roman, Graeco-Bactrian, Parthian, Kushan, Sassanian, Arab, Western Satraps, Indo-Sassanian, Moghul, Pathan and a few others. I have prepared a catalogue of Greek, Parthian and Sassanian coins only and have drawn a synoptical table of Sassanian coins, numbering 734 with their mint-marks and years of issue. Some Parthian coins show interesting new types of the obverse and the reverse. Meticulous collectors, like the late Mr. Parukh, and Mr. Darbari of Calcutta have even noted the provenance of the coins of their collection with the prices paid for them. Such notes are important for checking known and published coins.

One hundred and thirty-one Tetradrachms of Vologeses V of the collection of the late Mr. Kathok appertained probably to a treasure-trove, as they are all in excellent condition. With the exception of 27 coins, these tetradrachms are dated and all years of the reign of this king are represented in it.

...

THE PROBLEM OF MONOGRAMS OCCURRING ON COINS OF THE GREEK SERIES.

Since remote antiquity, coins of the city-states of Greece and of the Greek islands bore short inscriptions in the Greek language, giving their names, always in the genitive plural. In their absence, they bore some geometric symbols, represent-

ations of plants or their parts, like branches, flowers etc., of animals or their parts, of gods and goddesses, of fabulous animals and fabulous beings with human heads, or the like, which were either sacred to them or which served them as sacred symbols. Thus we have a rose on the coins of the Island of Rhodes or a bee and deer, or a bee alone on the coins of the city of Ephesus, or a Sphinx on the coins of Chios, and the like. This tradition was prevalent also in the time of the petty kingdoms, which rose to power in Greece and on the Greek islands. Later on, besides the legends giving the names of kings with their royal titles, one or more monograms composed of two or more Greek letters began to be employed on the obverse, and more often on the reverse of coins. They were placed in the field, either on the right or the left side or in the exergue. Very often, as in the case of the posthumous coins of Alexander the Great, we find besides the monograms an animal, a fabulous being or some other object figuring as the symbol of the city where the coin was struck. L. Muller has treated in *Numismatique d' Alexandre le Grand*, Copenhagen 1855, this subject of the mint-marks, though he has not arrived at any definite conclusion on the interpretation of the monograms. It must, however, be observed that on early coins of the Greek cities, besides the legends giving their names, there are sometimes also monograms which are composed of two or more initial letters of these names. Similar is the case of the Sassanian bullæ of state officials, which have often in the middle first two or more letters of the name of the city, whereas the full name of the city and the name and office of the dignitary is given in the circular legend. These bullæ have helped greatly in interpreting many mint-marks of Sassanian coins.

Monograms are met with on coins of the Greek series, viz. on the coins of Alexander the Great and his successors, the Ptolemies and the Seleucids, on those of Bactria and Parthia, on those of Elymais and Characene, and on those of the Indo-Parthians and Indo-Scythians. Some times, Greek letters, singly or in groups of two, are found together with monograms or in their place Kharoshti letters appear often on the reverse of Indo-Parthian coins. They are considered by some numismatists also as monograms. It is now almost unanimously admitted that the monograms stand for mint-marks, although attempts at deciphering them satisfactorily and attributing them to particular mint-towns have not always been crowned with success.

I propose to discuss here 19 monograms which have been

arranged below in a plate. Numbers in the following paragraphs refer to the numbers given to the monograms in the plate below.



Colonel Allotte de la Fuye has interpreted the monogram No. 1, which was found on a number of drachms of Orodes I (Orodes II according to Mr. A. R. Bellinger, *Numismatic Chronicle* London 1944, p. 63) of the Susa hoard as, $\pi\text{OAI}\Sigma$ 'the city' par excellence, the city of Ctesiphon, which this king had founded and made his capital. It should, however, be remarked that many coins of this hoard have a palm behind the back of the throne of Arsaces. This palm has been taken by the Colonel as a convincing symbol of the city of Seleucia on the Tigris. Again, the palm was often found placed over the monogram No. 2 thus giving rise to monogram No. 3, occurring on the copper coins of Seleucia on the Tigris, pertaining to the Susa hoard recovered in 1937. It is well known that these twin cities of Ctesiphon and Seleucia were called *Medāin*, i. e. "the two cities" by the Arabs and thus practically reckoned by them as one city. The monograms No. 4, 5, 6 and 7 found on several other drachms of the Susa hoard have been considered by the Colonel merely as variants of monogram No. 1 *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse*, Vol. XXV, p. 29). But the monograms No. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and, 13 which were found on the drachms with the effigy of Phraates IV, and also on some with the effigy of Orodes I, have been interpreted by him as $\phi\text{PAATH}\Sigma$. He has drawn the conclusion from this fact that Phraates IV had at first continued the drachms of Orodes I on which, however he put the monogram No. 14, composed of the first three letters ϕPA of his name $\phi\text{PAATH}\Sigma$ (*ibid.*, p. 38). Mr. Bellinger has rejected this interpretation and has seen in this monogram, whose fuller form is monogram No. 15, nothing but the mint Susa (*Num Chron.* 1944, p. 63).

Again, the tetradrachms of Antioch, belonging to the pre-Caesarian period, bearing the type and inscription of Philippus Philadelphus (89-83 B.C.) and minted by the Romans, show two varieties, one with the monogram No 18 and the letters $\text{KA}\Sigma$ in the exergue, and the other with the monogram No. 19. The first monogram has been interpreted by Mr. Bellinger as (Marcus) Crassus, the Roman

general who was defeated by the Parthians at Carrhae in 53 B.C. The other monogram stands for C. Cassius Longinus, who had accompanied Crassus in that unfortunate expedition. ΚΑΣ in the exergue, occurring with the monogram No. 18 would stand again for Cassius, who signs with his chief as Questor the money struck to pay the troops (*Num Chron.* 1944, pp. 60-61). It must, however, be remarked that the monogram No. 16 is found also on a coin of Seleucus IV Philopator, pertaining to the Susa hoard.

Some numismatists would see in a few of these monograms the names of magistrates who were authorized to issue coins on behalf of a king or a city. But it seems that the names of the magistrates occur on coins in full and not as monograms, just as Muller (*op. cit.*) has mentioned a ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΣ, who was authorized to issue coins at Erythrae (No. 999); and in the Susa hoard of Seleucid coins, there is one tetradrachm issued at Cyme bearing the name ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣ, and another has an incomplete name...ΝΟΙΤΙΟΣ of a magistrate who was authorized to issue coins at Chios (Muller, *op. cit.*, Nos. 1112-1115).

Now, if we admit that monograms represent only mint-towns, the occurrence of two or even more monograms on a coin would be difficult to explain, unless one of them is interpreted as the name of the king or the magistrate who had issued it. There arises another difficulty. Several monograms are common to more than one series of Greek coins mentioned above, e.g., the monogram No. 16, which occurs on coins of the Bactrian series (fifteen times in R. B. Whitehead, *Indo-Greek Coins, Lahore Museum Catalogue*, Oxford, 1914) is found also on Seleucid coins of the Susa hoard, and the monogram No. 17 on the coins of Seleucia on the Tigris and on the Seleucid coins as well, both of the Susa hoards, is found also on Parthian coins of a hoard from the same site.

Taking the above-mentioned points into consideration, it seems to me that much light would be thrown on the question of the interpretation of monograms, if a list of all monograms occurring on Greek coins of all different series were prepared, together with the indication of the series, on the coins of which they occur, and if attention were paid not only to the exact identity of a mint-town indicated by a monogram, but also at least to the country or province in which this town was situated, especially in the case of Bactrian and Indo-Parthian issues, and perhaps also on the political situation of the period of issue.

What concerns the Bactrian, Indo-Parthian, Kushan, Kushano-Sassanian and Indo-Sassanian coins, it is necessary

to collect exact dates of their find-spots, so that an idea of the extent of the realms and of the fluctuations in the political boundaries of these peoples during their checkered history could be obtained. Further, if exact inventories of the treasure-troves in which the coins of these different series are encountered together were to be published, they would greatly help in studying the political and commercial inter-relations between these peoples.

PROBLEM OF INDIAN SEALS

The glyptic art was very highly developed in ancient Egypt and in the ancient Middle East, as is attested by innumerable scarabs and seals discovered in Egypt of the Pharaohic times and in the excavations carried out in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia and Iran. In India, at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, seals with animal motifs, mostly the bull, and short inscriptions in a somewhat pictographic script have been discovered. Then there is a complete gap, it seems, in our knowledge of art in India until we reach the time of Alexander the Great. Still there is no doubt that the conquest of the Punjab and Sind, the region of the Sapta Sindhu, Hindu of the Ancient Persian Cuneiform inscriptions by Darius I in about 518 B. C. must have brought with it Achaemenian artistic influence in that region, which two centuries afterwards bloomed into that Mauryan art, manifested in the palace of Pataliputra and in the Sarnath pillar and which led Dr. Spooner to think of a Zoroastrian period of Indian history. Like all ancient nations, the Indians must have made use of seals for legitimating documents and for securing the safety of the contents of receptacles like pots and jars and of packages containing commodities and merchandise. Impressions of seals on clay called *bullae* have been discovered at Susa as early as in the 32nd century B. C., i.e. in the stratum roughly corresponding to the period of Mohenjo-Daro civilisation, and similar *bullae* pertaining to as late a period as Sassanian, are known from Iran, especially from Susa, and from Mesopotamia. Flat seals, known since 3500 B.C., and seal-cylinders, which were surely an invention of the Semites, were in vogue in the Middle East right down to the Achaemenian period. Under the Achaemenian and later under the Hellenistic influence, the Mauryan artists had surely learned to engrave semi-precious stones, like rock-crystal, agate, carnelian and jasper, as can be judged from engraved gems found in large numbers throughout the whole north-western area with legends in early Brahmi or Kharosthi, as well as in Greek characters. That the Guptas had kept up the artistic traditions can be seen from a few

seals that have been recently discovered. Mr. K. A. Gae of Peshawar communicated to me last year a wax-impression of a seal which he had acquired from a local dealer. Dr. Altekar, to whom I had sent the impression, has declared it to be of the Gupta period. It has a male bust *de face*, head in profile to right and a short Brahmi legend on left giving the name of its owner. Seal impressions or stamps pertaining to the second or third century A. D. have been discovered in the Central Provinces. They have been published by Prof. Muashi in the *J. Num. Soc. of India* Vol. III, Part II, Dec. 1941, pp. 101 seq.

The paucity of Indian seals is perhaps due to the destructibility of the material on which they were engraved, like wood or base metal. Later on, the glyptic art must have degenerated, as shown by the coin-portraits. Mention must, however, be made of the two Hephthalite seals of the India Museum, Calcutta, Nos. 121c and 122c, which are classed as Sassanian seals, as apart from their Hephthalite legends in the corrupt Greek characters they show markedly Sassanian influence, if they are not works of Sassanian artists themselves. They were found most probably in the regions under the Hephthalite control. Three other seals of the same museum, Nos. 145c, 146c and 203c, which are also classed as Sassanian seals, show distinctly the Indian style of portraiture, although No. 203c bears a Pahlavi inscription.

Let us hope that Indian numismatists and collectors will not fail to bring these small documents of the glyptic art to the notice of our Numismatic Society.

REVIEW

ETCHED BEADS IN INDIA: BY DR. M. G. DIKSHIT,
PH. D. (DECCAN COLLEGE MONOGRAPH SERIES, NO. 4,
78 PAGES, 19 PLATES, PRICE 10/-) POONA, 1949.

In this publication, the author gives us a careful study of a neglected branch of Indian Archaeology. He takes a survey of the beads discovered from the pre-historic times to about the 15th century A D., both in south and north India. He also gives us a list of the main centres where etched beads were manufactured.

The author divides the Indian beads into three classes according to the method of their manufacture: Type I, white patterns on red back-ground, Type II, black patterns on whitened surfaces of stone, Type III, black patterns etched directly on stones. Combinations of these types also existed and are noted by the author. Type III is extremely rare in India.

The chemical process by means of which patterns were produced on beads is thus described by the author on the authority of Bellasis. 'The chief ingredients used were potash, white lead and the juice of the *leirar* bush (*Clapparea aphylla*) made into a thick liquid and applied with a pen on the cornelian, which on being exposed to a red heat in charcoal rendered the device indelible.'

The author has noted foreign affinities. He notices a general similarity of seven patterns of the Indus valley period and eleven of the historical period to similar patterns on beads found in Mesopotamia. As the identity of the earliest bead material in India with that from Mesopotamia is very striking, the author accepts the conclusion of Childe that India was the centre of bead manufacture and that the workshops of the etched beads at Ur were manned by the Indus valley artisans.

Some of the symbols on the etched beads like circles, arches, pentagons, triangles, squares within squares etc., are to be seen also on the early coins of India. The present book will thus be of help to the students of numismatics also.

The book under review is a well documented work adequately illustrated, dealing with a neglected subject and deserves to be on the shelf of every archaeological library.

A. S. A.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA, 1948

(Held at Delhi University on the 27th and 28th of
December, 1948)

The Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India for the year 1948 was held at the Delhi University on the 27th and the 28th of December 1948. The opening session was held on the 27th December at 11 A. M. in the Convocation Hall of the University, when Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Director-General of Archæology inaugurated the Conference. His speech is published elsewhere in this number. Dr. J. M. Unwala, the President-elect, then delivered his presidential address, which was heard with great attention. The address is printed elsewhere in this Journal.

On the 28th of December, the second session of the Meeting was held at 11 A. M. under the chairmanship of Dr. J. M. Unwala, the President, when a number of papers were read and coins shown and discussed. The meeting lasted for two hours and there were enlivening discussions. The papers read were (1) The new hoard of the coins of Mahendrāditya by Mr. V. P. Rode, (2) Certain dates on Kshatrapa coins by Dr. J. N. Banerji, (3) A unique gold coin of the Sultans of Mabar by Mr. Singhal and (4) Some rare coins by Dr. Unwala. The first three of these papers have been published in this number. Mr. Krishnadeva showed and discussed some Sātavāhana coins found in Chandravalli excavations and Mr. Nagar spoke on some interesting coins in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. Dr. Altekar spoke upon several interesting coins including some in the Prince of Wales-Museum and some in the Lucknow Museum.

The Business Meeting of the Society was held on the 28th instant at 2 P. M. when Dr. A. S. Altekar, the Chairman, presided. The following members were present :—

1. Dr. Raghubir Singh, Sitama.
2. Dr. D. R. Patil, Gwalior.
3. Mr. A. S. Gadre, Baroda.
4. Mr. K. D. Bajpeyi, Mathura.
5. Mr. S. P. Shrivastava, Jaipur.
6. Mr. M. M. Nagar, Lucknow.
7. Mr. S. A. Shere, Patna.
8. Mr. P. Acharya, Mayurbhanj.

9. Mr. M. S. Vatsa, Agra.
10. Mr. J. N. Banerji, Calcutta.
11. Mr. B. N. Kapur, Lucknow.
12. Mr. Ganda Singh, Amritsar.
13. Dr. V. S. Agrawal, New Delhi.
14. Dr. J. M. Unwala, Bombay.
15. Mr. R. G. Gyani, Bombay.
16. Mr. C. R. Singhal, Bombay.
17. Dr. Motichandra, Bombay.

(1) The Constitution of the Society, as proposed by draft sub-committee, was discussed and passed with a few minor alterations. The constitution is printed later in this number on pp. 179-185.

(2) The audited statement of accounts was passed. It is published on pp. 174-77 of this number.

The following office-bearers were elected :—

1. Dr. J. N. Banerji, President for 1949.
2. Dr. A. S. Altekar, Chairman for 1949-51.
3. Dr. V. S. Agrawala, Vice-Chairman for 1949.
4. Mr. R. G. Gyani, Secretary, 1949.
5. Mr. C. R. Singhal, Asst. Secretary and Treasurer, 1949-51.
6. Dr. A. S. Altekar, Editor. for 1949-51.

MEMBERS OF THE MANAGING COMMITTEE, 1949

1. Principal V. V. Mirashi, Amaraoti.
2. Mr. A. S. Gadre, Baroda.
3. Dr. Moti Chandra, Bombay
4. Mr. M. S. Vatsa, New Delhi
5. Mr. P. Acharya, Mayurbhanj.
6. Mr. Ganda Singh, Amritsar.

It was resolved that :—

1. The Union Government should be urged to take early steps to get the necessary legislation passed to make the counterfeiting of old coins an offence punishable by the law courts.

2. The Union Government should be urged to appoint properly trained numismatists in the Archaeological department.

3. The Provincial and States governments should be urged to take early steps to start their own archaeological departments to work in cooperation with the Archaeological Departments of the Union Government, and should include properly qualified numismatists in the staff that they may recruit for the purpose.

The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chair and the retiring President.

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Income and Expenditure Account for the

EXPENDITURE	Rs.	As.	Ps.
To Stationery and Printing ...	2,261	4	0
„ Postage and Telegrams ...	209	15	9
„ Office Expenses ...	1,574	8	0
„ Sundry Expenses ...	282	5	6
„ Bank Charges ...	7	13	6
„ Contribution Charges ...	374	0	0
„ Travelling Expenses of the Editor ...	157	11	0
„ Library Expenses ...	38	15	0
„ Excess of Income over Expenditure transferred to General Fund A/c ...	4,539	8	9
Total ...	9,446	1	6

Examined and found correct
Bombay, dated this 9th day
of December, 1948

DINUBHAI & CO.,
Registered Accountants,
Hon. Auditors,

OF INDIA.

Period from 1st December 1947 to 30th November 1948.

INCOME	Rs.	As.	Ps.	Rs.	As.	Ps.
<i>By Interest :—</i>						
H.S. Account, Central Bank of India No. 105518 ...	...			7	5	0
Postal Savings Bank Account 478,633 ...	...			8	5	0
On Cash Certificate ...	...			200	0	0
<i>„ Subscriptions :—</i>						
Arrears ...	364	4	0			
Current ...	462	5	0			
Life ...	100	0	0			
Advance ...	94	5	0			
Quinquennial ...	Nil					
				1,020	14	0
<i>„ Sale of Journals</i> ...	...			332	9	6
<i>„ Government Grants :—</i>						
Bombay Government ...	600	0	0			
Orissa ...	300	0	0			
Hyderabad State ...	200	0	0			
Jaipur „ ...	50	0	0			
U. P. Government ...	2,100	0	9			
Sir Dorab Tata Trust ...	1,500	0	0			
Bihar Government ...	900	0	0			
E. Punjab ...	300	0	0			
Baroda State ...	300	0	0			
Sir Ratan Tata Trust ...	1,000	0	0			
Dr. Altekar's Donation ...	500	0	0			
Travancore State ...	100	0	0			
				7,850	0	0
<i>„ Advertisements</i> ...	...			27	0	0
Total Rs. ...	...			9,446	1	6

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Balance Sheet as on

FUNDS & LIABILITIES	Rs.	As.	Ps.	Rs.	As.	Ps.
General Fund :—						
Balance on 1st Dec., 1947.	441	1	4			
Add Excess of Income over Expenditure this year ...	4,539	8	9	4,980	10	1
Special Publication Fund Ac :						
Balance of last year ...	10,000	0	0			
Less Amount paid for Special Publication expenditure	777	0	0	9,223	0	0
Total ...				14,203	10	1

We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the books and vouchers and beg to report that we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required and in our opinion, the above Balance Sheet exhibits a true and correct view of the state of affairs of the Society according to the information and explanations given to us and as shown by the books of the Society.

DINUBHAI & Co.,

Registered Accountants,

Hon. Auditors.

BOMBAY,

Dated this 9th day of Dec. 1948.

OF INDIA.

30th November 1948.

PROPERTY & ASSETS		Rs.	As.	Ps.	
Furniture	...				100 0 0
Cash & other balances. :					
Postal Saving Bank A/c.	...	476	7	0	
National Saving Certificate, maturing on 1-4-'58	...	2,000	0	0	
" " " 2-7-'58	...	1,000	0	0	
" " " 25-4-'59	...	3,000	0	0	
" " " 28-2-'60	...	4,000	0	0	
Central Bank H/S No. 105518		2,077	14	1	
Bank of India Ltd., Current A/c	...	1,464	15	6	
Cash on Hand	...	84	5	6	14,103 10 1
Total ...					14,203 10 1

OBITUARY

DR. BIRBAL SAHANI, SC. D., F. R. S.

It is with profound regret that we record the death of Dr. Birbal Sahani, Sc. D., F. R. S., a distinguished life-member of the Society, on the 9th of April, 1949. The late Dr. Sahani was one of the foremost scientists of the 20th century, not only of India, but of the whole world. His memoirs and papers published in reputed journals like *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* have thrown new and important light on a number of complicated problems like Wagener's Theory of Continental Drift, the Age of the Deccan Intertrappean Beds, the Age of the Punjab Saline Series, the Himalayan Uplift since the Advent of Man, etc. Owing to his preeminent position in the world of science, he was elected to preside over the forthcoming International Congress of Botanists at Stockholm, but the cruel hand of death has prevented him from fulfilling his engagement. His death took place rather in a tragic manner,—within a week of the foundation of the Palaeobotanical Institute, which is his legacy to his mother country.

Prof. Sahani had a pure, fervent and profound love of science and his life was wedded to research, far removed from the maddening crowd's ignoble strife. It was an inspiration to come into contact with him. His unassuming yet dignified demeanour and polished yet unaffected manners made him a unique and charming personality.

Prof. Sahani was not only a scientist but also a numismatist. His accidental discovery in March 1936 of an important mint site with many moulds at Rohtak attracted him to the study of numismatics. It is amazing to find that a palaeo-botanist, so busily engaged in his own work, should have found the necessary time to master ancient Indian epigraphy, numismatics and archæology and write a memoir, which has set a new standard of research and scholarship in Numismatics. Dr. Sahani was not content to describe the coin moulds he had discovered at Rohtak. For the purpose of his Memoir, he studied all the coin moulds discovered in India so far, e.g. those at Sunet, Nālandā, Kāshi, Taxila, Mathurā, Sānchi, Kundapur, Eran, etc. But this did not satisfy him. He studied the coin moulds of the ancient Romans and Chinese as well, and has given us a masterly and penetrating study of the Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India, which will for many decades remain a standard work on the subject.

The Society offers its heart-felt condolence to Mrs. Sahani and other members of the bereaved family. The loss they have sustained is mourned by the entire Scientific and Numismatic World.

A. S. ALTEKAR.

THE RULES AND BYE-LAWS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA.

The name of the Society will be the Numismatic Society of India, and its head office will be for the time being in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

2. THE OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY will be the following :—

(a) To promote and guide the study of the coins, seals and medals of India and offer expert help in the decipherment and classification.

(b) To publish monographs and standard works throwing light on the numismatics and history of India and to organise exhibitions of new and rare coins.

(c) To publish a journal, which will serve as forum for the study of numismatics in all its aspects.

(d) To organise periodically Numismatic Conferences for scientific exchange of views through papers and discussions.

(e) To cooperate with the numismatic societies in other countries by offering them information, advice and help about Indian coins and their collection.

(f) To create an interest in numismatics in the public by organising popular lectures and publishing popular books.

(g) To encourage the collection and preservation of old coins and conduct searches and collaborate in excavations for the same.

(h) To institute and award Prizes and Medals for Researches and Discoveries.

(i) To maintain a central library of works and journals bearing on Numismatics.

(j) To maintain and help in maintaining coin-cabinets in public and private collections.

(k) To collect, hold and disburse funds and properties for the purpose of promoting the above objects.

(l) To perform all other acts that may be conducive to the above objects.

3. MEMBERSHIP.

All persons interested in Numismatics are eligible to become members of the Society, provided they are not dealers in coins. The name of a new member will be proposed and seconded by two existing members and approved by the Managing Committee. There will be the following classes of members :—

(a) Patrons: Members who contribute Rs. 500 to the Society will be called patrons.

(b) Benefactors: Members who pay Rs. 200 will be called Benefactors.

(c) Life-members: Members who pay Rs. 100 during the course of one year will be called Life-members. Life-membership is not open to institutions.

(d) Ordinary members: Members who pay Rs. 6/- per annum will be called ordinary members. The annual subscription for members abroad will be 10s.

(e) All subscriptions are due on election and thereafter in advance on the 1st January every year, when the official year of the Society begins.

4. PRIVILEGES OF THE MEMBERS.

(1) Members will receive the Journal of the Society free.

(2) They will be entitled to receive other publications of the Society at such concession prices as may be fixed by the Managing Committee.

(3) They will be eligible to hold the various offices of the Society as per rules of the constitution.

(4) They will have the right to participate in the Annual Conference, to submit papers for it and to elect the members of the Managing Committee.

(5) They will have the right of getting books issued from the Society's Library according to the rules framed for that purpose.

5. TERMINATION OF MEMBERSHIP.

(a) A member may at any time resign his membership by notice in writing to the Secretary after paying all his dues and returning such library books as he may have issued.

(b) A member who is in arrears at the end of July will cease to receive the publications of the Society; if the subscription is not paid for three years, his name may be struck off.

(c) Members who resign or whose names are struck off for arrears can become eligible for readmission on payment of the previous dues.

6. (a) OFFICE-BEARERS OF THE SOCIETY WILL BE:

(1) The President

(2) The Chairman

(3) The Vice-Chairman

(4) The Editor

(5) The General Secretary

(6) The Assistant Secretary and Treasurer

(7-12) Six members of the Managing Committee.

(b) The office bearers will be elected at the annual meeting of the Conference and will hold office till the election of their successors.

(c) The President will preside over the annual Numismatic Conference and guide the deliberations over the research and other papers submitted for the session. He will also preside over the popular lectures organised at the time of the Conference. He will hold office for one year.

(d) The Chairman will preside over the annual Business Meeting of the Society and over the meetings of the Managing Committee. He will normally hold office for three years and guide the affairs and policy of the Society. He will ensure that moneys are spent as per budget passed and will be informed of the withdrawals from the bank. He will have the power to enter into routine agreements with the governments or commercial concerns.

(e) The Vice-Chairman will be elected annually and will act for the Chairman during his absence.

(f) The Secretary will be elected annually and will be in charge of its office. He will take the necessary steps in connection with the Annual Conference of the Society and will, in consultation with the Chairman, Editor and President, make purchases for the Library of the Society. He will frame the agenda for the annual business meeting of the Society and the Managing Committee. He will, in consultation with the Chairman, prepare the report on the annual working of the Society. He will keep the minutes of the meetings of the Business Meeting and the Managing Committee. He will also conduct elections necessitated by casual vacancies during the year.

(g) The Assistant Secretary and Treasurer will assist the Secretary in the office work and will be in charge of the registers, papers, funds and bank accounts. He will be elected for a period of three years. The bank accounts will be in the joint names of the Treasurer and the Secretary, but ordinarily the Treasurer alone will operate them. The Asstt. Secretary will keep an up-to-date register of members and will take the necessary steps to collect the annual subscriptions of the members and the recurring and non-recurring grants from the governments and donors. He will keep the accounts in the proper form and frame the annual budget in consultation with the Secretary and the Chairman. He will also act as the Hon. Librarian of the Society and be in charge of the sale of the Journal and other publications of the Society.

(h) The Editor will be in charge of the publication of the Journal of the Society and will be elected for three years. He will be assisted by an advisory committee of five members to be nominated by him. The Editor will take all the necessary steps for the publication of the Journal. Bills for

the printing of the Journal will be passed by him and these will be paid by Honorary Treasurer.

7. ELECTION OF OFFICE-BEARERS

(a) The President of the next Annual Conference will be elected at the time of the Annual Conference by the new Managing Committee and such past presidents as may be present at this meeting. He will normally hold office for one year after his election.

(b) The Managing Committee will consist of (1) the Chairman, (2) the Vice-Chairman, (3) the President, (4) the Editor, (5) The Secretary and (6) the Treasurer and Assistant Secretary and six other members. These office-bearers will be elected by the Annual Business Meeting from among such persons who are on the rolls of the Society in their individual capacity for three years.

(c) Vacancies occurring in the Managing Committee during the year may be filled in by that body by holding the necessary election by correspondence. The Secretary will first invite nominations from the members, and when they are received, the names proposed will be voted upon by members. Voting papers not received within the prescribed time will not be considered.

8. MANAGING COMMITTEE

(a) The Managing Committee will have full power to transact all business of the Society. It will manage and control the funds of Society, pass the annual budget and appoint the auditors. It will have the power to suitably invest the funds of the Society. It will give effect to the resolutions passed in the Business Meeting and the Annual Conference and determine the venue of the next meeting of the Society. It will settle the publication programme of the Society and appoint editors for different works.

(b) The Managing Committee will meet annually at the time of the Annual Conference. Business that is not concluded at this time or that which may arise later, e. g. enrolment of new members, may be conducted by correspondence.

(c) Ordinarily the Retiring Managing Committee will hold its meeting before the session of the Annual Conference and the New Managing Committee sometime before the end of the Conference. Five will be the quorum for the meeting of the Managing Committee.

9. AWARDS COMMITTEE

The Awards Committee will consist of the Chairman, the President and the Editor and such other member or members, whom they may coopt. It will consider the publications

of the year for the purpose of the awards of the medals and prizes of the Society and its decision will be announced at the time of the Annual Meeting. Books desired to be considered in this connection should be sent to the Editor of the Journal before the end of September.

The Awards Committee will also select the subjects for the prize essays for the awards of the different prizes.

10. LOCAL SECRETARY.

The Local Secretary will be a resident of the place where the Annual Conference of the Society is held. He will be elected by the Managing Committee and will hold office for the session. He will, in consultation with the General Secretary, make all arrangements in connection with the meeting of the Annual Conference, arrange for the boarding and lodging of members and organise excursions to places of historical and numismatic interest. He will collect the necessary funds for the holding of the Annual Conference by enrolling members of the Reception Committee and by securing donations. If necessary, but under exceptional circumstances, the Managing Committee may give a donation from the general funds of the Conference for part of the expenses of the Annual Conference. The Local Secretary shall submit an audited statement of accounts of the Annual Conference and hand over such balance, if any, to the General Funds of the Conference.

11. ANNUAL NUMISMATIC CONFERENCE.

(a) The Annual Numismatic Conference of the Society will be held at such time and place as may be fixed by the Managing Committee. The President, elected at the previous conference, will preside over it.

(b) All members of the Society are entitled to submit papers for the Conference, which should reach the Secretary one month before the time of the Conference.

(c) Papers accepted for the conference will be ordinarily published first in the Journal of the Society.

12. THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING.

(a) This meeting will be held annually along with the Session of the Numismatic Conference at a time and place to be announced earlier.

(b) Members of the Society who are of three years standing, either in their individual or representative capacity, can take part in this meeting.

(c) Governments and donors who pay a permanent annual contribution of not less than Rs. 100/- per annum

will be authorised to send one representative to participate in the Business Meeting.

(d) The Business Meeting will elect by ballot the office-bearers of the Society, consider the budget as proposed by the Managing Committee, adopt resolutions on the matters of general policy and make such changes in the constitution as may be deemed necessary.

(e) The quorum for the Business Meeting will be 10.

13. FUNDS AND ACCOUNTS.

(a) The Funds of the Society will be divided into three Categories, General Fund, Reserve Fund and Special Funds.

(b) General Fund will consist of grants, donations and membership fees and will be used for meeting the current expenses of the Society like the publication of the Journal, purchase of books, office expenses of the Secretary, the Assistant Secretary, the Chairman and the Editor.

(c) Reserve Fund will consist of 10% of the annual income and will be used in cases of emergency.

(d) Special Funds will consist of such funds as may be constituted by the Society from time to time to meet specific expenses like the award of annual medals and prizes, the publications of research works, etc.

(e) The Managing Committee will sanction every year such sums to the special funds as it may deem necessary. Donations earmarked for a Special Fund will be credited to it.

(f) Funds of the Society will be invested by the Treasurer in consultation with the Managing Committee in approved securities. The bank accounts, the postal certificates, the government securities etc. will be in the joint names of the Treasurer and the Secretary.

(g) The Honorary Treasurer will submit every year an audited statement of accounts of the General Fund, the Reserve Fund and the Special Funds.

(h) The Treasurer, the Editor, the Chairman and the Secretary may have in their keeping an imprest of the amounts sanctioned by the Managing Committee. They shall submit a proper account of the expenses incurred by them, twice a year, in May and October. The Treasurer will reimburse the above office-bearers up to the amounts spent by them.

(i) The accounts of the Society will be audited annually by the auditors appointed by the Managing Committee.

14. ISSUE OF BOOKS FROM THE TAYLOR LIBRARY.

(a) Books are available for the use of all members residing in India.

(b) Borrowers will pay the carriage both on the issue and return of books and will ordinarily deposit a sum equal to the value of the book to be determined by the Librarian.

(c) No books may be retained for more than one month at a time without the written authorization of the Librarian.

(d) Books may not be transferred from one member to another or lent to a non-member.

(e) Not more than two books can be issued at a time.

(f) Books which are rare and out of print should be issued to members only through institutions and libraries, when absolutely necessary.

15. CHANGE IN THE CONSTITUTION.

Any proposals for the change in the constitution must be sent to the Secretary of the Society at least one month before the Annual Conference. They will be considered by the Managing Committee and forwarded to the Business Meeting of the Society with its recommendations. They will be passed only if at least $\frac{2}{3}$ of the members present vote for them.

List of the Members of the Society January, 1949.

Patron :

H. H. The Maharajadhiraj Maharana Sri Bhupalsinghji Bahadur, G.C.S.I., Maharana of Udaipur (Mewar).

Life Members :

Bishun Narain Kapoor, Jewellers, 83 Chouk, Lucknow.
Dongre, R. V., 384, Lamington Road, Bombay 4.
Govil, K.C., B.Sc., Executive Engineer, 16, Babar Road East, New Delhi.
Khawaja Muhammad Ahmad, M.A., LL.B Hyderabad Museum, Hyderabad Deccan.
King, Walter, 2668-North 29th Street, Milwaukee, 10, Wisconsin, U. S. A.
Muhammed Abdul Wali Khan, Keeper of Coins, Hyderabad Museum, Hyderabad Dn.
Law, B.C., Dr., M.A., Ph.D., 43 Kailas Bose Street, Calcutta.
Nahar, B.S., B.A., 48, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta.
Patel, I.B., B.A., LL.B., Freuny House, Sitladevi Temple Road, Mahim, Bombay 16.
Powells, Michael, A., 9545, South Leavitt Street, Chicago 43, Illinois (U. S. A.).
Raghubir Singh, Major, M.K., Raghubir Niwas, Sitamau (C.I.).
Sahni, Dr. Birbal, Lucknow University, Lucknow.
Shukla, S.M., Manager, Rawal Tiles and Marble factories, Arthur Bunder, Colaba, Bombay,

Original Members :

Whitehead, R.B., I.C.S., F.R.A.S.B., Millington Road, Cambridge, England.

Ordinary Members :

1922 Acharya, G.V., B.A., Harsha Sadan, Ganesh Falia, Junagadh.
1947 Acharya, Paramananda, B.Sc., State Archaeologist, Mayurbhanj State, P. O. Baripada.
1948 Agarwala, B.R., Registrar, Institute of Palaeobotany, Lucknow University, Lucknow.
1932 Agarwal, Jai Krishna, Canning College Office, Lucknow.
1948 Agarwal, Ramsaran, c/o Babulal Ramsaran, 463/4 Sakar Bazar, Ahmedabad.

LIST OF THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY JAN., 1949 187

- 1946 Agarwal, V.S., Dr., Supdt. C.A.A. Museum, New Delhi.
- 1949 Agrawal, Baldeo Prasad, Thatheri bazar, Banaras.
- 1946 Ahmad, S.M., B.A., Deputy Collector, Etah, U. P.
- 1911 Allan, J., M.A., British Museum London, W. C.
- 1931 Altekar, A.S., M.A., LL.B., D. LITT., Professor of Ancient Indian History & Culture, Benares Hindu University.
- 1937 Antani, V.R., M.A., Holy Lodge, Takko Hill, Simla.
- 1913 Bandorawala, Cooverjee Nowrojee, B.A., Patuck's Bangalow, opposite Minerva Cinema, 91, Lamington Road, Tardeo, Bombay.
- 1947 Banerji, A.C., Archæological Museum, Nalanda House, P. O. Nalanda,, Dt. Patna.
- 1940 Banerji, A.N., 16A. Furria Pukur Street, Calcutta.
- 1930 Banerji, J. N, Dr., M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University, 28, Manoharpukur Road, Kalighat P. O., Calcutta.
- 1945 Banerji, Dr. S.K., Professor, Lucknow University, Lucknow.
- 1948 Banker, Harilal, O., Post Box No. 2362, Kalba Devi, Bombay.
- 1939 Baron, B.K., Bar-at-law, "Wayside Hall" Bala Hissar Mussoorie (U. P.)
- 1940 Bhagavad Dutt, Pandit, Mahesh Villa, Chakrota Road, Dehra Dun.
- 1940 Bhat, B.W., Hon. Secretary, Rajwade Sanshodhan Mandal, Dhulia.
- 1934 Biddulph, C.H., Major, I.E., C/o The Chief Engineer, South Indian Railway, Trichinopoly (S. I.)
- 1911 Botham, The Hon'ble Mr. A.W., C.S.I., I.C.S., The Manor House, Alford, Lincolnshire.
- 1943 Carrington, A. H. Major, Corporation St., Birmingham (England).
- 1924 Chakraborty, Dr. Surendra Kishore, M.A., PH.D., Professor of History, Anandamohan College, Mymensingh, Bengal.
- 1934 Chatterji, C.D., Reader, Lucknow University, Lucknow.
- 1945 Chinmulgund, P.J., I.C.S., Sangli.
- 1944 Coachman, K.R., 16 Cowasji Patel Street, Bombay 1.
- 1942 Contractor, K.N., c/o British Overseas Airways Corporation, Finlay House, Karachi.
- 1915 Contractor, Sorabshaw M., Umrigar Building, Ormiston Road, Apollo Reclamation, Sangli.
- 1949 Cresswell, Oliver, D.G. 9, Agincourt St., Ormean Road, Belfast (England).
- 1948 Curtis, Col. J.W., Numismatist, A. N. A. 12729, '515' East Capitol Ave, Springfield, Illinois (U. S. A.)
- 1934 Dar, Mukat Bihari Lal, B.S.C., LL.B., Secretary to the U. P. Govt. Local Self Govt., Lucknow.

- 1934 Darbari, M.D., B com., F.S.A.A.R.A., 8, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta.
- 1949 Dear, R.B., 1074, Masjid Khajur, Delhi.
- 1947 Deshpande, M.N., Asst. Supdt. A.S.W. Circle, Poona 5.
- 1945 Dotiwala, Major C. R., Bungalow No. 13, One Tree Hill Road, Mhow Cantt.
- 1935 Driver, Dorab Cursetji, M.A., (Cantab), Bar-at-Law, of Messrs. Tata Iron & Steel Co., Ltd., 102A, Clive Street, Calcutta.
- 1945 Fairhead, E. C., C.D.R.E., C/o I. C. I. Ltd., Post Box 182, 18 Strand Road, Calcutta.
- 1938 Faizullah Khan, Secretary, District Local Board, Lyallpur, Punjab.
- 1922 Forrer, L, I Helvetia, 24, Homefield Road, Bromley Kent, England.
- 1937 Gadre, A.S., M.A., Archaeological Department, Baroda.
- 1945 Gahlot, Mahavir Singh, Meiti gate, Jodhpur.
- 1944 Ganda Singh, Prof., Khalsa College, Amritsar.
- 1920 Ghanshyam Das, Rai Bahadur, Commissioner (Retd.), Ghazipur (U.P.).
- 1928 Ghosal, D.D., Retd. Superintendent, Calcutta Improvement Trust, 85, Tantipara Lane, P.O. Santragachi, Howrah.
- 1947 Ghosh, N. N., Ganga Villa., New Bairana, Allahabad.
- 1929 Ghose, A., M. A., 42, Shambazar Street, Calcutta.
- 1946 Ghose, S.K., Maniari Canal Officer, P.O. Narkatiaganj, (O. & T. Rly.), Distt. Champaran.
- 1936 Gopalachari, S. T. Srinivas, (Rao Bahadur), Advocate, "Sambanda Vilas", Raja Annamalai Chetty Road, Vepery, Madras.
- 1940 Gupta, Parmeshwari Lal, 63/42, Victoria Park (north), Benares.
- 1933 Gyani, R.G., MA., Curator, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- 1930 Hon'ble Mr. Justice Harish Chandra, I. C. S., 12 Hamilton Road, George Town, Allahabad.
- 1926 Heras, H., Rev., Father, Professor of Indian History, St. Xavier's College, Cruickshank Road, Bombay 2.
- 1948 Holzer, H. W., The Layton, 42-52 Layton-St., Elmhurst N. Y.
- 1945 Hopkin, H.J.M., Lt. Col; I.A.O. C., C/o Lloyds Bank, Bombay.
- 1944 Hurmuz Kaus, 128 Public Garden Rd, Hyderabad (Dn.)
- 1943 Ishaque, M., B.Sc., M.A., PH.D. (Lond). 159B. Dharam-talla St., Calcutta.
- 1948 Iyer, D.K., Numismatist, Asuamom Trivandrum.

- 1923 Jalan, Radha Krishna, Dewan Bahadur, Quila House, Patna City
- 1945 Janzen, E.P., C/o L.F. Janzen, 3132 Atwater Avenue, Los Angeles, California, U.S.A.
- 1948 Jeejeebhoy, J.R.B., Alice Building, Fort, Bombay.
- 1939 Joshi, P.M., M.A., Ph. D. University Library, Bombay.
- 1946 Kar, R.C., M.A., P. 60/B, New Shambazar St., Calcutta.
- 1944 Khanchandani, J. K., Prof., Hirabad Quarter, D. G. N. College, Hyderabad (Sind).
- 1944 Khareghat, R.M., Lt. Col., I.M.S., Civil Surgeon, C/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., Bombay.
- 1948 Kraus, Earnst Suite 1702, 444 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y., U.S.A.
- 1948 Kukuranov, L.N., C/o The American Express Co., 240 Hornby Road, Bombay.
- 1944 Kummer, F. E., Manager, West End Watch Co., 16 Old Court House St., Calcutta.
- 1937 Lochen G. Royse Hole, Norway.
- 1941 Mathuram Dr. N. D. Guru Medical Hall, Puthur, Trichinopoly.
- 1941 Maharaja Mandhata Singh, Himmatnagar (Idar State).
- 1947 Majumdar, R. C., Dr., 4 Bipin Pal Road, Kalighat, Calcutta.
- 1949 Manoozbhai Doongursee. 71, Giri Kunj, Marine Drive, Bombay.
- 1947 Marshall, D.N , 118 Military Square, Port Bombay.
- 1949 Mason, Norman, B., 200 Street, Helens Avenue, Toronto 4, Ont, America.
- 1949 Mathur, Durgalal, Archæological Dept., Jodhpur.
- 1937 Mehta, Pratapray G, C/o Jaipur Metal Industries, Jaipur.
- 1936 Mirashi, V. V., Mahamahopadhyaya, Principal, Mahavidarbha College, Amraoti (C. P.)
- 1949 Mirza, Dr. Hormazdyar, Dastur K., Mirza St. Udvarda (B. B. Rly.)
- 1947 Mishra, W.P. B A., LL.B, Pleader, Hoshangabad, C.P.
- 1925 Modi, Jagmohandas K., Krishna Kunj, 15 Ridge Road, Bombay.
- 1037 Moti Chandra, Dr., M.A., Ph. D., Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay
- 1930 Moulvi, Shamsuddin Ahmad, M.A., Superintendent, Archæological Dept., Dacca.
- 1947 Muhammad Mazrul Haq, c/o Muhammad Zaini Haq Sufi, M.A., Lecturer, Govt. College, Montgomery, Punjab.
- 1947 Nagar, M. M., Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

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- 1948 Narain, Prof. A. K., M.A., C.H.C., Hindu University, Benares.
- 1949 Nath, Bipin Bihari, Gopalji Lane, Cuttuck (Orissa).
- 1929 Pai, M. P., I.C.S., Secretary, Industries Supplies Deptt. Govt. of India, New Dehli
- 1941 Pande, B P., Major, B.A., LL. B., F.R.E.S., Dewan, Mayurbhanj State, Baripada.
- 1948 Pande, Dr. R. B., Benares Hindu University.
- 1947 Pantalu, G. Ramdas, Sriramachandravilas, Jaypur, Korapur, Dt. Orissa.
- 1946 Panigrahi, K. C., Govt. College, Sambalpur (Orissa).
- 1940 Pavri, P. F., Pavri House, Gundow Street, Fort, Bombay.
- 1946 Patabiramin, P.Z., 52 Big Bazar St., Pondichery.
- 1944 Powar, A.G., Dr., M.A., Ph.D., Rajaram College, Kolhapur.
- 1945 Pradyuman, Draughtman Technical Development Establishment, Ahmednagar (Bombay).
- 1949 Pramanic, Panu L., 277 Victoria Road North, Alam-bazar, Calcutta.
- 1917 Prayag Dayal, F.B., 80, Latouche Road, Lucknow.
- 1949 Prodhan, K.H., 4, Prodhan Cottage, Convenr Road, Darjeeling (W. Bengal).
- 1937 Pusalkar, A.D., M.A., LL.B., 'Usha' 118, Shivaji Park, Dadar, Bombay.
- 1947 Qureshi, I.H., Professor of History, University of Delhi.
- 1925 Rameshwar Dayal, Pt., B.A., Additional Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Lucknow.
- 1949 Rewat, B., Editor, 'Kumar', 1454 Raipur, Ahmedabad.
- 1941 Rao, Uttam Singh, B.A., Official, Jind State, Krishna Basti, P. O. Sangrur, (Jind State).
- 1947 Reu, B.N., M.M., Suptd., Archæological Dept. Jodhpur.
- 1944 Rode, V.P., M.A., Arch. Asst., Central Museum, Nagpur.
- 1933 Rudra Pratapsing, Rao Bahadur, M.L.C., Sonbarsa Raj, Bhagalpur.
- 1920 Sah, Shri Nath, Durga Kund, Benares.
- 1945 Samrat, Ganga Ram, SANN (Sindh).
- 1947 Sastri, P. Sheshadri, Prodiepet, Guntur (S.I.)
- 1943 Shah, P.G., M.A., Lalit Kunj, 11th Road, Khar, Bombay.
- 1935 Sharma, L.P., Pandeya, Hon. Secretary, Mahakoshal Historical Society, Balpur, P.O. Chandrapur (Bilaspur) C.P., via Raigarh, B. N. Rly.
- 1940 Sharma, Shri Ram, Principal, D.A.V. College, Sholapur,
- 1944 Sherwani, H.K., M.A., Professor, Osmania University, Hyderabad, (Deccan.)

LIST OF THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY JAN., 1949 191

- 1944 Singh Roy, Subhendu, Village Manirambati, P. O. Chakdighi, Distt. Burdwan, or 15 Landsdown Road, Calcutta.
- 1928 Singhal, C.R., Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- 1939 Singhi, Narendra Singh, M.Sc., B.L., 48, Gariahat Road, Ballygunge, Calcutta.
- 1939 Singhi, Rajendra Singh, B. Com., 58, Gariahat Road, Ballygunge, Calcutta.
- 1940 Sircar, D. C., M.A., PH.D., 93/94 Manohar Pukur Road, Calcutta, 29.
- 1944 Sitholey, B.S., C/o. Dr. R. V. Sitholey, 1096 Kunj Behari Building, Lal Bagh Circus, Lucknow.
- 1937 Sohoni, S.V., M.A., I.C.S., 17 Cantonment Road, Cuttuck.
- 1924 Stapleton, H.E., Dr., M.A., B.S.C., F.R.A.S.B.; Sands St. Brelade, Jersey, C.I.. England.
- 1925 Tarapore, Major, P.S., His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Army Medical Service, Sweet Auburn, Near Chanderghat Bridge, Hyderabad, Deccan.
- 1918 Taraporevala, V.D.B., B.A., 79 Koregaon Park, Poona.
- 1935 Thakore Mahendrasinghi, K., B.A., LL.B., Bombay Civil Service (Jdl.), Kopargaon (Dist. Ahmednagar).
- 1926 Thorburn, Philip, 86, Rochester Row, West Minister, London, S. W. I.
- 1946 Tonk, M.L., No. XV 953, Bawali Gali, Pahar Ganj, New Delhi.
- 1943 Unvala, J.M., M.A., Ph.D., Parsi Students' Hostel, Gamadia Colony, Tardeo, Bombay.
- 1934 Upadhyaya, S. C., M.A., Curator, Victoria and Albert Museum, Byculla, Bombay.
- 1936 Vats, Madho Sarup, M.A., Superintendent, Archæological Survey, N.C., Agra.
- 1948 Vyas, B.M., Rai Bahadur, Leader Press, Allahabad.
- 1920 Walsh, E.H.C., C.S.I., I.C.S., (Retd.), C/o Lloyd's Bank, Cox's and King's Branch 6, Pall Mall, London, S.W.I.
- 1916 The Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow.
- 1920 The Hon. Secretary, Watson Museum, Rajkot (Kathiawar).
- 1923 The Secretary of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- 1924 The Curator, Hyderabad Museum, Hyderabad (Deccan).
- 1924 The Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.
- 1936 The Curator, The Museum, Indore.
- 1936 The Curator, Curzon Museum of Archæology, Muttra.
- 1940 The Curator, Central Museum, Nagpur.
- 1946 The Curator, Central Asian Antiquities Museum, New Delhi.

- 1940 The Curator, Provincial Museum, Cuttack, Orissa.
- 1947 The Curator, Mysore Govt. Museum, Bangalore.
- 1941 The Curator, Peshawar Museum, Peshawar.
- 1941 The Curator, Dacca Museum, Dacca.
- 1947 The Curator, State Museum, Bharatpur.
- 1941 The Curator, State Museum, Pudukkottai (S. I.)
- 1941 The Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras.
- 1942 The Curator, Municipal Museum, Allahabad.
- 1942 The Curator, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.
- 1947 The Curator, Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain.
- 1919 The Director General of Archæology in India, New Delhi.
- 1938 The Director of Archæology, Gwalior State, Gwalior.
- 1949 The Director, Institute of Archæology, Vallabh Vidyanagar (Via Anand).
- 1947 The Principal, M. N. College, Vishnagar.
- 1947 The Director of Archæology, Rajaram College, Kolhapur.
- 1941 The Superintendent, Archæological Department, Government of Jodhpur, Jodhpur.
- 1947 The Superintendent of Archæology, Bharatpur State, Bharatpur.
- 1943 The Superintendent of Archæology, Jaipur State, Jaipur.
- 1947 The Superintendent of Archæology, Rewa State.
- 1931 The State Archæologist, Mayurbhanj State, Baripada.
- 1946 The Librarian, Meerut College Library, Meerut (U.P.)
- 1942 The Hon. General Secretary, Archæological Society, Bahauddin College, Junagadh.
- 1943 The Asst. Secretary, Gujarat Vernacular Society, Bhadra, Ahmedabad.
- 1940 The Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.
- 1918 The Secretary, Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Town Hall, Bombay.
- 1925 The Hon. Secretary, K.R., Cama Oriental Institute, Apollo Street, Bombay.
- 1939 The Librarian, University Library, Bombay.
- 1947 The Librarian, Herbert College, Kotah (Rajputana)
- 1940 Librarian, University Library, Benares Hindu University.
- 1948 The Librarian, B. J. Wadia Library, Fergusson College, Poona 4.
- 1943 The Librarian, University Library. Allahabad.
- 1944 The Librarian, Gurukula University, Gurukula Kangri (U. P.).
- 1945 The Librarian, Calcutta University Library, Ashutosh Bldg., Calcutta.

LIST OF THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY JAN., 1949 193

- 1948 The Librarian, School of Oriental and African Studies
Library, University of London, W. C. I.**
- 1949 The Librarian, East Punjab University Library, U. S.
Club, Simla.**
- 1940 The Director, Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar.**
- 1940 The American Numismatic Society, Broadway, at
156th Street, New York City.**



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Rare and Unique Gupta Coins from Bayana Hoard.



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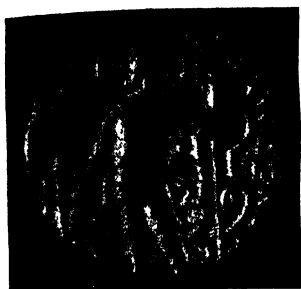
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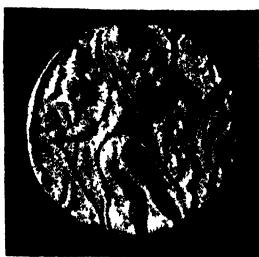
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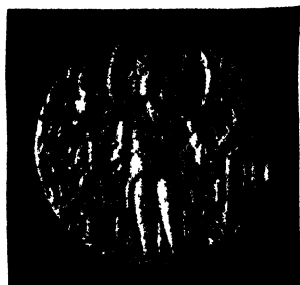
Rare and Unique Gupta Coins from Bayana Hoard.
(in enlarged and original size)



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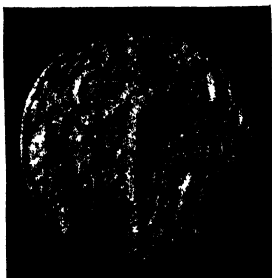
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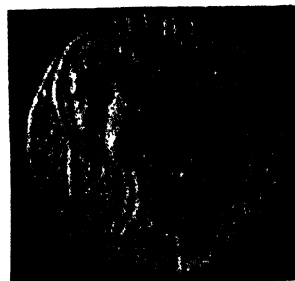
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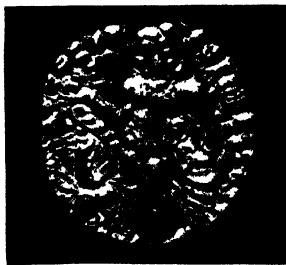
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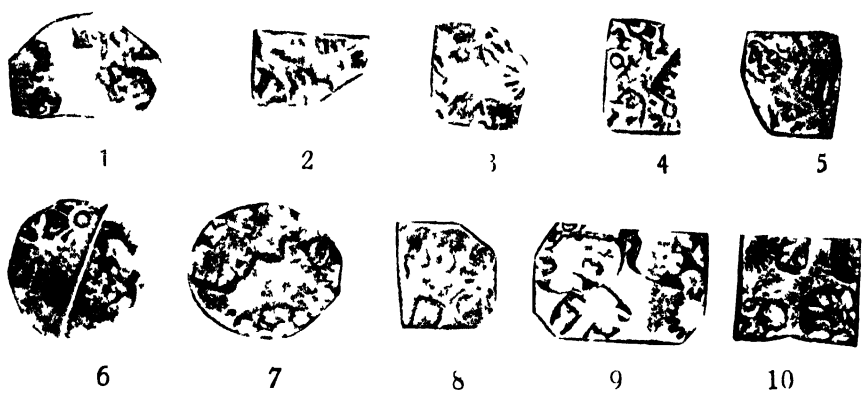
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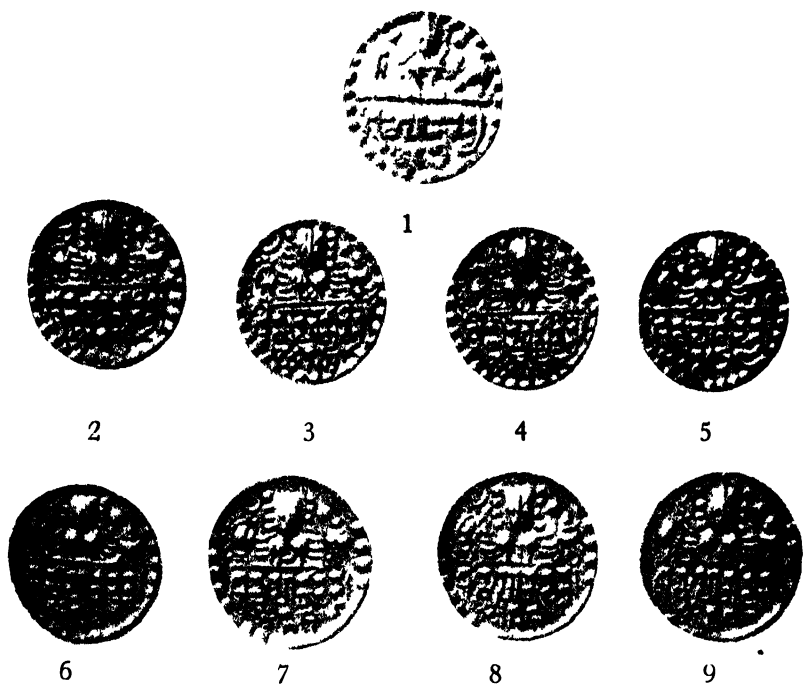
Some artistic gold Gupta Coins
[From the collection of Mr. Shitholey, Lucknow]

A



Punch marked Silver Coins from Kusawad

B



Gold Coins of Mahendraditya



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Kadamba and Mā'har Coins

THE
JOURNAL
OF THE
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

VOL. XI

JUNE 1949

PART I

(Issued in December 1949)

EDITOR

PROF. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., LL.B., D.LITT.,
*Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture,
Patna University.*



THE
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

**THE PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM,
BOMBAY 1.**

1949

**THE
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA
OFFICE-BEARERS**

1949

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DR. MOTI CHANDRA, BOMBAY.

MR. GANDA SINGH, M. A., AMRITSAR.

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**MR. R. G. GYANI, M.A., CURATOR, ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION,
THE PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM, BOMBAY.**

ASSISTANT SECRETARY & TREASURER :

MR. C. R. SINGHAL, PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM, BOMBAY.

EDITOR OF THE JOURNAL :

DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, PATNA UNIVERSITY.

MEMBERS OF THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE :

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PRAYAG DAYAL, LUCKNOW ; DR. R. B. PANDE, BANARAS
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SOME MORE COINS OF THE MAHISHA DYNASTY

BY PRINCIPAL V. V. MIRASIII, AMRAOTI

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXII, pp. 24 ff. I published two copper coins of the Śaka king Māna of the Mahisha dynasty. Recently Shri Khwaja Muhammad Ahmed, Curator of the Hyderabad Museum, favoured me with the photographs of two other coins which also belong to that dynasty, as I shall attempt to show in this article. The coins are published here with the kind permission of Shri-Ahmed.

The first of these coins (Pl. II. 9) was found in the excavations at Kondapur in the Hyderabad State, where extensive remains of the Satavahana age have been discovered. The coin is of lead and roundish in shape, with a diameter of .75". Its weight is 72.5 grams. The obverse shows clearly an incuse made by the striking of the die. It has the figure of a lion with the tail upraised. The legend which is fragmentary runs round the edge at the top. The reverse is more worn. It has the so-called Ujjain symbol imperfectly preserved with a pellet in each orb.

The existing legend reads *-ṃi Mahasasa [sa]*. The vertical of *ṃi* is split into two lines, as noticed occasionally in inscriptions of the Kushana age¹; *ma* consists of an open square above a circle; *sa* has a short vertical on the left, but its right limb is still horizontal. These characters show that the coin is of about the second or third century A. D.

The legend being fragmentary can be completed only conjecturally. There are very faint traces of an *akshara* like *mā* in the beginning. So the legend may have been *Māṇa-Mahasasa sa*. It may have commenced with *raṃṇo siri*, but how it ended or what the *aksharas* following *sa* were, cannot be determined. This coin, like the two coins referred to above, appears to have been struck by the Śaka king Māna, though its type is different from that of the latter coins.²

As I have shown elsewhere,³ the elephant type coins of the Śaka king Māna were imitated from Satavahana coins current in the Deccan. These coins were of copper. The present coin, which is of lead, is also imitated from earlier Satavahana coins of the lion type. See, for instance, the coins G. P. 2 and G. P. 3 in Pl. V. of Rapson's *Coins of the Andhras*. These coins are round in shape and have the figure of a lion on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the

1. Bühler, *Indian Palaeography* (Eng. Tr.), p. 41.

2. The name of the king appears here as *Māna*, not *Mana* as on the copper coins.

3. *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXII, p. 35.

reverse. The legend runs along the edge. Rapson attributed them to some king whose name ended in *svāmi*¹. As he could read the *akṣara pu* on G. P. 3, he conjecturally identified him with Vasishṭhiputia Śrī-Puṣumāvi. As I have already shown elsewhere², *svāmi* on these and other coins was not the name of any king, but was a royal title, meaning *rajan*. Just as some Satavahana coins have *raṁṇo* or *raṇo* (Sanskrit, *rājñah*) before the name of a king, others have *svamisa* (Sanskrit, *svāminah*) meaning 'of the king'. A close examination of G. P. 2 and G. P. 3 shows that the latter was struck by Puṣumāvi and the former by Yaṣṇa Sātākarni. Rapson could read only *pu* on G. P. 3, but the facsimile of the coin published by him shows more or less clearly the *akṣaras* *sv[ri] Pu[ṣu]mi*. So there is no doubt that the coin was issued by Puṣumāvi, the son of Gautami-putia Sātākarni. The other coin (G. P. 2) has the legend *Smasa sva [Ya]* (*svāma śrī Ya*, with the vowels restored) and clearly belongs to Yaṣṇa Sātākarni. There is therefore no doubt that the lion type coins were issued by the Sātavahana kings Puṣumāvi and Yaṣṇa Sātākarni. Whether the type was continued by the successors of these kings cannot be determined at present. According to Rapson these coins were found in the Andhra-dēśa³.

The coin No. 1 of Mana Mahiṣa resembles these coins with only this difference that the lion faces left, not right. It was therefore clearly imitated from the earlier Sātavahana coins.

The second coin (Pl II 10) sent by Shri Ahmad is also of lead. It was found at Maski, a village in the Lingasut-tāluka of the Raichur District of the Hyderabad State, well known as the place of one of the Minor Edicts of Asoka. This coin also is roundish in shape, but is much larger in size having a diameter of 1.05". Its weight is 210 gr. It has on the obverse the figure of a horse facing right with the *śvastika* and a tree in railing in the field at the top. On the reverse is seen within a rectangular enclosure of double line a hill of 10 arches with a pellet in each arch, surmounted by the crescent between two symbols like the Brahmi letter *ga*. There is a wavy line at the bottom and also at the top of the enclosure. This shows that the wavy line did not symbolise a river below the hill as was supposed by some scholars. It was meant for decoration.

The legend is fragmentary. It seems to have commenced with *am*. The first few *akṣaras* of it have been damaged also.

1. Rapson, *Coins of the Andhras*, etc., p. 24.

2. *J. N. S. I*, Vol III, p. 44.

3. *Coins of the Andhras*, etc., p. 24.

with the forepart of the horse.¹ There are faint traces of *sura* (*siri* with the vowels restored) in front of the horse's breast. Two more *aksharas* which followed have also left faint traces, but they are illegible. Then are seen lower portions of seven *aksharas* which I read as—*yasasa Mahasa[sa]*. The last *akshara* *sa* which appears just above the tree in railing is very faint. The legend can thus be partially restored as *siri-yasasa Mahasasa*. The name of the king ended in *yaśa*,² but its initial portion is unfortunately lost. That he belonged to the Mahisha dynasty founded by Māna is certain.

Horse-type lead coins had been issued before Māna by Yājña Sātakaṃṇi. They had the figure of a horse with a wheel in front and a symbol resembling Brahmi *yya* in the field above on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse.³ The type was imitated by the kings of the Sebaka dynasty who, however, substituted a *chutya* or a hill within a rectangular border in place of the Ujjain symbol on the reverse.⁴ The present coin (II II, 10) does not exactly resemble any coin of the Satavahana or the Sebaka dynasty. It has no doubt the figure of a horse on the obverse, but it has besides, two more symbols—the *śastika* and a tree within railing. The reverse shows a hill within a rectangular double border as on the coins of the Sebakas, but the hill has not one, but ten arches, each with a pellet and is surmounted by a crescent and two other symbols. This reverse type shows affinity with the obverse of the lead coins of Vasishṭhiputia Vihiyākura and Mithimputia Śivalākura found at Kolhapur.⁵ Like the latter the present coin has a hill of ten arches in four tiers, surmounted by a crescent, but unlike them it has no tree on the right or the left.

I have shown elsewhere that Māna who struck these coins was a great Emperor with an extensive dominion; for he is one of the few rulers of the historic period who finds mention in the Purāṇas. He is mentioned therein as of Śaka extraction and of the Mahishya dynasty.⁶ Like Sātavāhana and Sebaka, who founded dynasties ruling over the Deccan, he also was the progenitor of a royal family which held sway over some part of the Deccan for a few generations.

1. The figure is of a horse and not of a lion. The animal appears tame and his tail is hanging down.

2. The Purāṇas mention a king named Nandiyasas, who flourished in an earlier age. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kaly Age*, p. 49.

3. Rapson, *Coins of the Andhras*, p. 38.

4. J.N.S.I., Vol. VIII, pp. 1071.

5. Rapson, *Coins of the Andhras*, pp. 51 Pl. II.

6. Ind. Hist. Quart., Vol. XXII, pp. 351.

7. I then called this dynasty Mahishya as that name occurs in a MS. of the *Vaṅgavijaya*. See Pargiter, *Dynasties etc.*, p. 51, n. 11.

The royal name Mahisha (or Mahishya) was probably derived from the country of Māhishaka or Mahisha-maṇḍala where this family was ruling. In my previous article on the coins of this Śaka king Māna, I followed Rapson¹ in supposing that Māhishaka was the country round Māhishmatī, modern Oṅkār Māndhātā in the Nemaḍ District of the Central Provinces. Since then the provenance of these coins has become known. As stated before, they were found in the excavations at Kondapur and Maski in the Hyderabad State. The country under the rule of the Mahisha dynasty seems therefore to have been the southern portion of the Hyderabad State. The references to the Māhishaka country occurring in the Purāṇas and the Epics also suggest that it was situated in Southern Deccan. The *Vāyupurāṇa*, for instance, mentions Māhishaka together with Mahārāṣṭra and Kāliṅga among the *Janapadas* of the South.² The *Rāmāyaṇa* couples it with Vīdarbhā and Kīshikā, as a country of the south, to which Sugrīva directed the monkeys to go in search of Sītā.³ The *Mahābhārata* contains several references to the Māhishakas. The Bhīṣmaparvan mentions their country with Draviḍa and Keralā among the countries of the south.⁴ The Karna-parvan states that like the inhabitants of Kāliṅga and Keralā the people of Mahishaka were destitute of religion.⁵ The Anuśaṇaparvan also states that like the Draviḍas and Kalingas the Mahishakas were originally Kshatriyas, but had been reduced to the status of a Vṛishala for want of contact with the Brahmanas.⁶ In the Āśvamedhikaparvan Arjuna is said to have fought with and defeated the fierce Mahishakas as he did the Draviḍas, Andhras and the inhabitants of Kollāgiri.⁷ These references clearly suggest that the Mahishaka country was situated in the south, and the findspots of coins described in this article indicate that it was identical with the southern portion of the Hyderabad State.

1. *Cambridge History of India* Vol. I, p. 603

2. *Vāyupurāṇa*, Adhyāya 45, v. 125—अथापरे जनपदा दक्षिणापथवासिनः ।
...महाराष्ट्रा माहिषका कलिङ्गाश्चैव सर्वशः ॥

3. *Rāmāyaṇa* (Bombay ed.), Kishkindhakaṇḍa, canto 41, v. 10—
विदर्भानृषिकांश्चैव रम्यान्माहिषकानपि ।

4. *Mahābhārata*, Bhīṣmaparvan, Jambukhaṇḍa (Bhandarkar Institute ed.)
Chap. 10, vv. 56-57—अथापरे जनपदा दक्षिणा भरतर्षभ । द्वाविडाः केरलाः प्राच्या
मूषिका वनवासिनः । उन्नत्यका माहिषका विकल्पा मूषकास्तथा ॥

5. Karna-parvan, Chap. 44, v. 43—कारुक्करान् माहिषकान्कालिङ्गान् केरकां-
स्तथा । कर्कोटकाव्वीरकांश्च दुर्धर्मांश्च विजयेयत् ॥

6. Anuśaṇaparvan, ad. 33, vv. 22-23—द्विबिडाश्च कलिङ्गाश्च पुलिन्दाश्चाप्यु-
शीनराः । कोलिसर्पा माहिषकास्तास्ताः क्षत्रियजातयः ॥ वृषस्तुर्वं परिगता ब्राह्मणा-
नामदशमात् ॥

7. Āśvamedhikaparvan, Chap. 83, vv. 10-12—तत्रापि द्विबैरान्त्रै रौद्रैर्मा-
हिषिकैरपि । तथा कोलुगिरियैश्च युद्धमासीत्किरीटिनः ॥

A LEAD COIN OF SATAVAHANA

BY PRINCIPAL V. V. MIRASHI, AMRAOTI

I have published in this Journal (Vol. VII, pp. 1 ff.) a copper coin of Sātavāhana, the founder of the Sātavāhana dynasty, from the cabinet of Shri Hurmuz Kaus, the well known coin collector and numismatist of Hyderabad (Deccan). About the same time Dr. M. G. Dikshit published another coin of the same type, though smaller in size, in the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*. These are the only two coins of this illustrious king, known so far. They were obtained from coin-dealers in the Hyderabad State, but their exact find-spots are not known. Recently Shri Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, Curator of the Hyderabad Museum and Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad State, sent me for decipherment another coin of this king which was found in the excavations at Kondapur in the Medak District of the Hyderabad State. I publish the coin here with the kind permission of Shri Ahmad.

This coin (Pl. II. II) differs from the two coins mentioned above in several respects. The latter coins are of copper and rectangular or square in shape, while this coin is of lead and has an oval shape. Its type and fabric also are different. The copper coins have the figure of an elephant facing right, with the trunk upraised. The present coin also shows on the obverse an elephant facing right, but its trunk is hanging down. The copper coins have on the reverse the Ujjain symbol, each orb of which contains a pellet within two circles and between the orb there is a *svastika* or a symbol consisting of two flattened circles on a vertical line. The present coin has the same Ujjain symbol, but instead of the *svastika* or the other symbol, it has a pellet between its orbs. Besides, it shows a crescent at the top where the copper coins have a *nandipada*. Its size is 1" x .75" and weight 0.8-9 grains.

The legend on the present coin has not come out in full as its blank was smaller than the die. It runs round the elephant on the left, commencing below its feet. The existing legend reads *-siri Sudavaha-*. Two more *aksharas*, *ram̐no* may have been lost in the beginning and two, *nasa*, at the end. Traces of the lower portions of *no* and *na* can be seen at the commencement and end of the existing legend. So the complete legend seems to have been *Ram̐no siri*

Sātavāhana meaning '(This coin is) of the king, the illustrious Sātavahana'. The characters are like those on the copper coins, though not so neatly shaped. The upper portions of *sa*, *da* and *va* have not come out on the coin. *D* faces left; *v* has a round lower limb; the vertical of *h* is shortened, but its right limb is still horizontal. These characters leave no doubt that the coin belongs to about the same age as the Nanaghat inscriptions¹. Sātavāhana, who issued it, must therefore be identified with the founder of the so-called Andhra dynasty, as shown in my previous article on the copper coin.

The discovery of the present coin in the excavations at Kondapur is significant. It shows that the central portion of the Hyderabad State formed the dominion of this king. The dynasty did not therefore originate in Andhra-dēśa. The Purāṇas give it the name of Andhra evidently because it was ruling in the Andhra-dēśa when the dynastic lists of the Purāṇas were compiled.

The invariable occurrence of the symbol 'Cross and balls' on these earliest Sātavāhana coins raises the question whether it really originated in Ujjain. Rapson thought its use on the coins of this dynasty signified the conquest of Ujjain by Satakarni, who thereafter performed an Aśvamedha (horse-sacrifice).² We see however that the symbol occurs on the coins of Sātavāhana who preceded Satakarni by at least three generations, and we do not know whether he had conquered Ujjain and borrowed the symbol from that country. It would rather appear that the symbol was current in the Deccan long before the time of Satakarni.

1. *A. S. W. J.*, Vol. V, pp. 60 ff.

2. *Rapson, Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 531

A RHINOCEROS SLAYER TYPE COIN OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I

BY SHRI. M. M. NAGAR, M.A., U.P.E.S.,

CURATOR, PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, LUCKNOW.

The Provincial Museum, Lucknow, has been singularly fortunate in purchasing recently an exceedingly rare type of coin of Kumaragupta I (415-455 A.D.), son of the great Gupta Emperor Chandragupta II. Vikramāditya. This coin is said to have been originally found in Khairabad (District Sitapur) and sold in Lucknow market by a bullion dealer for 500/-/-. It subsequently came into the possession of Lala Nanak Chand Kapoor, a bullion-broker, from whom it was purchased for the Provincial Museum Lucknow, through my efforts. The coin weighs 121 grains, contains 80 per cent pure gold and measures .72" in diameter.

The coin which is enlarged on the plate to 1.5 size (Pl. III. 7.) is of the Rhinoceros-slayer type and represents on its obverse Emperor Kumāragupta wearing a buttoned coat, trousers and jewellery and riding a fully caparisoned horse. He is leaning forward to hit a rhinoceros with a sword, which he holds in the right hand drawn behind. The rhinoceros bravely stands at bay turning back its head to attack the king. The animal is beautifully delineated,—its unicorn on the head, left eye, both the ears and circular scales over the body, all being very artistically portrayed. On the margin is the legend in the usual Gupta Brāhmī script and Sanskrit language running thus: (*Bhartā khaḍga-trātā Kumāragupto jayaty (nis'am)*) i.e. 'Ever victorious is the Lord Kumāragupta who is *khaḍgatrātā*, i.e. a protector by the sword (*khaḍgena-trātā*) from the rhinoceros (*khaḍge-bhyaḥ-trātā*); letters *Kumara*gupta are fairly distinct between I and III, though partly truncated (Pl. III. 7.).

The reverse of the coin shows Goddess Gaṇḍā standing on her vehicle crocodile and behind her a female attendant holding parasol over her head. The legend on this side of the coin runs as *Śrī Mahendrakhaḍgah*, i.e. 'Śrī Mahendra, the swordsman' or 'Śrī Mahendra, the slayer of Rhinoceros'. It is significant to note the pun on the word "*khaḍga*" in

[1. The meaning of this enigmatic expression is difficult to make out. A. S. A.]

both the legends, which means in Sanskrit a "sword" as well as a 'rhinoceros'.

Pl. III 7.

The portrayal of rhinoceros on the coin, illustrated here, is very important as it suggests that nearly 1500 years ago this animal was very frequently met with in Āryāvartta, although it has since become entirely extinct from here. Or alternatively it may suggest that Assam (ancient *Kāmarūpa*),—the marshy jungles of which are even today the abode of rhinoceroses,—was included in the vast empire of Kumāragupta I and that sometime during his life-time the king had visited the place and hunted there these wild and hefty animals. The latter view, however, appears more plausible, as it is supported by similar coin types of other Imperial Gupta Emperors, e.g. the tiger-slayer type of Samudragupta¹, marking his conquest of East Bengal and Assam (*Samatata-ḍvāka-Kāmarūpa*) areas, where alone the tigers are found and the lion-slayer type of Chandragupta II² commemorating his conquest of Kathiawar—the only place where lions are found in India. We know from other sources that Kumāragupta I inherited a vast empire from his father Chandragupta II, which included both Kathiawar and Assam, and it is very probable that he might have visited both these parts of his empire, hunted lions, and rhinoceroses and perpetuated these exploits on his coins.

The recent Bayana hoard found in Bharatpur State (Matsya Union) has brought to light four such coins³ of this king; but they are still in private custody of His Highness the Maharaja, forming his personal property. Our coin is, therefore, the first specimen of its kind which is displayed in a public institution and can be easily seen by numismatists desirous of studying or examining it.⁴ Besides, it is easily the best of all the specimens of this type so far available on account of its being very well-preserved.

1. Kathiawar was not included in the Empire of Samudragupta and hence the absence of Lion-slayer type in his coinage.

2. Possibly the conquest of Western India kept the king engaged for long and as such he could not find time to visit the eastern part of his empire; and hence the absence of Tiger-slayer type in his coinage.

3. *J. N. S. I.* Vol. VIII. Pt. II. Dec 1946 p. 183.

4. Since writing these pages it has been learnt that quite recently the Bharat Kala Bhawan, Banaras, has secured one of the above four coins of rhinoceros-slayer type from the Bayana hoard for its cabinet.

SOME NEW AND RARE COINS FROM KAUSAMBI

BY SHRI M.M. NAGAR, M. A., U.P. E. S.,

CURATOR, PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, LUCKNOW.

The coins published in this paper have been collected from the ancient site of Kausambi (locally known as Kosam), situated at a distance of about 50 miles south west of Allahabad on the bank of the river Yamuna, and are now deposited in the coin cabinet of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow. They are being published here either on account of their extreme rarity or newness.

1. COIN WITH THE LEGEND KOSAMBI

Museum Register No. 1055

Metal—Cait copper

Shape—Originally round but only one fourth piece, roughly quadrilateral in shape.

Size—6" (maximum length)

Weight—35 gms

Obverse—Part of an elephant standing facing a triangle-headed standard below is *jyadhujja*, on the margin, at the upper left on the left, is the legend *Kosambi* in Brahmi characters of second century B.C. below it is 'at'

Reverse—Part of a cross and bulls' or 'Ujjain' symbol, rectangle on each containing four fishes.

(Pl. III 1.)

Remarks. The coin is a highly interesting one as it contains the name of its place of origin as its legend. Copper coins do not usually travel long distances, and the find-spot of this piece would give additional weight to the view that ancient Kausambi is identical with the modern village of Kosam. This usage of giving place-names as legends, though very rare, was not unknown in ancient India as similar coins have also been found from other sites, e.g. Ujjain¹, Tripuri² etc. Three specimens of this type of coin have so far come to light. Of these one exists in the British

1. Allan—*Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum—Ancient India*—p. 262.

2. *Op. Cit.*, p. 239

Museum, London, and is published by Mr. Allan¹ in his *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, Ancient India*. The other, which is described in the *A.S.I.A.R.* 1924-25², has since been lent to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, wherein it is preserved now. A third specimen of this coin which is hitherto unpublished, is in the private collection of Shri Shrināth Sah of Banarās. All these coins are similar to each other and contain on the obverse elephant standing on a ladder in front of a *jayadheja*, six-armed whorl, Ujjain symbol, wavy line or river symbol and the legend Kosambi beginning at 10 o'clock. On the reverse of these coins we have the symbols: tree-in-railing, cross and balls, six-arched hill, tank containing four fishes and *mandiyāla*. Comparing the present coin with those described above we find that the symbols extant on the coin illustrated here, viz. elephant before a *jayadheja*, cross and balls, tank with fishes etc. figure amongst the symbols occurring on the coins already published. Nay, even the juxtaposition of these on the two sets is remarkably similar. We may, therefore, well presume that the present specimen also has been cast from a similar mould. The coin is so far the fourth known specimen of its kind and it is indeed fortunate that despite its being so much damaged, it has preserved the legend quite intact and in good condition.

2. COIN OF (-) RAMITA.

Museum Register No. 10174.

Metal—Cast copper.

Shape—Round.

Size—6"

Weight—38 gms.

Obverse—Symbols completely worn out; legend written in a horizontal line below the symbols in script of second century B. C. and running as (-) *ramitasa* i. e. 'of (-) ramita'.

Reverse—Totally obliterated.

Pl. III 2

Remarks. Unfortunately the first letter of the legend as well as the symbols on the coin, are so much worn out that it is not possible to assign it definitely to the ruler who had issued it. Recently Dr. Altekar³ has published a coin of King Suramitra of Kauśāmbi from the collection of Allahabad Municipal Museum and it is possible that the

1. *Op. Cit.*, Intro. Para 110, Pp. xcviii-xcix.

2. *Op. Cit.*, p. 131, Pl. XXXVIII, Fig. d. 3.

3. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. IV, 1942, p. 5, Pl. I, Figs. 3-4.

may also be a coin of the same king, although in the absence of definite data this is merely a conjecture.

3. COIN OF (-) JYĀMĪTA.

Museum Register No. 10173.

Metal—Cast copper.

Shape—Round.

Size—.6".

Weight—84.5 grs.

Obverse—In incuse, man standing before a tree surrounded by railing and holding a bunch of flowers in his right raised hand; legend in Brahmi script of the second century B. C. written horizontally and beginning from the top on the right side as (-) *jyāmīta* i. e. 'of (-) jyāmīta'.

Reverse—Crude horse prancing to left; head partly visible; above two circlelets one upon the other.

Pl. III. 3.

Remarks—The first letter of the legend being unfortunately worn out, it is difficult to identify the issuer of our coin with certainty. A careful study of its symbols, however, reveals that the coin in all probability belongs to King Jyāthamitra (Sanskrit-Jyeshthamitra), whose several coins have been found from this site. These coins have been published by Mr. Allan¹ and they bear on the obverse the name of the king and an effigy of male figure and on the reverse a prancing horse and a taurine symbol. Comparing these coins with the one under examination we find that although the general type is the same, there exist a few minor differences between the two. In the former both the hands of the male figure rest on his loin while in the latter only one hand is placed akimbo, the other holding a bunch of flowers, being bent and raised up. Then again on the reverse in the former, the horse stands before the taurine, but in the latter instead of taurine we have two circlelets placed one upon the other on the back of the horse. But these differences are very insignificant and should not prevent us from proposing the above identification. The coin is an important one, as it shows a new variety of the coinage of King Jyeshthamitra,—if at all it belongs to him.

[Above the letter *tha*, there are two horizontal lines, which appear like the remnant of the letter *ja*. The name of the issuer was therefore very probably Jyeshthamitra. A. S. A.]

1. *Op. Cit.*, p. 154, Nos. 36-37.

2. Allan—*Op. Cit.*, p. 150, No. 14, Also J.N.S.I., Vol. II, 1940, pp. 106-08,

4. COIN OF JAYAMA ()

Museum Register No 10169

Metal—Cast copper

Shape—Round

Size—7".

Weight—67 grs

Obverse—Below a ladder above in horizontal line, legend in the script of third century A D. which reads as, *Jayama* () Other symbols obliterated

Reverse—Symbols worn out

II III 4

Remarks—In view of the absence of full evidence on the coin, it is extremely difficult to attribute it definitely to its issuer nevertheless the ladder symbol on it, so common to other coins of Kausambi suggests that it must have been struck by a king who ruled here in circa third century A D. and whose name began with the letter *J* *Jayama*. Mr Allan¹ has published three coins which contain the legend *Jayama* in similar script but he has not attributed them to any king. In his learned article on the New Kings and Interesting Coin Types from Kausambi, Dr Altekar² has described two more coins of the type mentioned by Mr Allan and has tried to attribute them to king Vijayamagha a scion of the Maurya dynasty which ruled at Kausambi in about third century A D. but our coin cannot be of this king, for although the coin type is similar to that of the Magha kings the juxtaposition of the letters on it is such as to preclude all possibilities of the existence of any letter before *J* or *M* therefore propose to attribute this coin to a king named Jayamagha who must have belonged to the same dynasty and reigned here like other members of this dynasty in about third century A D. If this identification be correct the coin would be a very valuable one as it would then furnish the name of one more Magha king of Kausambi according to the Puranas, the Magha dynasty had nine kings³. Of these eight kings, viz, Vasisthīputra, Bhimasena, Kocchīputra, Pothasri, Bhadramagha, Śivamaṇḍa, Vaiśravaṇa, Bhūmavarman, Satamagha and Vijayamagha are already known⁴. Our coin now furnishes the name of one more king known as Jayamagha—the ninth in the dynasty thus completing the number given in the Pauranic texts.

¹ *Op Cit* pp 157-158

² *J N S I*, Vol IV Pt I 1942, pp 11-12 Pl I figs 12-13

³ Paigdar, *Dynasties of the Kaly Age*, p 51

⁴ *Journal of the Gwalior Thru Research Institute (J.G.J.R.I.)*, Vol II Pt II 1944 Pp 149-160

5. COIN OF (—) JAYAMA (—).

Museum Register No. 10091.

Metal—Cast copper,

Shape—Irregular round.

Size—7"

Weight—99 grs.

Obverse—Above, bull to left, below (i) *Jayama* (—)
in script of third century A.D.

Reverse—Three arched hill: tree-in-railing.

Pl. III. 5.

Remarks—Can we take this coin as one issued by king Jayamitra? This identification will however appear to be unwarranted as we do not know so far of any such king of this name whose coins have been found from Kauśāmbi. We, however, know of a king Jayamitra from his coins, but he was a ruler of Pañchāla and that too in second century B.C. We know of yet another king Jayamitra whose coin was some years back found by Dr. V. S. Agrawala from Bairant in District Banaras. This coin also is anterior to our coin as shown by its palaeography. Besides, its type is also quite different from that of the coin under review.

If we now examine our coin carefully, we find that the letters *Jayama* are complete and very clear, but before *Ja* there exists slight portion of a letter with *i mātrā*, which unfortunately has not come out well in the photograph. We are, therefore, tempted to construe the full legend of the coin as *Ījayanayha* and ascribe it to this king who belonged to Magha dynasty and whose coins are already known¹. This identification is further supported by the similarity of coin type, palaeography and symbols on other coins of this king found from Kauśāmbi².

6. COIN OF SRĪ RUDRA.

Museum Register No. 10213.

Metal—Copper die-struck.

Shape—Round.

Size—6".

Weight—35 grs.

Obverse—Legend *Srī Rudra* in script of fourth century A. D.

Reverse—Śiva standing by the side of a bull, of which the front part is visible.

Pl. III. 6.

1. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. IV, Pt. I, 1942, pp. 11-12., Pl. I, figs. 12-13.

2. *Allan—Op. Cit.*, pp. 157-158, Nos. 68-70.

Remarks—King Śrī Rudra is not known to us so far from any source, literary, epigraphic or numismatic. The problem, confronting us, therefore, is about his identity. The Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta mentions¹ a king named Rudra or Rudradeva of Āryāvarta, whom the Gupta Emperor is said to have vanquished in his *digvijaya* campaign. It is very probable that this Rudradeva of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription may be identical with Śrī Rudra of our coin. This is borne out by the fact that the coin was found from a site situated within the very heart of Āryāvartta. Besides, the palæography of the coin also lends support to this view, as it is very similar to that of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. It would, therefore, appear that king Śrī Rudra was a king of Kauśambī and its neighbouring districts in Āryāvartta and ruled soon after the extinction of the Magha dynasty. His kingdom, which was apparently a small one, seems to have been contiguous with that of the late Kushana kings of Mathura, as suggested by the coin type. It may also be that king Śrī Rudra might have been in the beginning a feudatory of some later Kushana king but in due course, taking advantage of his master's weakness, became independent, although he continued to adopt the coin-type of his erstwhile master, the Kushana ruler, on account of conservatism, which is so well-known a feature of Ancient Indian Numismatics.

1. Fleet—C. I. I. Gupta Ins. No. 1, line 21.

A UNIQUE GOLD COIN OF CHANDRAGUPTA I.

BY B. CH. CHHABRA, OOTACAMUND.

From the title of this paper the reader may conclude that I am going to deal with a hitherto unknown Gupta coin. But that is not so. The subject of my present article is the very coin which has already been published twice, once in English¹ and for the second time in Hindi,² by Mr. P.L. Gupta, who attributes the coin to Chandragupta II. It has been rightly described as unique, because it is the first of its type so far known. I know that my attribution of the same coin to Chandragupta I will not be readily accepted by the experts. There are two reasons for this: in the first place, no coin of a second type, attributable to Chandragupta I, has so far been discovered; secondly, Mr. Parameshvarilal³ has already demonstrated in his articles that the coin under discussion pertains to Chandragupta II. The gold coins of Chandragupta I, so far known, are all of what is known as Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type, as they depict on the obverse the king Chandragupta I and his consort, the queen Kumāradevī, standing face to face.⁴ In fact, scholars like Mr. John Allan do not consider even these coins as issued by Chandragupta I. According to them, Chandragupta I issued no coins at all. Those of the Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type were, they say, issued by Chandragupta I's son and successor, Samudragupta, in commemoration of the former's marriage in the Lichchhavi family. This view, however, is not acceptable to all. Some scholars have tried to refute it and have adduced arguments to show that those coins are to be attributed to Chandragupta I himself.⁵ When even the attribution of the Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type is thus disputed, it is indeed a fair cry to make people believe that we have found a new type of Chandragupta I's gold coins. Still I venture to place before scholars the results of my examination of the coin.

1. Above, Vol. IX, 1947, pp. 146-50.

2. *Kalaidhī* (Hindi quarterly from Banaras), Vol. I (Pt. I, Śrāvana 2005 Vikrama), pp. 48-51.

3. To avoid confusion, I shall refer to Mr. P. L. Gupta in this article as Mr. Parameshwarilal.

4. John Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, London, 1914, pp. 8-11, Plate III.

5. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters*, Vol. III, 1937, Numismatic Supplement, No. XLVII, pp. 105-11. Above, Vol. X, 1948, pp. 64-5.

Of the two reasons just mentioned, the first one can easily be ignored : for, when we say that we have so far not discovered any other type of coin belonging to Chandragupta I, it does not follow that it is impossible to find any such in future. As for Mr. Parameshwarilal's theory, we may consider it here.

Mr. Parameshwarilal has advanced two main reasons for his ascription of the coin to Chandragupta II : firstly, the metrical legend on the obverse of the coin contains the name *Śrī-Deva*, and secondly the reverse of the coin has the king's religious title *Paramabhāgavata*. We shall presently show that the name *Śrī-Deva* is non-existent in the legend. The actual reading is most probably *vaśudhām*, which has been read as *Śrī-Deva* by Mr. Parameshwarilal. As for the title *Paramabhāgavata*, it will be shown that this is not exclusive to Chandragupta II alone. So far as Mr. Parameshwarilal's contention is concerned there is thus no ground to take his attribution as correct. On the contrary, there are more or less positive proofs to show that the coin pertains to Chandragupta I.

Let us first of all examine the legend. **Pl III 11** reproduces the coin in the original size, but to facilitate the reading we give its enlargement in **Pl III 12**. Mr. Parameshwarilal is right in saying that it is composed in the *Uṣṣṭi* metre. But the reading presented by him shows several faults of prosody, which indicate that his reading is not all correct. He reads the legend as follows :

*Śrī-Devā-prithivīśah
vaśudhām vijyati divam**

It is obvious that the first half¹ contains, as is required, twelve syllabic instants. But the fourth instant in the second *gana* is not independent. It is mixed up with the third *gana*. And that is a flaw. If the reading were something like *Śrī-Devā-prithivīśah*, it would have been all right. Secondly, the *śah* before *va* of *vaśudhām* ought to have changed to *o* according to the rules of *sandhi*. This, however, is not a serious mistake and may be passed by. Again, according to the rules of the prosody, the odd *gana* must be a *jagana*. And in the reading given above, the word *vijyati* happens to be an odd *gana* and it is a *jagana*, which is a defect. Finally, *jyati divam* would be short of one syllabic instant. If it were *divam jyati*, it would have been all right but the remnants of the writing left on the coin suggests the

1. It need not be pointed out that the whole legend constitutes but one half of the verse in the *Uṣṣṭi* metre. When I say 'the first half' it thus actually means the first half of this half verse.

reading *jayati* only, after *vijitya*. The reading *divam jayati* is thus altogether precluded. In this way, Mr. Parameshwarilal's reading is full of defects.

According to him the legend starts, imagining the coin to be the dial of a watch, from VII o'clock and ends at IV o'clock. It is true that legends on some of the Gupta coins do begin and end like that : but, as a rule, they commence from I o'clock and conclude at, say, X o'clock. And in my opinion, the legend on the present coin follows only this general rule. Accordingly, the first half reads : *Vasudhām vijitya jayati*. It goes without saying that this shows no defect. The *ti* in *jayati* is required to be *guru*, which it is, because it is followed by a conjunct *akṣara*. Even if it were left *laghu*, it would not have mattered, as it marks the *yati*. Thus, the reading from I o'clock to V o'clock, as given by Mr. Parameshwarilal is correct ; the only difference is this that he takes it to be the concluding part of the legend, whereas I take it to be the initial part of it. The concluding part, according to me, now begins from VII o'clock. The first three letters of it are read by Mr. Parameshwarilal as *śra-Deva*, while I read them as *tridivam*. The top portions, or the *matras*, of the letters have vanished, but what remains of them can be made out as *trādava*. The point worth noting is that the last of these syllables answers to *tra* and not to *śra*. The restoration of the text as *tridivam* thus appears more reasonable. This word would be the object of the verb *jayati*, and the prose order would be *vasudhām vijitya tridivam jayati*. What follows *tridivam* is read by Mr. Parameshwarilal as *prathivīśvarāḥ*, and his reading appears to be correct. Only the first letter looks more like *pra* than *pri*, in which case the original reading would be either *prathivīśvarāḥ* or *prithivīśvarāḥ*. The recognised forms of the word are *prithivī* and *prithu*, but, according to some lexicographers, forms such as *prithuḥ prathivī*, *prithivī*, etc., are not incorrect either. It may be recalled that the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta has the form *prithivī* in *prithivyāmapratirāṣya* (text line 24). Well, this is by the way. Resuming our observation, attention may be drawn to the dot seen near the tip of the right wing of the bird, Garuḍa. It is taken to be the lower one of the two dots indicating the *visarga* in *pri (prī) thivīśvarāḥ*. After that, two or three letters are missing. They were either originally omitted or they have gone off the flan. Considering, however, the existence of the *visarga* just noticed as well as the sense and the metre, we may fill the blank by supplying a word like *purnyāḥ sukṛtāḥ*, or the like. In this way the metrical legend is perfectly restored as follows :—

Vasudhām vijitya jayati tridivam prithivīśvarah [punyatā*]
[Pl. III. 11, 12]

Those conversant with the Gupta coinage know well that similar metrical legends occur also on the coins of several other Gupta kings. The Chhattra or Parasol type of Chandragupta II's coins, for instance, has :—

Kshitim = arajitya sucharitair = divam jayati Vikramādityah.

The Swordsman type of Kumāragupta I's coins likewise has :—

Ām = arajitya sucharitair Kumāragupto divam jayati.

Those of Kācha have his name in the beginning :—

*Kācho gām = arajitya divam karmahār = uttamair = jayati.*¹

In the case of the Archer type of Samudragupta's coins, the legend begins with his epithet *Apratiratha* :

Apratiratho vijitya kshitim sucharitair = divam jayati.

If the attribution, offered here, of the present coin is accepted, Chandragupta I would be the first of the Gupta rulers to have employed the metrical legend, conveying the sense expressed by *vasudhām vijitya*, etc. The idea conveyed by the half verse seems to have a special significance with reference to Chandragupta I's life, which we shall presently have occasion to discuss.

The peculiarity of the four instances quoted above is that none of them presents any difficulty as to identification. In each case, the legend contains the name or the distinctive title, or both, of the king to whom the particular coin belongs : Kācha, Vikramāditya, etc. It is well known that Vikramāditya stands for Chandragupta II. In the case of the present coin, on the other hand, the identification of the ruler concerned is not so easy. Its legend does mention the name [*Chandragupta**], but it contains no distinctive mark or epithet to enable us to ascertain whether thereby Chandragupta I is meant or whether it refers to Chandragupta II. *Prithivīśvarah* is a common term which here simply means 'king'. Before this word, Mr. Parameshwarilal has read *śrī-Devī*, which would certainly have referred to Chandragupta II, if the reading were correct. In our reading it has no place. In its stead we have read *tridivam*, and the reading appears to be more appropriate, too. Such being the case, what is the harm if we ascribe the coin to Chandragupta I? There can indeed be no serious objection to such a supposition. The mint-master has, from his point of view, distinctly given the name of the issuer as *Chandragu*, evident

1. This half *Upanishad* has a slight defect inasmuch as it shows *yathā* in the word *divam*.

meant for *Chandragupta*, on the coin, below the left arm of the king, in the usual way. He saw no reason to repeat it, by a special epithet or title, in the marginal metrical legend. How could he foresee that a descendant of that Chandragupta would bear the same name, with reference to whom the former must become Chandragupta I and to distinguish him from the other a special epithet must be devised? Had he anticipated any confusion, he might have applied some contra-distinguishing epithet corresponding to *Vikrama* of Chandragupta II. As it is, we may safely assume that Chandragupta I had no distinguishing title, nor had the necessity for such a device arise during his lifetime. The mint-master must thus naturally have thought the mere mention of *Chandragu* (coupled with *Prithivisarab*, thrown in the verse, meaning thereby 'km, Chandragupta) to be a sufficient indication of the issuer of the coin-type.

Let us now take up the title *Paramabhāgavata* which appears on the reverse of the coin, and which is now seemingly the biggest hurdle in the way. This has been cited as the second reason for ascribing the coin to Chandragupta II. It is true that *Paramabhagavata* is a very well known epithet of Chandragupta II, and it has so far been held that of all the Gupta rulers Chandragupta II was the first to have assumed this epithet. But now it can no longer be asserted that none of his predecessors was called *Paramabhāgavata*. We know that the Gava plate¹ and the Nalandā plate² describe Samudragupta likewise as *Paramabhāgavata*. Though the genuineness of these copper charters has been doubted,³ no exception can be taken to Samudragupta's having ever adopted that exalted religious title. There is abundant evidence to show that he was a zealous devotee of Vishnu. In that sense he could very well be styled *Paramabhagavata*. As we have elsewhere⁴ demonstrated in detail, not only Samudragupta, but also all other ancestors of Chandragupta II, were equally fervent worshippers of Vishnu. It is thus no wonder that in the present instance Chandragupta I should also be styled *Paramabhagavata*. The worship of Vishnu had been very popular long before the Gupta age and his worshippers were styled *Bhagavatas*. Take for instance the Besnagar pillar, a *Gorupudhritja*, erected, in honour of the Lord Vasudeva (i.e. Vishnu) about 140 B.C., by a Greek ambassador in India, Heliodoros by name, who styles himself *Bhāgavata*, meaning 'a devotee of the Bhagavan (Vishnu)'.⁵

1. J. F. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions* (I & II Vol. III), p. 256.

2. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXV, p. 52.

3. *Indian Culture*, Vol. XI, 1945, pp. 225-30.

4. *Above*, Vol. IX, pp. 13-45.

5. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1909, p. 1055.

Besides, those coins of Chandragupta II that have *Paramabhagavata* engraved on them, mention also his exclusive epithet *Vikrama* (in the form of *Ajātvikrama* on the gold coins, and in the form of *Vikramaditya* on the silver coins). In other words, these coins are ascribed to Chandragupta II, not because of the title *Paramabhagavata*, but because of the epithet *Vikrama*. Consequently, in the present instance, in the absence of any other corroborative evidence, we are not justified in treating the title *Paramabhagavata* as indicative of Chandragupta II to the exclusion of any earlier Gupta ruler.

The foregoing discussion has only shaken the prevailing belief. By demonstrating the non-existence of the term *Śri-Datta* in the legend, and by showing the non-exclusive and non-deciseive nature of the title *Paramabhagavata*, we have proved only this much that the coin does not contain any distinctive word or symbol on the basis of which it can be attributed to Chandragupta II.

Let us now see if we have something more positive to support our view. We attribute the coin to Chandragupta I. We base this view on various grounds, chiefly

(a) It has his name engraved on it *Chandragu* (i. e. Chandragupta). Attention is invited to the use of *crusiana* here. The Chandragupta Kumudavar type of coins in some instances shows *crusiana* in this position, while in others it is changed to *parusiana* (n, *Chandra*). Chandragupta II's coins on the other hand, so far as I know,¹ invariably have the *parusiana* form *Chandra*. In itself, this is not a very strong argument, but in the present case it certainly has some corroborative value. See also (c) below.

(b) The legend on this coin, on the obverse or reverse has no such distinctive word or epithet as *Vikrama* or the like, except the name Chandragupta. This lends itself to a double interpretation. Firstly, the Chandragupta of this coin is not Chandragupta II,² and secondly, he is sure to be Chandragupta I, for we do not know of any special epithet of this ruler nor do we expect any to have been mentioned on his coins for the reason explained above.

(c) The coin is of the so-called Standard type. The hitherto known coins of Chandragupta I (only one type)

* [1 This is also true of all the coins selected for illustration from the Bayana hoard. (I S. 1)]

[2 Mr. Parameswaraiah in his English article I has not mentioned weight, but in his Hindi article he has stated it to be 6 m. sha. & ratti. The coin was very kindly lent to me by Rai Krishna Das Ji for examination. I cut & weighed on a drug-gist's scale and found it to be 118 grains in weight.]

all show him carrying what is believed to be a standard. Of Chandragupta II, various types of coins have been found, but none of the Standard type so far ! Besides, it is generally held that after Samudragupta no other Gupta ruler issued coins of the Standard type. Therefore, until we find a specimen of this type, which can be attributed to Chandragupta II with absolute certainty, it is safer and more reasonable to attribute the present specimen to Chandragupta I.

It may in passing be remarked that the object held in the left hand of the king on the coin is generally taken to be a standard or a banner. Mr. Parameshwarilal has rightly questioned this view and has suggested that it represents *Rajadanda*. His suggestion is very acceptable. We shall presently revert to this point to elucidate it further.

(d) Its lighter weight favours its attribution to Chandragupta I. It weighs 118 grams.¹ The gold coins of the later Gupta rulers are known to be progressively heavier in weight.²

(e) The palaeography of the legend on the coin likewise supports the view that it pertains to Chandragupta I. Mr. Parameshwarilal has already demonstrated how the form of *bhā* in the word *bhāgavata* is more antique. The curled form of the subscript *r* in *dra* in *Chandragu* is peculiar to the known coins of Chandragupta I. In those of Chandragupta II, the upward curve of the subscribe *r* is not taken so high. The medial *u* in *gu* has been shown to be a comparatively late feature. One explanation of it given by Mr. Parameshwarilal is that it was probably necessitated by the immediate contiguity of the *daṇḍa* on the right, leaving no sufficient space for the usual form of *gu*.³ His other surmise to the effect that the form of *gu* met with on the present coin had probably been in use much earlier, appears to be more correct. The way the *u mātrā* is expressed here in conjunction with *g* is seen in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta in conjunction with *k*, *r*, etc. Recently, some rock inscriptions in the Brāhmī characters of about the third century A. D. have been discovered at Deoprayāg (Tehri-Garhwāl), that are under publication in the *Epigraphia*

1. Above, Vol. IX. p. 147.

2. *Kalanidhi*, I, p. 50 [The space available on the flan for inscribing a particular letter very often determined its form. In the form, which the letter *gu* assumed on the silver coinage of Chandragupta II, its left limb is altogether removed, for the simple reason that there was no space in that direction. The medial *u mātrā* assumes the particular form on this coin because of the presence of the staff of the standard just contiguous to *gu*. A. S. A.]

3. *Ibid.*

India. Some of them contain names such as *Guhavarmā*, *Gukī(h)śvarabhatta*, etc. The form of the letter *gu* found here is exactly similar to the one found on the coin under discussion, as a comparison will clearly show; see **Pl. III. 9. 10**. From this form of the letters *gu*, Mr. Parameshwarilal concludes that the coin was minted most probably somewhere in the western part of India, which came to be included in the Gupta empire.¹⁰ It may be borne in mind that the present coin was purchased at Lucknow in the United Provinces. Now that we have seen that this form of *gu* is found incised on a rock at Deoprayāg, we need not connect its origin with the Western India. I lay stress on this point because that part of the country was not included in the Gupta empire by the time of Chandragupta I, to whom the coin is sought to be attributed.

In this way the palaeographical considerations are also perfectly in accord with our view.

No further argument seems necessary. The foregoing observations are enough to establish that the present coin pertains to Chandragupta I. If that is really so, the identification proposed here is of immense importance indeed. It not only adds considerably to our knowledge of the ancient history of India, but also sets a long-standing controversy at rest once and for all. No one will hereafter deny that Chandragupta I did issue gold coinage. Nor will anybody doubt that the gold coins of the Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type were issued by Chandragupta I himself.

Mr. Allan, while advancing arguments in support of his view, had remarked: "Chandragupta I reigned for a comparatively long period, and it is unlikely that, as he was a *mahārājadhīrāja*, he was content to issue a 'joint' coinage throughout his reign. There is no parallel for a joint coinage,.....";¹ Dr. A. S. Altekar has very deftly met this argument of Mr. Allan by citing an analogous instance, from English history, of a joint coinage, namely the joint coinage of William III and Mary II. "Mr. Allan is surprised", says Dr. Altekar, "that Chandragupta should have been content to issue only a joint coinage throughout his comparatively long reign. The reason is obvious. He must have thought it diplomatically expedient not to offend the susceptibilities of the Lichchhavis by his discontinuing the joint type. To revert to the English example, it may be noted that William III continued the joint type of coinage till the death of Queen Mary II in 1694, after which he issued f

1. *CCGD*, p. lxxiii.

the first time coinage in his own name bearing only his own portrait. As coins of Chandragupta I bearing only his own name and figure are not found, we may perhaps conclude that Kumāradevī did not predecease her husband."¹

How well has Dr. Altekar driven home his point ! When now once he is convinced that we have after all got a coin bearing Chandragupta I's own name and figure, it will add force to his argument so as to clinch the issue. Curiously enough, the analogy drawn by him becomes complete to the last detail. Like Mary II, Kumāradevī did predecease her husband, Chandragupta I, who, like William III, afterwards did issue coinage in his own name, bearing only his own portrait. And a proof of this is the present coin !

We may now say with more certainty that Chandragupta I was the first among the Gupta rulers to have employed such a coin legend as :—

vasudhām vijitya jayati trilokam pṛthivīśvaraḥ puṇyaih.

It means : 'Having conquered the earth, the king is (*now*) conquering the heaven through his meritorious deeds.'

From the abundance of the coins of the Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type, one may presume that Kumāradevī lived quite a long life. From this it follows that, at the time of her death, Chandragupta I was fairly advanced in years. One gets the same impression also by comparing the portrait of the king on the present coin with that on some of his coins of the Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type. After the death of his consort, there must have arisen a question as to what form the coin should be given and what kind of legend it should contain. Hitherto, the obverse had contained the names of the couple, while on the reverse the name of the Queen Royal's family (*Licachharayit*) was prominently displayed. Now when the better half of the monarch was no more, a mention of her name as also that of her family on the coins had no meaning and no justification. To be deprived of his life-partner in the evening of his life must have grieved and depressed the king very much. It is but natural that a man in such circumstances finds consolation by devoting himself more and more to God and pious deeds. He finds in them a heaven of peace. The same must have happened to Chandragupta I. The Gupta kings, it is well known, were devotees of Vishnu from the very beginning. After the death of his wife, Chandragupta I must have redoubled his devotion to his favourite deity, by performing charities and sacrifices. Seeing these propensities of the aged

king, it seems, the mint-master, who must have been a master-artist, skilfully depicted them, both in the legend and in the pictorial representation, on the coin. His design and poetic composition must have caught the fancy of the kings and their mint masters that followed. It was with this in view that I remarked above that the idea conveyed by the metrical legend seemed to have a special significance with reference to the life of Chandragupta I. The pillar surmounted with the figure of Garuda to the right of the king, known as *Garudadhvajā*, is an emblem of the god Garudaadhvaja (Vishnu). The king is shown to be throwing *āhuti* in the *havana kuṇḍa*, pouring gifts in the 'receptacle' (on the deserving persons: *pāre dānān*), or sowing seeds of merits (performing meritorious acts, the fruit of which is the attainment of heaven¹). This reminds one of the Lord's exhortation :

yajña-dāna tarah-karma na tṛāṇyāṁ kāryam eva t it,
yajño dānam tṛptiś=ch= āra paravān manīshīṇām.

Offering sacrifices and performing charities as also practising austerities are the acts that one must not renounce. They must be performed. They are the purifying factors with the men of wisdom². This also explains the title *Parama-blāgyavata* appearing on the reverse of the present coin, where, in the earlier type of coins, the name *Licchhavarayak* occurs. The appearance of the title likewise points to the ardent devotion, on the part of the king, to the Bhagavān, the Lord Vishnu.

We have seen how the same Chandragupta I, who is depicted in a sportive mood on the coins of the Chandragupta-Kumtadēvī type, is figured as a great sacrificer or a donor and as a *Parana-blāgyavata* on this new type. This assorts well with Kalidasa's descriptions of the Raghuvamśi kings, which may be taken as applying to the Gupta kings. *śaiśve=bhṛgusta-vidyānām YAJUḤSVE VISHNAY-AISHINĀM, IĀRDHAKĀ MUNI-VṚITTĪNĀM* *yo jēn=ant tanu-tyajām* '(Of the kings who, in their childhood acquired learning, in their youth sought pleasures, in their old age led a saintly life, (and) in the end shed this mortal coil through Yoga—'.³

Earlier the poet has described them as :

yathā vidhi-hut-ājñīnām yathā kām-ārchit-ārthīnām,
yathā āparāṇḍi dīṇḍanān yathā kāḷa-prabodhinām.

1. On some of Samudragupta's coins of the so-called 'Standard' type, the object taken to be an altar or *kuṇḍa* look more like a flower-pot with plant issuing from it. See for instance, Plate II, Nos. 2, 4, 5, in the *COGD*.

2. *Bhagavadgītā*, XVIII, 5.

3. *Raghuvamśa*, I, 8.

“(Of the kings) who offered sacrifices as laid down in the rituals, who satisfied the needy by giving them as much as they desired, who awarded punishment compatible with the crime, (and) who (always) rose to the occasion (as demanded by a situation) .”¹

It is immaterial to us whether Kalidasa flourished before the Guptas or after them, or whether he was a contemporary of a particular Gupta ruler. He has in the above description, summed up those traits of a ancient Indian culture and, especially, those ideals of statecraft, that had been held in high esteem from time immemorial. It appears that the mint-master has, on the limited space of a coin depicted all those ideals that the poet has expressed in the last quoted verse. We see on the coin the king, standing alert in spite of his age, engaged in offering sacrifice and giving charities, and even holding a *baḍḍa* staff, as if ever ready to chastise the culprit.

As for the *baḍḍa*, we have yet to say a few words. Many scholars believe that the so-called Standard type coins indicate a foreign influence. We have already pointed out, Mr. Patil should have shown the object to be a staff of authority, it is not a rod. The reports are also of the opinion that the coins of this (Staff) type are the latest of the Gupta coins, not because they exhibit an ancient indigenous trait, but because at that time the Gupta mint-masters had before them similar foreign coins to copy, to imitate. We have just seen how the ideals of kingship as conceived by the early Indians themselves are given a pictorial representation on the coin in question. The *baḍḍa*, ‘staff’ or ‘symbol of royal authority’ is also a very early conception with the Hindus, described in detail in the *śruti*s and in the works on polity (*rājasmṛiti*). In Valmiki’s *Rāmāyaṇa*, we find a chapter, known as *Kāchekī Sarga*, wherein are summed up the concepts of Statecraft according to the Ancient Indians. The last verse of this summary is worth noting :—

*rāja tu dharmant hi palayitvī
mihamutir DĀNDĀ DHĀRAH prajāna,
avapya kritsnam rasudhan yitavud
itaś = chyutaḥ sargam = upaiti vidvan.*²

Mark the adjunct *baḍḍa-dhara* here ! In fact, here we have the fountain-head of the coin legend *rasudhan vijitya*, ‘... enjoying the sovereignty over the earth, and thereafter taking paradise !

1. *Ibid.*, 9.

2. *Ramāyaṇa*, II (Avalokanaka) 100, 76

It is up to the experts now to judge whether, in depicting a king with a staff in hand, the mint-master has imitated a foreign coin, or whether he has followed the *daṇḍa-dhara* conception of his own land, as clearly expressed in the verse just quoted. Now, let us see what the *daṇḍa* stands for in the Indian polity. In the *Rājadharmaprakaraṇa* of the *Manusmṛiti*, it is described as the *aijasa* son of Brahman and as the embodiment of Dharma, that is law.¹ In other words, the *daṇḍa* is that *Majesty* of the King, that *Authority* of the State, which is instrumental in maintaining Law and Order within the state, in protecting the Law-abiding and punishing the law-breaker². In art and poetry it is represented usually in the form of a staff. That is why a king, the head of a state, is conceived to be *daṇḍa-dhara* 'staff-bearer'. Mallinatha, while commenting on Kālidāsa's *yathā-viḍhi hut ājñānām*, etc., says "*chaturbhir viśeṣaṁ mīr cēratāyajan-ā-thisukāra DAṆḌADHARATVA-prajāpālana-samaya-jā-parūkatv-ādīni nivakṣitāni*". It is clear that he has paraphrased Kālidāsa's *yathā-parāṇi-daṇḍa* by *daṇḍadhara*. In other words, the association of 'a staff of authority' with a king is an age-old conception with the Indians.³

One word more! In the description of the *daṇḍa*, Manu has *inter alia* said *sarvo daṇḍa-jito lokah*, that is to say 'the world is conquered by the *daṇḍa* alone'.⁴ The mint-master of the coin, on his part, has shown this by placing the *daṇḍa* just where he has written the words *vasudhām vijitā*. On the other side, he has mentioned the attainment of paradise, and just by its side depicted the means thereof, comprising of worship of the Lord, gifts, sacrifices and the like. The mint-master has thereby evinced a keen sense of propriety in design and display. He has given further evidence of his dexterity. Figuratively speaking, right and left stand for friend and foe, 'for' and 'against', respectively. The appropriateness of the staff being held in the king's left hand, which for striking purposes ought to be in the right hand, lies in its symbolism. It shows that the *daṇḍa* is to be used 'against the offenders', who are on our left, so to say. Those who are friendly towards us, receive our favours, which are given by the right hand. The mint-master has thus depicted also the two main functions of a king, *nigraha* and *anugraha*, in a befitting manner.

1. *Manusmṛiti*, VII. 14-31.

2. *Ibid.*, 18 : *daṇḍaḥ śastī prajāḥ sarvā danda eva=abhirakṣhātī*, etc.

[3. For a further discussion about the nature of the object in the king's left hand, see the editor's note at the end.] A.S.A.]

4. *Manusmṛiti*, VII., 22.

In conclusion, let me say a word also about the representation of a goddess, here seated on a simple throne, but elsewhere seated on a lion. She has usually been identified with Lakshmī, the goddess of Fortune. This occurs on the coins of several Gupta rulers. With reference to the goddess-on-lion on certain gold coins of Samudragupta, Dr. R. K. Mookerjee has identified her with Durgā and has concluded that Samudragupta 'became also a devotee of Durgā for the success of his military missions.' But this identification militates against certain well established facts and need not be taken seriously. On the Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type of Chandra-gupta I's coins, the goddess is likewise seated on a lion, and by her side is engraved the word *Licchhavarāḥ*. Dr. Altekar sees in her Durgā and surmises that probably she 'was the tutelary goddess of the Licchhavis'.² Mr. B. S. Sitholey identifies the figure on a lion with 'the queen'. "A queen", says he, "could sit like that on a lion shot by the king. It is a case of warrantable pride in and a graceful tribute to the king's prowess, and is very human."³ This explanation, ingenious as it is, appears to be somewhat ultra-modern. In any case, no satisfactory explanation of the objects held in the two hands of the figure has yet been forthcoming. Here, too, many a scholar sees a foreign element at play. Mr. Sitholey has tried to prove that what has been taken as cornucopiæ is in reality 'a half blown lotus flower'.⁴ But he has thrown no light on the other object, commonly believed to be a noose.

In my opinion, the female figure appearing on the reverse of the Gupta coins, with or without a lion, represents Rājālakshmī, 'Royal Majesty', again a depiction of an abstract idea. She is supposed to be the second wife of a king. In the description of the king Dilīpa, Kalidāsa says :

kalatravantam ātmānam ararodhe mahaty-āpi |
tayā mene manasvinyā Lakshmyā cha vasudhādhipā ||

'Though his ladies' chamber was full of damsels, the king considered himself to be wedded only to her (i. e. Sudakṣiṇā) and to Lakshmī'.⁵ Here Sudakṣiṇā refers to his

1. Raviha Kumud Mookerjee, *The Gupta Empire*, Bombay, 1947, p. 34

2. *JR.ASB, Letters*, Vol. III, 1937, No. p. 108.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, 1948, p. 69

4. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

5. *Raghuramsa*, I, 32. The commentators infer a third wife of the king in the form of *vasudhā* (Earth), from the use of the term *vasudhādhipā* etc. Further on, in connection with Aya, the poet also says *vasumaty-āpi kalatravāḥ* (VIII, 83). In fact, *śat* here stands for all the wealth and prosperity of a king, which includes the earth, too. The use of the term *adha* and *vasumatī* in this connection is significant: *vasudhanam dadhātī* '... *asya asti-iti va* |

chief queen, a lady in flesh and blood whereas Lakshmi laid for his Majesty, his possessions and personality, in other words *kr̥ṣṭi* (treasury) and *dānī* (might and authority). The one term which indicates all these collectively, in the political language, is *pradhāna*—it may be called *pratāpe* as well. Amara while explaining, these two synonymous terms, says

sa pradhānaḥ pratāpeḥ chet ut tādā kośaḥ sandhayaḥ

The *treas* derived or resulting from *kr̥ṣṭi* and *dānī* is called *pradhāna*—*pratyape*. It is the same as *pradhāna*, to visualize it in its feminine form, and that is what constitutes Rajalakshmi. The Rajalakshmi consists of two things: (1) 'entire treasure, sound exchequer, and (2) Supreme authority, a command that nobody can dare disobey (*anādhātā*). We meet with such benedictory expressions in the royal hunters of the Vakataks as *śaśīśvaram abhivānīmanam kośādantāśāmanīmantam*, etc., used with reference to the king. The special mention of *kr̥ṣṭi* and *dānī* in this context is noteworthy. These are the two objects that to my mind, (the figure of) Rajalakshmi appears on the coins holds in her hands. What appears to be the horn of plenty perhaps represents the *kośa* the *treas* (*śaśīśvaram*) or the royal treasury and what evidently the noose stands for the *dānī*. The latter, we have seen, is represented by a staff in the king's hand, but a *paye* can equally be a representative of the royal authority, and for a change, it is this that has been shown in the case of Kṛṣṇakshmi. It may be recalled that the designation of the Custodian of Law and Order in ancient India was *Dandadīkṣu* which is very frequently met with on copper-plate charters. It literally means 'one who carries a staff and a noose' and corresponds to the modern Superintendent of Police. From this it is clear that both staff and a noose are symbolic of the regal power. In this way the female figure on the Gupta coins can, I think satisfactorily be explained as representing Rājalakshmi, the presiding deity of the Royal Treasury and the Royal Authority. The gold coins are, as it were, so many brilliant tokens of the exalted monarch's state of the royal treasury, and it is but meet that they bear an effigy of the *King* on one side and that of his *Minister*, his inseparable companion on the other. Where he is shown as seated on a lion, the monarch seems to have followed the quasi-etymological meaning of the word *simhāsi* (*simhāśī* *śī* *asīnam*, 'lion-seat'), which ordinarily stands for a throne', and to have playfully brought a lion in the picture.

EDUOKS VILW.

After carefully re-reading the most valuable paper of Dr. Chhabra, I feel that time has not yet come when we can with confidence attribute this coin type either to Chandragupta I in preference to Chandragupta II or vice versa. Mr. P. I. Gupta had argued in favour of the attribution to Chandragupta II. Dr. Chhabra has done well in emphasising the points which point to its attribution to Chandragupta I. Out of his argument, (a) relating to the spelling of the name as *Chimhri* and (c) relating to *palay* or *grapay* are not very conclusive. *Palay* or *grapay* does not help us much in numismatics when the difference in time is only of about 50 years. Argument (c) is also not conclusive. Chandragupta II may well have continued the Standard type for some short time before he decided to discontinue it. In this connection I would like to draw the reader's attention to a unique but little known coin type of Chandragupta II published in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Benarès pp. 129-30 and Pl. VI. On the obverse of this coin, on the reverse of the coin under discussion, the Emperor is called a trader or *kapilanda* and his name under the left arm is not *Chandra* but as *Chhri (m) dri*. Unfortunately the illustration of the coin is too poor to permit the reading of the inscription on the obverse. It is no doubt ends with *Chandragupta* on the right. It bears at VII with the word *Pura*. The reverse of this coin shows the Emperor seated on couch, facing each other the Emperor's name on the left and *kramih* on the right. Here the coin firmly testifies that Chandragupta II Adikramidityacharya is one coins, where he was shown as having a standard on his left hand as on the present coin. We have thus at least one specimen of the standard type which we can attribute to Chandragupta II with absolute certainty and to the name of (c) of Dr. Chhabra fails. His argument (d) based upon the weight, is not of much help. It is certain that the average weight of well preserved coins of Chandragupta I varies between 120 and 121.5 gms. whereas several well preserved coins of Samudragupta of the Good Little type and *Aśvamedha* type each weigh between 115 and 118 grams. While there was no standard weight standard of 120 grams in the reign of Chandragupta I there were three weight standard of 115, 118 and 121 gms in the reign of Samudragupta. Compare for instance the weights of coins Nos. 18, 19, 22, 23, 25 to 29, 38, 53, 54, 55, 62 etc in the *B. M. G. D.* Some *Amber* type

coins of Chandragupta II also weigh in the vicinity of 118 grains; compare the weights of coins Nos. 64, 68, 69, 75, etc. in 'B. M. C. G. D. In my opinion, therefore, the weight of the present coin does not help us much in determining its attribution. The argument (b) of Dr. Chhabra has considerable force. On the gold and silver coins of Chandragupta II, the *biruda Vikrama* does almost invariably occur either alone or in combination with some other words like *Ajita*, *Simha* etc. either on the obverse or on the reverse. But here also there is one exception. On one Lion-slayer type, published in B. M. C. G. D., Pl. IX, 10, we have the legend *Simhachandra* on the reverse and an incomplete legend on the obverse [*Nare*] *ndrasaha Chandragupta* *pri*, which also does not appear to have included the title *Vikrama*. As to the title *Paramabhāgavata*, although it is quite possible that all the Gupta emperors may have been devotees of Vishṇu, genuine evidence is still lacking to prove that this title was used by any of the predecessors of Chandragupta II. The Gaya and Nalanda plates are in my opinion forged documents and it is well known how the forgers very often transfer the epithets of one emperor to another.

The ingenious arguments of Dr. Chhabra have supported the attribution of the coin type in question to Chandragupta I in a very eloquent manner. Unless however more evidence is produced, the case cannot be regarded as proved. In the meanwhile I cannot conceal my predelection for the view that the coin should be attributed to Chandragupta II for the reasons explained above.

DOES THE KING HOLD A RĀJADAṆḌA IN HIS LEFT HAND ?

I quite agree that the passages quoted by Dr. Chhabra show that the conception of the king as a *daṇḍadhara* was quite old and indigenous in ancient India. But this does not conclusively show that the motif in question upon the Gupta coinage is not borrowed from the earlier Kushāṇa coins current in the Punjab in the 3rd century A. D. If this conception was so popular and the mint-masters were anxious to emphasise it in the coinage of the dynasty, one does not easily understand why it should have been tried during one reign and been practically given up later on. The Archer type persisted through several reigns; why did not the *rājadaṇḍa* type do the same if the conception was so popular? It is because this type is seen to be very popular just at the beginning of the dynasty when the foreign influence was

visible in several respects, that the numismatist is inclined to postulate that it may be due to an imitation of the late Kushāṇa prototype.

As to whether the object in the king's hand is a *rājadaṇḍa* or a spear or a standard, it may be pointed out that the published coins show that it was differently represented by different mint-masters. In some cases, as in *B. M. C. G. D.*, Pl. 1, 7, 10, 11, 13, it has a thick and round knob and thus clearly resembles a *rājadaṇḍa*. But a ribbon or a fillet or a banner-like object is also shown as tied to it at its top or middle ; I do not know whether the sceptre had this appendage in Ancient India. On most coins of this type we clearly see this flag-like object attached to the staff sometimes at the top and sometimes near the middle, and so the theory gains ground that it may be a standard. In some cases, it has a sharp and pointed end ; cf. *B. M. C. G. D.*, Pl. 1, 6, 8, 15, 16 ; this induced Smith to designate the type as the Spearman type. It may be pointed out that this pointed object also has usually a fillet or a flag-like object attached to its top or centre. One does not usually find it on a spear. It will be thus seen that it is not easy to pronounce dogmatically that the object in question is everywhere intended to stand either for a Standard, or a Spear or a *Rājadaṇḍa*.

A NEW SUB-VARIETY OF THE CHATTRA-TYPE
COIN OF CHANDRAGUPTA II.

By J. K. AGARWAL, LUCKNOW.

Metal Gold.

Weight. 120 grs.

Size. .8"

(Obtained from Dist. Sitapur.)

Obverse:—King, not nimbate, standing to left holding a garland-like object in his right hand, while his left hand rests on sword-hilt; behind the king is a dwarf-attendant holding a parasol over the king. Legend, *Kṛitimavaj(i)*, the concluding part *tya sucharitair divam jayati Vikramādityah* is off the flan. The king and the dwarf attendant both wear a small *Kulgi* over their heads.

Reverse:—Goddess (Lakshmi) standing facing left on a pedestal with the toe of her right foot touching the pedestal behind the left leg. She holds a fillet in her right hand and her left hand rests on her waist holding a twig of a lotus flower. There is no symbol on the coin. The usual legend is obliterated due to the coin being worn out.

Pl. III. 8

A similar coin, but of a different die, was published by me in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol IV p. 59.

The present coin however differs from it in having no symbol and the peculiar posture of the toe of the right foot. The garland-like object in the hand of the goddess has been identified by Dr. A. S. Altekar with ten *puṇḍrās* falling in two rows

[The goddess is represented as standing on several Gupta coins, but the present coin is the first piece where she is shown as touching the pedestal by the toe. The posture is very graceful and shows how the Gupta artists were ever in search of new forms of beauty. A. S. A.]

CAN KĀCHA BE IDENTIFIED WITH RĀMAGUPTA ?

BY P. L. GUPTA, ASST. EDITOR AJ, BANARAS.

In a paper published in this Journal, Dr. A. S. Altekar has suggested that Kācha of the gold coins was the predecessor of Chandragupta II, and as such he should be identified with Rāmagupta of literary sources. The arguments advanced are however not decisive; the author in fact himself admits that more evidence would be necessary before the theory can be accepted.

I am in entire agreement with Dr. Altekar in his view that Kācha must be differentiated from Samudragupta. But can he not be his brother rather than his son ?

There is sufficient evidence in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta to show that he had several brothers who felt disappointed when aged Chandragupta I nominated Samudragupta as his successor. Verse No. 5 of this inscription clearly refers to a civil war at the beginning of his reign, wherein he is described as having conquered some of his enemies by his prowess, others having surrendered themselves voluntarily. Why not assume that Kācha was the brother who headed the rebellion against Samudragupta and who issued some coins during his brief period of ascendancy ? The theory gets unexpected corroboration from the *Mañjuś'rīmūlakalpa*, which observes that Samudragupta had a younger brother, who disputed his succession and ruled for some time. It is no doubt true that the name of this rebel brother is given as Bhasma, but I have already shown how Bhasma being a synonym for Kācha, there is no difficulty in identifying Bhasma with Kāchagupta. It may be pointed out that while there is clear evidence to show that Samudragupta had some brothers, one of whom could have been Kācha, there is no conclusive evidence to show that Rāmagupta of the literary tradition was a historical figure at all, and a brother of Chandragupta II. The silence of the epigraphical and numismatic evidence can somehow be explained, but it is still very significant.

Let us now examine the numismatic data more carefully.

1. The *viruḍḍi*, *sarvarājochhettā* may well have been borrowed by Samudragupta from his revolting brothers coinage. Similarly *Kācho gāmarajitya divanī karmahiruttamair-jayati* can as well have been the prototype of *Apratiratho vijitya kshitim suharitairdivanī jayati*, as vice versa.

2. There is no doubt a marked resemblance in the posture of the goddess on the reverse on the coins of Kācha gupta and those of the Aśvamedha and Tiger-slayer types of Samudragupta. But a minute examination will show greater Indianisation in the type on the coins of Samudragupta. On the coins of Kācha, the goddess holds the foreign cornucopiæ in her hand; it is replaced by the Indian lotus on the Tiger-slayer type. On the coins of this type, the goddess is not standing on a mat, as on the Kācha coins, but on a *makara*, an Indian motif, showing considerable originality. Will it not then be more reasonable to maintain that the Kācha coins are the precursors of the Aśvamedha and Tiger-slayer types, than vice versa? If so, it will immediately follow that Kācha was not a successor but a predecessor of Samudragupta. This will support my view that he was a rival brother of Samudragupta.

3. When *Garudathraja* was once introduced by Samudragupta as royal emblem, it was continued without a break by all his successors. If we place Kāchagupta subsequent to Samudragupta, and identify him with Ramagupta, it is difficult reason to explain why the latter should have discarded an innovation of his father, who had nominated him as his successor. On the other hand, if we place Kāchagupta before Samudragupta, we can well understand the non-occurrence of *Garudathraja*. It had not been introduced by Chandragupta I on his coinage and so his immediate successor Kācha naturally did not think of it.

4. The composition of the Tanda hoard does not go against my view. It contains the coins of Chandragupta I, and Kāchagupta and Tiger-slayer and Aśvamedha types of Samudragupta. Dr. Altekar suggests from this datum that Kāchagupta succeeded Samudragupta; I maintain that it is quite compatible with my view that Kāchagupta preceded Samudragupta.

5. The composition of the Bharsar¹, Hugh², Tikri Debra³ and Bamnala⁴ hoards supports my view. Kings from Samudragupta onwards are represented in these hoards. Why should Kāchagupta be represented in none of them, if he was a successor of Samudragupta? These hoards do not contain the coins of Chandragupta I and it is possible to assume that his successor Kāchagupta also was no

1. *J. A. S. B.*, 1852, pp. 390-100.

2. Allan, *B.M.C. G.D.* p. cxxiv-cxxvi.

3. *Num. Chr.*, 1910, pp. 398-408.

4. *J. N. S. I.*, vol. V, pp. 135-144.

represented in them, as the earliest king included was the successor of Kāchagupta, viz., Samudragupta.

I therefore think that we should accept the tradition recorded in the *Muṅjuśrīmūlakalpa* and identify Kācha of the coins with Bhasma *alias* Kachagupta, a younger brother of Samudragupta, who had managed to be on the Gupta throne for some months in defiance of the nominee of his father.

DR. ALTEKAR'S REPLY.

Mr. Gupta has done well in drawing our attention to the various points, which render it probable that Kāchagupta may have been Bhasmagupta (of the *Muṅjuśrīmūlakalpa*), a younger brother of Samudragupta, who had rebelled against him. In my paper, which Mr. Gupta has criticised, I had ended by saying

'Known numismatic and literary data and traditions can best be explained by assuming that Kāchagupta is different from Samudragupta and identical with Rāmagupta of the literary tradition, who was the predecessor of Chandragupta. *More evidence is however necessary* before this hypothesis can be accepted as a *historio fact*.

After considering Mr. Gupta's arguments, I can state that his theory is also a probable hypothesis, which can one day be accepted as a historic fact, if conclusive historic evidence becomes available in its support. As it is, both our views are mere theories.

The arguments of Mr. Gupta are quite interesting but not conclusive.

1. As to argument No. 1. above, it is difficult to adduce conclusive evidence to show that one particular legend out of the two is the prototype of the other. It is however more likely that *Apratirutho vijitya kshitim sucharitatrdtram jayati* should be the earlier legend. It forcefully and graphically describes the valour and victories of Samudragupta; *Kācho gāmarajitya kamabhiruttamair dīcam jayati* is its lifeless paraphrase. It is difficult to believe that Samudragupta would have slavishly copied the *birud*, *sarvarājochchettā* of his brother, whom he had vanquished.

2. I agree with Mr. Gupta that the standing deity on the coins of the Tiger-slayer type of Samudragupta shows greater originality and Indianisation. But the presence of the cornucopiae is no conclusive evidence to show that the type where it occurs is earlier in date than the type where it does not occur. Cornucopiae figures on several

coins of Chandragupta II of the Archer¹ and Lion-slayer types² and on some coins of Kumāragupta I also of the Lion-slayer type³. If Chandragupta II could have retained it on his coinage, the same might as well have been done by Kāchagupta, whom I assume to be his immediate predecessor.

3. The argument No. 3 loses much of its force owing to the discovery of a coin of Kāchagupta in the Bayana hoard, where we see the *Garuḍadhvaḥa* on the obverse. We need no longer place Kāchagupta before Samudragupta on the ground that he was not aware of the innovation of *Garuḍadhvaḥa* by Samudragupta. This new coin of Kāchagupta was published in the last number [*J. N.S.I.*, Vol. X. Pl. V.]

4. Like argument No. 1 above, this argument can support both my theory as well as that of Mr. Gupta.

5. The non-occurrence of the coins of Kācha in the hoards mentioned by Mr. Gupta need not necessarily prove that Kācha did not succeed Samudragupta. Who is the earliest king represented in these hoards? Kāchagupta had a short reign and so his coinage was not numerous. It is quite natural that it may not be represented in these hoards. It may be further pointed out that the contents of the Hughli hoard were never noted, and only 32 out of the 160 coins of the Bharsar hoard were preserved. It is not unlikely that there may have been some coins of Kācha among those which were sold or melted away. In the Tekri Debra hoard, there were only 40 coins out of which only 3 were of Samudragupta. If an emperor who ruled for about fifty years and has left us numerous coinage was represented in this hoard of 40 coins by three pieces, there is no wonder if Kāchagupta who had a short reign is unrepresented in it. Bannala hoard had only 21 coins and we need not be surprised if Kāchagupta is unrepresented in it.

Before concluding I take this opportunity of correcting a serious printing mistake of omission in my paper which Mr. Gupta has criticised. In argument (c) p. 136 of Vol. IX, the first sentence reads as follows:—

'The *biruāḍa* on the reverse *sarvarājochchhattā* had not yet been used for Samudragupta'

1. Allan., *B. M. C. G. D.*, Pl. VI. 1-7.

2. *Ibid.*, Pl. VIII. 11-13.

3. *Ibid.*, Pl. XIV. 1-3.

The sentence should read :—

‘The *biruḍa* on the reverse *sarvarājoch-khetta* had not yet been *exclusively* used for Samudragupta.’

I am refering here to the fact that it is only the inscriptions of Chandragupta II and his successors which associate this epithet exclusively with Samudragupta. There is no evidence to show that such was the case in the earlier period.

LEGEND ON BAREED SHAHI COINS.

By H. KANS, HYDERABAD DM.

In my article on the copper coins of the Bareed Shahi kings of Bidar in the J. N. S. I, Vol. VII, Parts I and II, for 1945, I read the legend on the reverse as: "Amir Bareed Shah as 'Sultan al'Adil". Since then my friend, Mr. Muhammad Abdul Hameed Siddiqi, M.Sc, a keen student of Indo-Muslim numismatics, has drawn my attention to the fact that one more word appears before the legend. He reads it as بامر "Be'amr", meaning, "by the order of".

I have examined the thirty coins I described in the above article, and a few others which I acquired since then, and find that his reading of the word is quite reasonable. Hence the complete reading of the legend on the reverse of the copper coins of the Bareed Shahi kings of Bidar should be :—

بامر امير پيدشاه السلطان عادل

“Be'amr-e-Amir Bareed Shah as'Sultan al'Adil", meaning, (this coin is struck) by the order of King Amir Bareed Shah, the just.

COPPER COINS IN BOMBAY MINT, 1669-1677.

BY MR. S.C. UPADHYAYA, M.A., CURATOR, VICTORIA AND
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The Port and Island of Bombay were given to the King of Great Britain as the result of the marriage treaty, signed in 1661, between Catherine, the sister of Alphonso VI. of Portugal, and Charles II of England. The actual cession of the Port and Island of Bombay did not take place upto 1665. These were transferred to the E. I. Co. in March 1668, but they actually passed into their possession on 23-9-1668. Gerald Aungier was the President during the period 1669-1677 and the present note refers to the coins issued from the mint at Bombay during 1672-74.

The Court of Directors wrote in 1671 to the President of Surat to coin money. Aungier informed the officer at Surat in September 1672 that the Court of Directors had ordered minting of gold and silver coins. The officer in return wrote in October 1672 to the Court of Directors, that copper coins would be struck. Gerald Aungier informed them in December 1672 that minting of copper coins had begun.

Aungier suggested in 1675 the establishment of a mint at Bombay. The king issued Letters Patent to the E. I. Co., in 1676 to have a mint at Bombay for coining gold, silver, copper and tin; this fact was intimated to the officer at Surat in 1677.

According to Atkins the first money coined in the East in India was at Bombay, in 1671.

Thurston published a silver rupee bearing date A. 7, saying that it is dated in 1667 i.e. 7 years from Restoration (1660 plus 7). Thomas on the other hand put it at 1675 i.e. 7 years from the date of the charter (i.e. 1668 plus 7).

Foster published a copper coin with the date A. 7 and put it at 1672, i.e. 7 years from cession of the Port and Island (i.e. 1665 plus 7).

Looking into these conflicting statements, we find that Atkin's date may be wrong. It may be 1672. Thurston's date is definitely wrong, as there was no mint in 1667 at Bombay, nor had any orders then been passed by the Court

of Directors to coin money. The date given by Thomas is also incorrect as the orders were passed in 1671 and we find Aungier also informing the Court of Directors, in 1672 that the coining work had begun. Foster's date, 1672, therefore appears to be the most probable one.

There are four copper coins of the type discussed here in the Victoria and Albert Museum, Bombay, bearing the date A. 9. The Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, has also some copper coins dated A. 9. It is accordingly presumed that no copper coins bearing dates earlier than A 7, and later than A 9 were minted at Bombay. No coin dated A 8 is known so far.

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SOME NEW EPHTHALITE COINS

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The Ephthalites or the White Huns are notorious for their inroads in the pages of history. They have been regarded as barbarous people, who could not even issue their own original coinage. It is well known that these Hūṇas imitated the coin-types of the kings they annihilated and the places which they ransacked. Nevertheless, the study of Hūṇa coinage is full of interesting and obscure points. It is replete with several problems which still baffle scholarly ingenuity.

New coins of the Hūṇas are being published now and then. Dr. A. S. Altekar purchased some new Hūṇa coins for the Benares Hindu University Coin-Collection in the Christmas of 1945. He published one of them, a coin of Lakhaṇa Udayāditya in *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. IX, Part I. Two other silver coins recently purchased are now being published herewith ; their weight is 53 grains.

I

The description of the first coin is as follows :—

Obverse :—Within dotted border, beardless bust of king to right. The king wears a peculiar conical cap decorated with six or seven short vertical lines projecting upwards from the lower band of the cap ; this is an unusual feature on Hūṇa coins. A crescent, as usual, overlaps the front side of the cap. It resembles very much a Phrygian cap. There are two streamers attached to it. The king wears necklace. The bust of the king is placed on a 'spread-out-two-leaves' motif. In front of the bust there is a standard decorated with fillets arranged in triangular shape. The crowning feature of the standard appears to be Sun or Solar wheel, embedded in a crescent.

The legend running from IX to I o'clock reads :—

J A Y A T U Y A B U . (P U ?) S A R A

Reverse :—This side is blurred but shows traces of altar in the centre with attendants on either side.

The type of the Sun standard is not found on any other Ephthalite coins. We have got some thing like it on one coin described by Cunningham¹; he calls it an ornamental circle. But it is to be noted that there the circle is oval in shape and the other features including the face of the king are quite dissimilar to the present coin. Prinsep has referred to a coin bearing the symbol of "a full blown flower (possibly Sun), and an imperfect legend, which he doubtfully transcribes as श्री यः रजः"². The coin has not been illustrated and so we cannot compare it to the present coin. As far as the legend is concerned, we find that it does not tally with it.

Toramāṇa was known as Shāha JAUVLA, JABULA and JABUVLA. The legend YABUSARA of the present coin may be a variant of JABUSARA and quite possibly may be regarded as the same as JABUVLA and thus may well have been a title of Toramāṇa.

I suggest that the Sun Standard on this Ephthalite coin may possibly be in allusion to Toramāṇa's preference for the solar worship, which is shown by his building a temple to the Sun in Multan and by naming his son Mihirakula.³

We are already aware of copper coins issued by Toramāṇa with 'Solar Wheel' and the Brāhmī legend TORA⁴. So it is not unlikely that this coin may also have been issued by Toramāṇa, who was known by other names or titles like Jaula, Jabuvla and Yabusara (Jabusara), as evinced by this coin.

II

The second coin is also a rare specimen of Indo-Sassanian coinage. Its description is as follows:—

Obverse:—Within dotted border beardless head of king to right, who is wearing plain conical cap with streamers behind. A small and slim human figure is facing the king standing crosslegged and raising one of its hands before the face of the king in front. There is a double halo round the head of the standing figure indicated by incomplete

1. Cunningham : *Later Indo-Scythians*, p. 283 pl. VII^f, 17.

2. Prinsep : *Indian Antiquities*, Vol I. p. 412.

3. Cunningham : *Later Indo-Scythians*, p. 282-53.

4. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol I p. 232 235, pl. XXV, 4

circles of dots, probably suggesting its divine nature. It is difficult to distinguish the sex of the figure.

The legend running from VIII to I o'clock is not very clear. Few letters can be read and the legend may be restored as (J A) Y A T U.....(T) Y A ¹

Reverse :—Although completely blurred, this side shows signs of striking

Indo-Sassanian coins are no doubt known as having some object before the face of the king on the obverse like Bull-Standard, Sun-Standard, Trisūla, Wheel-on Lotus, Throne, Large Flower in undulated stem, etc.² But only a few coins of this class have come to light which have a human figure in front of the bust. One such coin has been published by Cunningham³ and another by Prinsep⁴. But it is notable that these coins bear no resemblance to one another: they differ in shape and size as also in the posture and attitude of the human figures. On the coin of Cunningham, the human figure stands erect facing front, with double halo. The Prinsep's specimen has got skeleton-like figure facing left with some clear object in right hand. Prinsep has read...PRATI on the coin published by him. But he has referred⁵ to a coin in the British Museum with a similar small figure and having the letters...., DITYA on it. We find that the letter...TYA is clear on the present coin as the last letter of the legend, and so it is quite possible that this coin also may be an issue of the same king who issued the British Museum specimen referred to by Prinsep. Of course, it is very difficult to conjecture the full name of the king who issued them. The only popularly known Indo-Sassanian ruler having his name-ending in *ditya* is Lakṣṇa Udayāditya. But we do not find any human figure on the obverse of coins of this ruler published so far. So it is not possible to attribute definitely this coin to him, unless we get some other coin with complete legend.

1. The letter '(t)ya' at I o'clock is quite clear in the original. [I am sorry that this letter has not come out well on the plate, but I agree with the author in stating that it does exist. A S.A.]

2. Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, pp. 281, 284-85; pls. VIII. 3; IX, 3, 7, 10.

3. Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, p. 284, pl. IX, 5.

4. Prinsep; *Indian Antiquities*, vol. I p. 410, pl. XXXIII, 4.

5. *Ibid.*, vol. I p. 410.

SOME RARE AND UNIQUE COINS IN THE PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM, BOMBAY.

BY DR. A. S. ALTINKAR,
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In the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India, held at Bombay in December 1947, it was decided that steps should be taken to scrutinise the coin collections in the different museums in the country with a view to see whether they contained fresh and valuable material which was worth publication. I was requested to take the necessary steps with reference to the Ancient Indian numismatic material. I had my own University work and could devote my spare time in the vacation only. I decided to begin with the Prince of Wales Museum. We had taken the above decision at a meeting held in that Museum and I was sure of hearty cooperation from its staff, which included two of our trusted and old office-bearers. I spent a few days during the summer vacation of 1948 in Bombay and prepared tentative notes on coins worth publication. Messrs G.R. Gyani and C.R. Singhal supplied me with photo-prints of coins, which I wanted to study, and the Trustees of the Museum very graciously permitted me to publish papers on the selected coins from their Museum in our Journal. Later on Mr. Singhal supplied me with the weights of these coins as well. On behalf of the Numismatic Society, I desire to express its gratitude to the Trustees of the Museum for the permission that they have given for the publication of the valuable material in their custody. This step will undoubtedly serve to give a well-deserved and wide publicity to the rare coins in the Museum and also benefit the scholars by placing fresh material before them for study. It is to be hoped that the authorities in other museums will follow the example of the Prince of Wales Museum in ensuring a speedy publication of their coins through competent scholars.

I shall in this paper write upon and illustrate twenty two coins in the Museum; others will be published later. Some of the coins selected are unique, and some rare. Some have been selected to remove the impression that the specimens of their types exist only in foreign Museums and are not available in India. It is high time that scholars should get a clear, correct and comprehensive

idea of the numismatic material available in our own country for study through the pages of this Journal, though some of it may have been published already through specimens existing in foreign museums.

A COPPER COIN OF EUTHYDEMOS I

Few coins of Euthydemos exist in Indian Museums. His rule did not extend over India and so only a few coins could reach the country during the reign of his famous and victorious son Demetrius I. The Indian Museum has five coins and the Punjab Museum has only two.

The coin in the Prince of Wales Museum is of the Head of Heracles and Prancing Horse type. Its obverse is blurred, but both the horse and the legend on the reverse are quite well executed and preserved. The galloping motion of the prancing horse is very successfully shown and the coin shows high artistic merit.

Metal, copper ; size, more oval than round, 1.1" ;
weight, 114 grains.

Obv : Bust of Heracles, damaged and blurred.

Rev : Prancing horse in full gallop to r ;

Legend above, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ

Legend below, ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ

Probably no monogram.

Pl. I. 1.

A GOLD STATERO OF MENANDER (?)

Menander issued a large number of coin types with animal motifs like Lion, Ox, Elephant and Owl. The coins with Owl motif were once very rare, but recently the present writer published two didrachms and one hemidrachm with Owl on the reverse (*J. N. S. I.*, VIII, Pl. IV).

Pallas was the most popular deity with Menander. She occurs on several of his types either in the standing posture or in helmeted bust. On one silver type we have helmeted bust of Pallas to right on the obverse and Owl facing on the reverse, *P. M. C.* VI., 180. As the coin-type is an inscribed one and bears Menander's name both on the obverse and the reverse, there can arise no doubt about its attribution.

Recently however some gold staters have come to light which are uninscribed, but which exactly resemble the above inscribed type of Menander, having Helmeted Bust of Pallas

on the obverse and Owl on the reverse. Major General H. L. Haughton exhibited two such coins at a meeting of the Royal Numismatic Society held at London on the 18th of May 1944, and suggested that they should be attributed to Menander though uninscribed. I have recently purchased one specimen of this type for the cabinet of the Benares Hindu University. The Prince of Wales Museum also has got one specimen procured as early as in 1917 from Mrs. Howell; I am publishing it herewith.

Metal, gold; size, round, .7"; weight 130 grains.

Obv : Within bead and reel border, helmeted bust of Pallas to r. No legend or monogram.

Rev : Within bead and reel border, only partially on the flan, Owl to r., facing; monogram behind.

Pl. I 2.

The attribution of this type to Menander in the absence of the legend can only be regarded as probable. As pointed out above, we have got exactly this type in silver where the king's name occurs both on the obverse and the reverse. The type, Bust of Pallas to right on the obverse and Owl on the reverse, is known to be issued by no other ruler. It is therefore quite probable that the uninscribed staters, we are discussing, may have been issued by Menander. Owl occurs on the coinage of only one other Indo-Greek ruler, viz Archebius, but there it is associated with Nike or Elephant (*B. M. C. G. S.*, Pl. IX. 6, 7).

We have now got at least four specimens of these owl staters, but one really wonders why they should all have been systematically uninscribed. Uninscribed issues of Greek rulers are really very few. We have the Bull and Tripod-*lebes* type of Apollodotus as another instance. But it was a copper denomination, issued in Indian rectangular shape, and may have been influenced by the Indian prototypes in copper, which were usually all uninscribed. One really wonders whether Greek rulers of India could ever have issued any specimens of gold currency without caring to put their names. These four gold owl staters therefore raise a problem, which cannot be still regarded as solved. Their attribution to Menander can at best be regarded as a tentative hypothesis.

SQUARE COPPER COIN OF HELIOKLES.

Heliokles was the last king to remain in possession of Bactria. He issued a number of coin types both in silver

and copper. One of them shows on the obverse, the diademed bust of the king and on the reverse, Elephant to left. The Prince of Wales Museum possesses a fairly beautiful and well-preserved coin of this type, which is much better preserved than the specimen in the Punjab Museum. *B. M. C. G. S.*, Pl. VII. 7, illustrates another coin of this type, and *A. S. I. A. R.*, 1915-16 Pl. XXV. 3, a third one.

Metal, copper; size rectangular, '8" x '6";
weight, 135 grains.

Obv: Diademed bust of the king to r.

Legend to l. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
above, ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ
to r. [Π]ΑΙΟΚΑΕ[ΟΥΣ]

Rev: Elephant walking to l.

Legend, on r. [Ma]harayasa
on top, Chramikasa
on l. , Heliakrreya

Pl. I. 3.

A SQUARE COPPER COIN OF APOLLODOTOS (?)

Copper; irregularly rectangular, '6" x '5";
weight, 20 grains.

Obv: In a square enclosure, Bull to r. No legend or monogram.

Rev: In a beaded square, tripod lebes. No legend or monogram.

Pl. I. 4

The Punjab Museum has five coins of this type with weights varying from 17 to 28 grains. Its catalogue however does not illustrate even one of them. *B. M. C. G. S.*, registers one coin of this type, on p. 36, which it illustrates on Pl. IX. 13. Its weight is not recorded. The specimen from the Prince of Wales Museum, which we are publishing, is in good condition and will enable numismatic workers to have an idea of the type without the trouble of procuring a book, now out of print.

The attribution of this coin type to Apollodotos can be regarded only as probable, as the coin bears no legend. Both Bull and Tripod-lebes are most common motifs on the inscribed coins of Apollodotos, and if they occur together on an uninscribed specimen found along with other coins of Apollodotos, we can reasonably attribute that piece also to that ruler. We have however no information about the

findspot of the coin, illustrated here and now in the Prince of Wales Museum. It was acquired by the Prince of Wales Museum from the old Poona Museum.

A COPPER COIN OF SPALIRISES

Spalirises belongs to the little known and less studied Parthian dynasty founded by Vonones. He was probably his brother and early in his own life, he issued some coins describing himself as the king's brother on the obverse in Greek and giving his name in Kharoshthi as Spalirisa on the reverse. Later on we see him issuing coins along with Azes, whose identity is a matter of great uncertainty. Later still he issued coins where his own name appears exclusively both on the obverse and the reverse with full imperial title, the Great King of Kings.

The coins of this last type are relatively rare. The Punjab Museum has two specimens, the Indian Museum has three and the British Museum has five. The Catalogues of these Museums publish one specimen each, but the specimen in the Prince of Wales Museum has its own good points and therefore deserves to be published. The figure of the king walking to left is very crude both in *B. M. C.*, *G. S.* Pl. XXII. 2 and *P. M. C.*, Pl. XIV. 397; that in the *I. M. C.*, Pl. VIII. 8 is very much blurred. In all these specimens, the bow in the king's left hand is but imperfectly preserved.

On our specimen, the king is wearing a graceful overcoat, and the bow is almost entirely visible. The *B. M. C.* specimen has no doubt a much better preserved legend both on the obverse and the reverse. On our specimen, however, that portion of the Greek and Kharoshthi legends, which gives the name of the king, is much better preserved than on the specimen illustrated in the *I. M. C.* or *P. M. C.*

We now proceed to describe the coin.

Metal, copper; size, roughly round, .95"; 124 grains.

Obv: Within rectangular frame, king to l. wearing a graceful overcoat, holding in r. hand a battle axe, bow hanging over his r. shoulder. Greek legend, on l., blurred traces of ΒΑCΙΑΕΩΣ; above, legend off the flan; on r. [Μ]ΕΓΑΛΟΥ, below, ΣΤΑΔΙΣΟΥ last three letters being blurred.¹

1. Square forms of sigma and omega are used in the legend. Owing to typographical difficulties they could not be reproduced in the text here, but they can be seen in the Plate.

Rev : Zeus radiate, seated on high-backed throne, sceptre in l. hand only its end being just visible above the back of the throne ; r. hand, extended and empty. Symbol on r.

Pl. I. 5.

STATER OF HUVISHKA WITH BIRD ON HIS HAND

The Prince of Wales Museum possesses an extremely interesting and rare stater of Huvishka. We describe it first.

Metal, gold ; shape round, .8" ; weight 121 grains.

Obv : Bust of king to left, wearing a cap, partially similar to that of Nahapāna, but not so thick ; a crest jewel on his forehead ; l. arm on chest, sceptre passing under it., r. hand bent and raised up, with a bird perched on it facing the king, who is looking at it with keen interest. Circular Greek legend, blurred.

Rev : Within dotted border Goddess Nana, nimbate, standing to r, r. hand slightly raised and empty, patera passing under the l. arm. Greek legend on on the l., Nana ; symbol to r.

Pl. I. 6.

There is a similar coin in the British Museum, illustrated in its *Catalogue* on Pl XXVIII. 9 and described on p. 145. Gardner has described the reverse as we have done, but about the king on the obverse, he says that he holds an ear of corn, obviously in r. hand. There can however be hardly any doubt that what he regards as an ear of corn is really a bird. We can distinctly see its slender feet perched upon his hand, as also its feathers behind. Our coin is worn out and so the photograph does not show the bird's feet quite distinctly. The bird also is worn out, but there can be no doubt that the figure is distinctly that of a bird. Sheaf of corn can never be held over the hand or fist in the way shown on our specimen or on that of the British Museum. Nor can a king be looking at that prosaic and uninteresting object with that keen and absorbing interest which is writ large on the face of Huvishka.

We must therefore conclude that both on our coin as well as on *B. M. C. G. S.*, XXVIII. 9, we see His Majesty Huvishka engaged in playing with a bird perched on his r. hand. The reverse of both is identical even to the extent of the symbol. On the obverse, however, there is one interesting variation in the king's head-dress. On the *B. M. C.*,

specimen, the king is wearing a conical crown, adorned with a crest jewel; on our specimen his head-dress is a flat cap similar to, but thinner than that of Nahapāṇa. This cap also has a crest jewel. Our coin being worn out, does not show the details of the coat worn by the king. But the expression of his face on our coin is just the one we expect on a person engaged in the pastime of playing with his favourite bird. On the *B. M. C.* specimen it is very stiff and therefore unnatural for a person, whiling away his time in playing with a bird.

In his *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, Cunningham has published another coin of this type on Pl. XXI. 3. He describes the object on king's hand as a standard with bird on its top. There are some faint traces of a staff below the bird on this coin, but the bird on a standard would not be shown so large as shown on this coin. Probably the bird is perched on a stand which had a short staff. On this coin the king is bearing a conical crown as on the specimen in the *B. M. C. G. S.* referred to above. This however is different coin, for its reverse has the deity Farro and not Nana.

YAUDHEYA COINS.

The legendary history of the Yaudheyas goes back to hoary antiquity, because tradition claims that they were descended from Yaudheya, a son of Yudhishthira, from a Śaibya princess, named Devikā. They had a republican form of Government and weathered many a storm during their long career. Theirs was perhaps the largest republic that ever existed in Ancient India, for the findspots of their coins suggest that their sway extended from Ludhiyana to Saharanpur in one direction and from Saharanpur to Bhawalpur in another. The great republic beyond the Beas, of which Alexander's army heard alarming reports in the 326 B. C., was most probably the Republic of the Yaudheyas.

The coinage of the Yaudheyas starts from about 200 B. C., when they reasserted their political independence after the decline of the Mauryan empire. The coin legends never disclose the names of any kings, chiefs or presidents; the earliest legend was *Yaudhayanām Bahudhāṇikānām*, 'Of the Yaudheyas of Bahudhāṇika country'. Then came the legend, *Bhagavataḥ svāmīno Brahmanyadeva-ya Kumārasya* 'Of venerable lord Kumāra Brahmanyadeva (the generalissimo of gods)', which described the status and the name of the six-headed deity which was put on the obverse at this time.

During the third stage, from about 200 A. D., the coins continue to show Kārtikeya on the obverse, but he is one-headed and not six-headed. The legend is *Yaudheyaganasya jayah*, 'Victory to the Yaudheya Republic'. The coins with this legend are fairly common.

Some of them however have the word *dvi*, and some the word *tri*, after the above legend, and these coins are rather rare. Of these, those which have the word *tri* are very rare. In the *British Museum Catalogue*, Mr. Allan has listed five such coins on p. 278. Of these only two have been illustrated in Pl. XL. 7, 8. But the illustrations give the reverse side only, where the legend does not occur. The obverse of one of these coins has been illustrated by Cunningham in *C. A. I.*, Pl. VI. 8; but the legend is blurred, and one cannot read the crucial word *tri*. It has to be taken on trust. The *Indian Museum Catalogue* lists five coins with the legend ending with *tri* on p. 183, but illustrates only one of them. The illustration however makes it quite clear that the concluding word is distinctly *dvi* and not *tri* at all. It is clear that a wrong coin has been illustrated. Very probably what has happened is this; the obverse of a coin with the legend having the word *dvi* has been photographed along with the reverse of another which had the legend *tri*.

There is thus so far no coin yet illustrated, showing distinctly the word *tri* at the end of the legend. The Prince of Wales of Museum coin, that is illustrated herewith, is the first coin showing this important word clearly. Along with it I am also illustrating another coin where the legend ends with the word *dvi*.

We shall now describe the coins.

Metal, copper; size round, 1"; 171 grains.

Obv : Kārtikeya, with one head only, standing facing; l. hand on waist, r. hand holding the weapon *śakti*; his mount peacock on l. Circular legend beginning at I, on r. *Yaudheyaga*, on l. *nasya jaya*; between the top of the *śakti* and the head of the deity, *dvi*.

N. B.—Wings of peacock should not be confused with any supposed illegible letters after *ga*.

Rev: Deity, standing three fourths to left, with r. hand bent and raised up, l. hand on waist; *kalas'a* in her front; the end of *triśūla* inverted on l, in lower field.

Metal, copper; size round, 1"; weight 155 grains.

Obv: As above. Legend beginning at I, on l., *Yadhayaga*, on r. *nasynjaya*, near the head *tri*.

Rev: As above, but a *sankha* (conch) before the goddess.

Pl. I. 8.

The problem of the correct interpretation of the mysterious words *dvi* and *tri*, occurring at the end of the legend, has not yet been solved. The Yaudheya republic covered a very wide area and the representative system was not known in ancient times both in the West and the East. It is therefore likely that the Yaudheya Republic was a federation of three republics, and that the word *dvi* refers to the second and the word *tri* to the third of the confederating units.

Some colour is lent to this view by the description of this republic in the *Sabbāparvan*, chap. 21 of the *Mahābhārata*, which actually refers to Rohitaka (modern Rohtak) in the East Punjab, the capital of the Bahudhānyaka country, Marubhūmi and Śirīshika as three centres of the Yaudheyas. The coins of the 2nd and 1st century B. C. found from Rohatak to "Saharanpur bear the legend *Yaudheyānām Bahudhānākānām*, Of the Yaudheyas of the Bahudhānyaka country." It is a pity that the find-spots of the coins bearing the legends ending with *dvi* and *tri* are not noted; that would have enabled us to make some further suggestions about the location of the other two republics.

It may be further pointed out that the coins with the word *dvi* in the legend have *kalaśa* by the side of the goddess on the reverse, and those having the word *tri*, have a conch. They do not interchange except in the doubtful case of the *I. M. C.* Pl. XXI. 20; here however there is most probably a mistake in photographing, as pointed out already. It has further to be noted that neither *sankha* nor *kalaśa* ever makes its appearance on any coins where the legend has not got either of these two numerals at its ends. So it is quite probable that the words *dvi* and *tri* are referring to some administrative divisions of the extensive Yaudheya republic, which had their own peculiar numismatic symbols as well.

CHANDRAGUPTA—KUMĀRADEVI COINS.

It is agreed on all hands that on the coins of Chandragupta I, the king is offering some present to the queen. But what its nature is, is a point at dispute. Mr. Allan

says in his catalogue that on some specimens it is clearly a ring (p. 8.). This is the case with coins illustrated on *B. M. C. G. D.*, Pl. III. 12. What it is on others is yet a moot point. The coins from the Prince of Wales Museum, here illustrated, are among those where the object offered is not a ring. On Pl. I. 9. it can be clearly seen that the object presented has a circular ending, which can be seen just below the halo of the queen. It has however also a handle attached to it, which is seen held between the thumb and the fingers. The circular end of the object is seen cutting the halo of the queen in Pl. I. 10. The object in both cases has a fairly long handle with a circular ending. It thus resembles the modern *sindūradāṇī*, which has a similar long handle with a circular ending. Ladies hold it by the handle, dip it into liquid *sindūra* or *kumkuma* and put the circular mark on the forehead. *Sindūra* and *kumkuma* are regarded as indispensable marks of *sau' hāgya* by Hindu ladies and it is just as natural that the wedding gift may have been shown as *sindūradāṇī* in some cases, as that it should have been represented as a wedding ring in others.

We now proceed to describe the coins.

Metal, gold ; size, .85" ; weight 114 grains; worn out.

Obv : Chandragupta and Kumāradēvī, standing facing each other, the king offering to the queen a *sindūradāṇī*, whose handle is visible between the thumb and the fingers and whose circular end is just below the halo. Legend, on l. traces of *mara* ; under l. arm *Chandra*, outside the standard *gupta* ; partly truncated.

Rev : Goddess seated on lion couchant to r. holding a noose in r. hand and a cornucopiae in l. Symbol on l., legend on r., *Lachchhavayah*.

Metal, gold ; size .85" ; weight 112 grains, worn out.

Obv : As above. King's coat has side buttons. The handle and the circular end of the *sindūradāṇī* are both distinctly visible above the fist. Legend on l. obliterated ; under arm, as above.

Rev : As above. Legend, *Lachchhavayah*, with *visarga* mark clearly visible.

ARCHER COIN OF CHANDRAGUPTA II

The Archer type is the most common type of Chandra-

1. This suggestion was first made to me by my friend Dr. Motichandra of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

gupta II; but the present coin in the Prince of Wales Museum has a peculiarity about the arrow in the king's right hand. Below its top held in the king's hand, the arrow shows something attached to it on its right and left. It cannot be said to be a barbed arrow, because in a barbed arrow, the wider openings are away from the edge of the arrow, so that when it is sought to be extracted, maximum amount of flesh is torn away from the victim's body. The arrows are often described as adorned with feathers and it appears that on the present coin an attempt is made to show a feathered arrow.

Metal, gold; size, .8" weight 118 grains.

Obv: King nimbate, dressed in coat and *sakachehha dhoti*, standing to l., holding bow in l. hand at the top, and arrow in r., adorned with feather. *Garuda-dhvaja* behind. Under king's l. arm, *Chandra*. Circular legend in very small characters, almost obliterated.

Rev: Lakshmi, seated on lotus, r. hand extended holding a noose, l. hand bent up, holding a lotus. Symbol on l., blurred; legend on r. *Srīvikrama* in small characters.

Pl. I. II.

COUCH TYPE OF CHANDRAGUPTA II

The coins of the couch type of Chandragupta II are very rare. They show however several varieties, each being known by not more than two or three specimens. The coin type here illustrated was first disclosed by the Mirzapur hoard in 1910. The second specimen came to light in the Bayana hoard and was published in the last number of this Journal. The third known specimen is the one in the Prince of Wales Museum, and I am publishing it herewith.

Metal, gold; size, .8"; weight, 118 grains.

Obv: King, not nimbate, seated on a couch, three-fourths to l., l. hand resting on the back of the couch, r. hand holding apparently a flower with long stalk and offering it to an object of worship not accommodated on the flan. (It was partly visible on the coin in the Bayana hoard published in the last number; Pl. VI. 6.) Right and left sides of the back of the couch are adorned with pearls or beads. A spittoon below the couch with a round mouth. Circular legend, beginning at l, *Paramabhāgavata*; its concluding portion, *maḥārāja*.

dhirāja-śrī-Chandragupta has not come on the coin.

Rev : Goddess, nimbate, seated on a couch apparently covered with a conventional lotus or *goddī*, seated to l. holding a flower in r. hand, l. hand hanging down by her side empty. Some square object below the couch. No symbol. Legend on r., *Vakramāditya*. The flourishes of the subscripts of *kra* and *tya* have been so elongated as almost to form a continuous line, separating the goddess from the legend.

Pl. 1, 12.

KĀRTIKEYA TYPE OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I

One would have expected that the coins of this type, intended as homage to the Divine Generalissimo, after whom Kumāragupta was named, would have been issued in great abundance. But such is not the case. The popular types of Kumāragupta were the Horseman and the Archer types,

The legend on the Kārtikeya type has not been yet fully deciphered. Three of the four letters in the middle are still illegible. The legend begins with *Jayati svagunairguni* and ends with *mahendrakumārah*.

There is no doubt about the opening word. It is claimed to be clearly visible on *B. M. C. G. D.*, Pl. XV. 5 and 11. The facsimile of the former is blurred and that of the latter shows the letters only partially. The coin in the Prince of Wales Museum, being published today, has the merit of showing each of the letters *ja*, *ya*, and *ta* quite distinctly. The letters are small, yet beautifully engraved.

Metal, gold ; size, .8" ; weight, 118 grains.

Obv : King, nimbate, standing three fourths to l., l. hand resting on the hilt of the sword and offering to peacock by r. hand fruits attached to a twig, partly grasped in king's hand and partly seized by the bird in its beak. Legend, beginning at I, *Jayata svagunī* ; on the l. at X, *ndrakumarah*.

Rev : Kārtikeya, nimbate, three fourths to l, seated on peacock on a platform, r. hand opened out and empty, l. hand, holding *śakti*. The object before the god is not visible on this specimen. No symbol on l Legend on r., *Muhendrakumara* for *Muhendra-Kumārah*.

COPPER COINS OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I.

Copper coins were issued in fairly large quantity by Chandragupta II; but very few pieces of his successor are known. The Indian Museum has only one specimen, and the St. Petersburg (Leningrad) Museum has another and the British Museum has none. The two specimens referred to above have on the obverse the legend *śriku* in bold characters. The reverse shows a goddess crudely shown as riding a lion. The Bodleian Collection has another variety, where the obverse shows the king apparently offering oblations and the reverse has Garuḍa in the upper half and the legend *Kumārāgupta* in the lower.

The two specimens in the Prince of Wales Museum, that I am publishing are unique pieces as they show quite new varieties. One of them shows the king on the obverse with an umbrella-bearer behind. The other coin is rather blurred, but the king seems to be holding a bow in the l. hand and an arrow in the right. The first of these coins has the largest legend on the copper coins of Kumārāgupta I, viz., *Mahārāja-śrī-Kumārāgupta*.

Metal, copper; size 1"; weight, 84 grains.

Obv: King, not nimbate, standing three fourths to l. with an umbrella-bearer, blurred, behind him. The staff of the umbrella and its top can be seen at X.

Rev: In upper half, Garuḍa with outstretched wings; in the lower half, 1st line, *Mahārājaśrakumā*, 2nd line, *ragupta*, last letter being partly visible. The letters *ma* and *ha* are of the eastern variety.

Pl. I. 14.

Metal, copper; size, .6"; weight, 58 grains.

Obv: Blurred, but the motif appears to be of king standing to l. and holding bow in l. hand and arrow in r. No legend.

Rev: In the upper half, Garuḍa, blurred; in the lower half, in one line, *Śrī Kumārāgu (path)*

Pl. I. 15

KASHMIR COINAGE

Coins of Toramāṇa

The coinage of the Hūṇa conqueror Toramāṇa show different types, usually borrowed from those prevailing in the provinces annexed by him. He issued some coin closely imitating the Sassanian type, when he was still

Afghanistan ; later on he borrowed both the silver and copper types of the Guptas. When he extended his power to Kashmir, he adopted the Kushāṇa type, showing on the reverse goddess seated on the throne. The coins of the last type are a problem. According to the Kashmir chronicler, Śrivarā,¹ the coins bearing the name of Toramāṇa continued to be minted down to the time of Hasan Shah, who ruled the valley during 1472-85 A. D. The inexplicable shortage of the copper currency issued in the names of the kings of the Karkoṭaka dynasty is often sought to be explained on the ground that they might have been issuing copper coins, not in their own names, but in the name of Toromāṇa, whose type was so popular.

The correctness of this theory can be explained only if a large number of the coins bearing the legend Tormāṇa are published. Cunningham has however published only two such coins and the legend on one of them is blurred. The Indian Museum Catalogue publishes three more, only one of which however has the legend *Tora*. I am publishing here today three more coins of Toramāṇa from the Prince of Wales Museum, so that scholars may have more specimens for study to enable them to determine whether they were issued in widely different centuries. The third specimen has however no clear legend, only a trace of the letter being visible at X.

COINS OF TORAMĀṆA

Metal, copper ; size round, .8"; weight, 103 grains.

Obv : King standing and offering oblations at altar wearing coat, trousers and belt. Legend in the upper left corner, to be read from outside, from XI to X *S'ra Toramā* (ṇa) standing for *S'rī Toramāṇa*.

Rev : Goddess seated on throne Legend to right, written horizontally, *Jaya, ya* having a prominent loop in the left limb.

Pl II 1.

Metal, copper ; size, .75"; weight, 96 grains.

Obv : As above, but the king has no belt. Legend, inscribed as above, *S'ra Toramā*.

Rev : Goddess as above, but no inscription.

Pl II 2.

Metal, copper ; size, .85"; weight, 92 grains.

1. Stein, *Rājatarāṅginī*, Vol. II, p. 315.

Obv: As above., but the legend is incomplete and doubtful; at X only the lower portion of *ta* is visible. Across the legs of the king, there appear to be some letters engraved, but they may be decorations of the trousers.

Rev: As above, with traces of the letters *jaya* on the r.
Pl. II. 3.

The coins of Toramāṇa, published by Cunningham, seem to be earlier than the coins being published today or those in the Indian Museum. The term *Kidāra*, which appears on the reverse of the coins of Cunningham, is absent on the present coins, as also on the coins in the Indian Museum. This term was used by early Kashmir kings like *Pravarasena*, *Narendrāditya*, *Gokaṇṇa* and several rulers of the *Karkoṭaka* dynasty. Its absence here is significant. Our coins have *Jaya* on the reverse, which is not to be seen on the reverse of the early coins of Toramāṇa, having *Kidāra* on the reverse. This occurs on the coins of *Durlabha* and *Nambi*. The style of our coins would suggest that they were issued by the rulers of the *Karkoṭaka* dynasty sometime in the 7th century and not by *Hūṇa* Toramāṇa. The coins in the Prince of Wales Museum thus lend some weight to the view that Toramāṇa type was issued in copper by the *Karkoṭakas*, whose coins in base gold alone have been found. Whether they continued to be issued by later dynasties like the *Utpala* one, can only be determined by further discoveries of the coins of Toramāṇa.

A GADHIYA COIN ISSUED BY OMKĀREŚVARA TEMPLE ?

The *Gadhiya* coins constitute one of the most interesting and baffling series of ancient Indian Numismatics. Originally they were all uninscribed; later on a few letters began to be engraved, which were believed to be initial ones of the issuers. The type was later adopted by *Chāhamāna* queen *Somaladevi* and the *Śilāhāra* king *Chhittarājadeva*, who retained the crude bust of the king on the obverse, but supplanted the unrecognisable remnants of the fire altar by the legend giving their own names.

The coin I am publishing here belongs to the series having a full legend, but the legend is not the name of a king or of a queen or of a republic, but apparently of a deity or a temple, *Śrī Omkāra*. A coin of this type was published nearly 60 years ago by *Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji*;¹ this is the second specimen to see the light of the day

1. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, p. 328.

Metal, silver ; size, oval, .6" x .3" ; weight, 67 grains.

Obv : Within dotted border, bust of king to r. It is cruder than an embryo in the early stages. The circular winding behind the head represents the ear of the original human figure, torn away from its head.

Rev : Legend in two lines,

1st, *Srī Om*—

2nd, *kāra* (in characters of 11th century A. D.)

PI. II. 4.

Pandit Bhagwan Lal Indraji had suggested that the coins of this type were probably issued by the temple authorities of the famous Oṃkāreśvara temple at Mandhātā on the Narmadā. This is quite a plausible suggestion. Gadhia coins were current in Central India for a long time and there is nothing improbable in the temple authorities having adopted it for their currency. It is however to be added that there is so far no indisputable evidence to show that Hindu temples used to issue coins in the 11th century.

A SILVER COIN OF VĀSISHTHĪPŪTRA SĀTAKARṆI

We shall first describe this unique coin.

Metal, silver: size, .6"; weight, 28 grains.

Obv : Bust of the king to r., bare-headed and with frizzled hair. Circular legend, beginning at I, *Raṇo Vasisthīputasa* ; legend on the l. mostly off the flan, but a faint trace of *takṇasa* can be seen on PI. II. 5

Rev. ; An Ujjain symbol with a crescent at the top ; to right, only partly on the flan, six-arched hill, with crescent at the top ; between the two crescents, a circle, perhaps standing for the sun. Below a wavy line. Circular legend, in a different variety of Brāhmī, starting at XII (from the crescent above the Ujjain symbol) *Ara*...on the l. *ṇahatakṇi-sha* ; but the first letter *ṇa* can also be read *ru*.

PI. II. 4, 5.

N. B.—We are giving two prints of the same coin negative, as letters behind the head on the obverse have come out more distinctly on one print than on the other.

Silver coins of the Sātavāhanas are rare. Three of them are published in Rapson's Catalogue of the Andhra and Kshatrapa coins in the British Museum and a fourth one of the same series was published by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in his

account of the Besnagar excavations.¹ All these coins were the issues of Gautamīputra Yājñaśrī Sātakaṇi. The present writer recently published a 5th coin, issued most probably by Gautamīputra Yājña S'rī Sātakaṇi.² It however is in a different type. The silver coin being published today is the sixth one of the dynasty and belongs to the first of the above series. In type and palaeography it bears a strong resemblance to the silver coins of Gautamīputra Śrī Yājña Sātakaṇi. It has been briefly referred to and illustrated by Dr. K. Gopalachari in his book *Early History of the Andhra Country* at p. 54 and on Pl. I. His plate gives the coin in an enlarged size and it therefore appears much cruder than what it really is. Dr. Gopalachari does not however discuss the legends and their significance.

The bust of the king on the obverse is similar to that of Gautamīputra Yājñaśrī, and it also faces right. The king on our coin is bare headed as shown by his frizled hair; he does not wear any cap or crown as does Gautamīputra Yājñaśrī. To his forehead is attached a roundish object, as is also the case with Gautamīputra Yājñaśrī; it is probably a crest jewel. On both coins in front of the king's face is only that much portion of the legend, which gives the metronymic, *Vasīṭhīputasa* on our coin, and *Gautamīputasa* on the prototype. Above the king's head the word *Raño* is fairly clear on the coins of Gautamīputra Yājñaśrī; on our present coin, only traces of this word can be seen, but they are fairly suggestive. Behind the bust, Yājñaśrī's coins give his personal name as *Śrī Yājña Sātakaṇi*. The same probably was the case on our coin, but unfortunately the legend here is obliterated. The space available, however, shows that the legend was not a long one; it could hardly have contained more than six letters.

The present coin has symbols on the reverse which are identical with those on the coins of Yājñaśrī; they are also in a similar juxtaposition with one another. It is interesting to note that our coin also gives on the reverse a legend written in a slightly different variety of Brāhmi characters and Prākṛit language, which are presumed to have been current in Andhradeśa. In this variety of Brāhmi *sha* and *sa* have different forms. The genitive singular termination of Sanskrit, *śya*, was pronounced as *sha*, and śrī and Sātakaṇi were changed into *hiru* and *Hātakaṇi* respectively.

(1) *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1913-4, p. 213, Pl. LXV, 22.

1. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 111-3; Vol. IX, pp. 93-96.

The legend on the reverse of our coin is not well preserved, but luckily it preserves the initial letters which are off on all the specimens of Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī. Our coin shows that the legend on this side begins at II with the word *Ara*; most probably followed by a *ka*, whose traces can be seen fairly distinctly. Unfortunately all the subsequent portion on right is off the flan of our coin. At the top, between X and II we have clearly *takaniśa*, the last letter being in the Andhradeśa form. Before *ta*, we have the letter *ka*, again in the same variety of the script, but its lower loop is broader than that of this letter on Yajñaśrī's published coins. It is also joined to the horizontal limb of the preceding letter.

The correct reading of this preceding letter is a matter of great importance. Unfortunately it is ambiguous. It can be both a *ka* and *ru*. It can be taken to be a *ka*, the appendage to its horizontal limb being taken to have coalesced with the loop of *ka*. Or, it may be taken to be a *ru*, the horizontal stroke of the medial vowel being joined to the loop of *ka*. I think that the latter alternative is more probable. I would therefore tentatively conclude that the obverse legend on our coin was *Vāsīthiputasa* (*Sātakaniśa*) and the reverse legend, *Ara ka* [*sa Vāsīthiputasha hi*] *ru* *Itātakaniśa*.

The uniqueness of our coin is in preserving the letters *Ara* at the beginning, which are not to be seen as any other piece of the type. On the coin of Gautamīputra found by Pandit Bhagwanlal, he thought that *Gautamīputasa* was preceded by *Chutarapaṇi*. Of these letters, *sa* alone was clear; the restoration of the remaining letters was more or less conjectural.

In the Chinna inscription of Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi,¹ the opening portion runs as follows; —

२५५ गोतमीपुतस अरक सिरि यज सातकणिस ।

It appears that just as the reverse side uses the dialect and script of Andhradeśa, it also uses the title *Araka* (*Āryaka*) for the king, which was popular in that part of the country, as shown by the Chinna record.

Our present coin was therefore almost certainly issued by a Sātavāhana king named Vāsīstahīputra Sātakarṇi. Pauranic lists of Sātavāhana kings do not include any ruler of this name, but cave inscriptions do refer to a Vāsīstahīputra Sātakarṇi. Kanheri inscription No. 11 records a gift

1. J. A. S. B., 1920, p. 328.

of a minister of a queen of Vāsishthīputra S'ri Sātakarṇi, who was married to a daughter of Mahākshatrapa Ru (dradāman)¹.

An inscription at Nānāghat records a donation made in the 13th year of a king named Vāsishthīputra Chatarapaṇa Sātakarṇi. Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji had attributed his silver coin found at Sopara to this Chatarapaṇa. This view however is untenable; for on the reverse of the coin of Bhagwanlal, there is not space sufficient enough to accommodate five letters; utmost it could have had only four.

The obverse legend on the Sopara coin and its three other specimens is *Raño Gotamīputasa siri yaṇa Sātakarṇisa*. The obverse legend on our coin, as shown above, is *Raño Vāsithīputasa Sātakarṇisa*. This ruler therefore has to be differentiated from king Sātakarṇi of the Sopara coin, for he is a Vāsithīputa and not a Gotamīputa. He can therefore be either Vāsishthīputra Chatarapaṇa Sātakarṇi of the Nānāghat record or Vāsishthīputra Sātakarṇi of the Kanheri record. The meaning of Chatarapaṇa is not known; if it was a mere title indicative of some achievement, then these two rulers may be identical. If such is not the case, we shall be perfectly justified in identifying Vāsishthīputra Sātakarṇi of our coin with Vāsishthīputra Sātakarṇi of the Kanheri record, who had married a daughter of Mahākshatrapa Ru (dradāman). This matrimonial connection must naturally have induced Vāsishthīputra Sātakarṇi to take interest in the Kshatrapa type of coins giving the royal portrait, as was done by her illustrious father. Later on Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi may have continued this type, when he had succeeded in reconquering some provinces of the Kshatrapa kingdom, where silver currency was in vogue.

Can we identify this Vāsishthīputra Sātakarṇi with any Sātavāhana ruler mentioned in the Purāṇas? The coin type shows that he must obviously have been a successor of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. The latter's successor was Vāsishthīputra Pulumāvi and it is not unlikely that our Vāsishthīputra Sātakarṇi may have been his uterine younger brother and successor. Being uterine brother, he would naturally have the same metronymic title, Vāsishthīputra. According to the Matsya Purāṇa list, Pulumāvi's successor was Śivaśrī, but according to the Vishṇu Purāṇa list he was Śivaśrī Sātakarṇi. If we assume that the *Vishṇu-purāṇa* has omitted the metronymic, and if we assume that Śivaśrī was something like an honorary affix, which could

be sometimes added (as is done in the Pauranic lists), and sometimes omitted (as it is done on the coin), it is very probable that Vāsishṭhīputra Satakarṇi of our coin may be identified with Śivaśrī Sātakarṇi, the successor of Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi of the Pauranic lists. If the above hypotheses are correct, he may be also identified with Vāsishṭhīputra Śiva Śrī Satakarṇi, who is known from his lead coins issued in Andhradeśa, having Chaitya of three arches on one side and an Ujjain symbol on the other. It is also probable that the Sātakarṇi, the lord of the Deccan, whom Rudradāman did not exterminate on account of near relationship, may be the Vāsishṭhīputra Satakarṇi of our coin, since the Kaṇheri record shows that he had married a daughter of the Mahakshatrapa Ru (draḍāman).

MISCELLANEA

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BANARES.

'APRATIGHA' COINS.

In response to my requests, some scholars have sent to me their tentative observations about the 'Apratigha' type coins, which were published in the last number of this Journal; others have promised to do the same in the near future. I propose to publish all these notes together along with a plate in the next number of this Journal, which will also include the second instalment of the papers on the Rare and Unique Coins from the Bharatpur Hoard. In the meanwhile, I propose to give today the gist of the observations sent to me by Prin. V. V. Mirashi and Dr. R. C. Majumdar.

Prin. V. V. Mirashi thinks that the issuer of this type is Kumāragupta I and gives a tentative reading of a portion of the circular legend, beginning at XII, as *Pratāpaparamādhāraḥ Śrīpīṭhamakramākramavapūḥ*. As to the device on the obverse, he thinks that the central figure is that of a sage. To his left is king Kumāragupta and to his right his queen. The royal family is perhaps consulting a sage of miraculous powers in connection with a state calamity, most probably, the Pushyamitra revolt.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar doubts the reading Kumāragupta under the arms, and suggests, tentatively of course, that the legend may have been Mihirakula. He criticises the procedure of reading the legend once from the top to the bottom and once *vice versa*. He opines that what is read as *gupta* looks like *kula* if read in the normal way, and maintains that if we exclude the initial letter, the remaining two letters can be taken as *li* and *ra*. The first letter does not look like *mi*, but it may have been defectively engraved and badly preserved.

Dr. Majumdar's interpretation of the device on the obverse is that it is the Pauranic scene of the allurement of Śiva by Pārvatī depicted in the *Kumārasambhava*. The central figure is that of Śiva with matted hair. The lady on the right is Pārvatī and the figure opposite is that of Nandi, who is ushering her.

Both Prin. Mirashi and Dr. Majumdar emphasise that their views are merely tentative suggestions. I am giving an advance summary of their papers, as it may take a few weeks more to publish them *in extenso*, along with the other contributions, which are expected on the "Apratigha" type.

A HOARD OF KASHMIR COINS

By DR. V. S. AGRAWALA, NEW DELHI

A hoard of 186 copper coins of the medieval kings of Kashmir was found five years ago near the village of Sangajani, about six miles from Taxila towards Rawalpindi side. The hoard was brought to me in tact for examination and was found to contain the following coins :—

S. No.	Name of the King	No. of Coins
1.	Kshemgupta (950-958 A.D.)	3
2.	Nandigupta (972-3 A.D.)	3
3.	Diddā Rāṇi (980-1003 A.D.)	17
4.	Saṅgrāmadeva (1003-1028 A.D.)	24
5.	Ananta (1028-1063 A.D.)	12
6.	Kalaśa (1063-1089 A.D.)	11
7.	Harsha (1089-1101 A.D.)	1
8.	Sussala (1112-1120 ; 1121-28A.D.)	12
9.	Jayasimhadeva (1128-1155 A.D.)	6
10.	Jagadeva (1198-1213 A.D.)	94
11.	Rājadeva (1213-1235 A.D.)	2

186

The first king represented in the hoard is Diddā Kshemgupta (950 A.D.) and the last Rājadeva (1255 A.D.). The other names agree with the list given by Cunningham in his *Coins of Medieval India*, pp. 45-6, as illustrated on Pls. IV and V. The analysis of the hoard gives some indication of the relative numerousness of mintage in the Kashmir series. The coins of Jagadeva by far exceed in numbers, being 94 out of a total of 186.

The coins show on obverse the figure of the seated goddess Lakshmi in rough execution. The figures show growing variation in the drawing from king to king, but the general style is crude and remains the same. The most conspicuous feature is the two circular ear-rings shown frontally, which provide at first sight a clue to the alignment of the figure. The name of the king occurs below the ear-rings on the obverse side, and in some cases a part of the name is carried to the reverse side also. Thus on the joint issues of Diddā-Kshemgupta we read *Di-Kshema* on the obverse and *gupta* on the reverse, Pl. IV. 2-4 ; on the coins of Diddā, '*Sri Diddā*' occurs on the obverse and *devyā* on the

reverse (Pl. IV. 8-10). The lettering on all the coins generally is distinct, but on some pieces, as those of Kalaśa, it is neat and careful; Pl. IV. 17-18. Of the 12 coins of Sussala only 7 show the legend 'Śrī Sussala' and the others only 'Sussala.' The coins of Jayasimhadeva show the name 'Jayasimha', Pl. V. 29-31 except on one coin where the honorific 'Śrī' is clear, Pl. V. 30.

On the reverse, the coins show the standing figure of a king, which is a crude imitation of the king on the coins of the late Kushāṇas. Although conventionalized and degraded, the outline of the figure can be clearly understood after a little practice. Cunningham, recording his reaction to the fabric of the Kashmir coins, wrote that "the succession of princes is very completely illustrated by their coins. The same types which had been originally adopted from the Indo-Scythian money were continued right to the end. The only difference, in fact, is the more complete degradation of the figures of both the Rājā and the Goddess, which are only recognisable by tracing them back to their originals. Thus the same types had actually remained in use for upwards of 1000 years." It is strange that in the entire hoard not one of the exceptional types mentioned by Cunningham, e. g. the billon coins of Kalaśa, was included.

P. S. In December 1948 a lot of 8 copper coins from a hoard of coins of the Hindu kings of Kashmir was received by the Director General of Archaeology in India from Mr. Khazanchi, Curator of the State Museum, Srinagar, which included 1 coin of Pārthavarman (905-921 A.D.) (Pl. IV. 1), 1 of Diddā, 2 of Saṅgrāma, 1 of Ananta and 2 of Harsha. Two coins of Harsha included in this hoard are illustrated in the plates accompanying this paper. It is expected that the detailed examination of the coin hoards in the Kashmir State Museum will reveal specimens of other kings also.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES IV-V

Obverse

Figure of seated Lakṣmī wearing a head-dress, round earrings, bodice, and skirts. The name of the king appears just below the ear-rings in Devanāgarī script.

Reverse

Standing figure of king wearing high headdress, coat, trousers and boots very much conventionalised. The boots look like two triangles projecting sideways from the legs. The king is holding a trident

in left hand, which is clear on many specimens, e.g. Nos. 7, 25, 27, 30, 34-39.

1 श्री पार्थ	वर्म ; Pl. IV. 1
2-4 दि क्षेम	सुत ; Pl. IV. 2-4
5-7 नन्दि गु	सदे(व) ; Pl. IV. 5-7
8-10 श्री दिहा	देव्या ; Pl. IV. 8-10
11-13 संप्राम (रा)	जदेव ; Pl. IV. 11-13 (clear on 12-13)
14-16 अनन्तरा	ज देव ; Pl. IV. 14-16 (clear on No. 15)
17-19 कलस (रा)	जदेव ; Pl. IV. 17-19
20-22 हर्षरा (clear on 22)	(ज)देव ; Pl. IV. 20-21, V. 22 (ज is not clear on any specimen)
23-25 सुरसल	द(व) ; Pl. V. 22-25
26-28 श्री सुरसल	देव ; Pl. V. 26-28 (clear on 26)
29-31 जयसिंह	देव ; Pl. V. 29-31
32 श्री विज(य) सुत	(सिंह देव) ; Pl. V. 32
33-40 जग	देव ; Pl. V. 33-40
41-42 श्री राज	देव ; Pl. V. 41-42

The weights of the 39 of the above coins, which are selected for the National Museum, are given below :—

S. No.	Name of the King	Weight in grains
1.	Didda Kshem-Gupta	86.9
2.	Didda Kshem-Gupta	85.4
3.	Didda Kshem-Gupta	75.7
4.	Nandi-Gupta	83.3
5.	Nandi-Gupta	87.5
6.	Nandi-Gupta	84.8
7.	Śrī Didda-Rāṇī	85.3
8.	Śrī Didda-Rāṇī	89.2
9.	Śrī Didda-Rāṇī	87.9
10.	Saṅgrāma-Deva	82.5
11.	Saṅgrāma-Deva	87.5
12.	Saṅgrāma-Deva	86.1
13.	Ananta	88.1
14.	Ananta	85.6
15.	Ananta	86.2
16.	Kalaśa	88.5

17.	Kalaśa	82.2
18.	Kalaśa	92.0
19.	Harsha-Raja	85.1
20.	Sussala	89.1
21.	Sussala	91.0
22.	Sussala	92.7
23.	Sussala	94.3
24.	Sussala	88.0
25.	Sussala	86.1
26.	Jayasimha-Deva	90.3
27.	Jayasimha-Deva	89.9
28.	Jayasimha-Deva	87.8
29.	Jayasimha-Deva	99.6
30.	Jagadeva	87.9
31.	Jagadeva	95.0
32.	Jagadeva	83.3
33.	Jagadeva	93.9
34.	Jagadeva	83.7
35.	Jagadeva	87.8
36.	Jagadeva	70.0
37.	Jagadeva	80.3
38.	Rajadeva	90.2
39.	Rajadeva	95.8

Weight of 3 coins from Kashmir State Museum.

Pārtha-varma	77.9
Harsha	91.2
Harsha	80.9

EDITOR'S NOTE.

It would be interesting to note the kings of Kashmir, who ruled during the period of this hoard, but who are not represented in it. They are the following :—

Abhimanyu, son of Kshemagupta, who succeeded his father and had a fairly long reign of 14 years, is not included in our hoard. His coinage is however scarce. During his reign his mother Diddādevī was the real ruler and she apparently continued the 'Di-Kshema' coinage during this period also, allowing only occasional issues of the coins of Abhimanyu.

Nandigupta was succeeded by his younger brother Tribhuvanagupta in 973 A.D. and the latter by his uncle Bhimagupta, who ruled from 975 to 981 A. D. The coinage of both these kings is very scarce and so is not represented in our hoard.

Rodgers has referred to silver coins of Diddādevī, which were very much finer in execution than the copper pieces¹.

1. J. A. S. B. 1879, i, p. 277.

He did not illustrate these coins; it is not unlikely that these may have been billon ones. If Diddādevī had really issued silver coins, they are not represented in our hoard.

Among the kings of the Lohara dynasty, the hoard does not contain the coins of Harirāja, Utkarsha, Salhana and Bhikshāchara. These kings lived in troubled times and had short reigns. No coins of theirs are known so far, and so it is no wonder that our hoard has not disclosed any of them.

It is a very surprising circumstance that our hoard should have contained only one coin of Harsha; for Stein has observed that they are most numerous not only in Kashmir but also in the contiguous territories.

Harsha's successor Uchchala ruled for 10 years (1101-1111), and his coins are not rare. But they are not represented in our hoard. Uchchala's successor Salhana had a short reign of one year only and it is not surprising that his coins should be absent from our hoard.

It is rather surprising to find that Paramāpaka (1155-1165) and Avantideva (1165-71) should be unrepresented in our hoard. They lived quite near to the time of the interment of the hoard and had fairly long reigns. One would therefore have expected their coins in this hoard.

HAPUR—A NEW MINT OF JAHANGIR.

BY PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA, ASST. EDITOR AJ, BANARAS.

Mr. H. N. Wright has described in the *I. M. C.* a silver rupee of Jahangir dated 1031 with the mint name Jalér (coin No. 685). His suggestion of the mint name was tentative, as he was unable to identify it with any town. A similar coin of the same date is in Lahore Museum and has been described by Mr. R. B. Whitehead in the *P. M. C.* (coin No. 1017). He too was unable to identify it and let the mint name go as tentative. He however hesitatingly pointed out the possibility of its being Joonér, a *sirkār* in the province of Aurangabad ; (Intro. p. lxvi).

I do not know if any other coin of this type is known, or any attempt has been made to read the mint name or identify it. Recently my attention was drawn to these coins and I think they have the mint name as Hāpur and not Jalér. Hāpur is a well known town in the Meerut district and it needs no introduction.

The photographs of the coins, published in these catalogues (*I. M. C.* Pl. VII ; *P. M. C.* pl. VII) show that لا and ړ are not joined together rendering possible the reading ړلا (Jaler), as there is a clear distance between the two syllables. This fact was earlier noticed by Dr. G. P. Taylor. He read the mint name as Jalér (ړلا). He has made a note to this effect in his copy of *I. M. C.* (p. 79), which is now in the library of the Numismatic Society of India. He however could not notice the minute gap between لا of the year 1031 and the syllable which has been read as ړ and mistook it to be ړ and read the second syllable as ړ. But he is not to be held responsible for this error ; لا is so written over the syllable, which has been read as ړ, that if one is not careful, particularly when he has a preconception of the existence of ړ, he can mistake it as ړ. But the coin of the Punjab Museum leaves no ground for any such mistake. As such the mint name is neither Jalér nor Jālér.

There is no *nuqtā* below لا. The *nuqtā* which is seen below the monogramic mark is of ړ and cannot be associated with لا. As such, it is clear Hā. In the second syllable what is taken as two *nuqtās* of ل is in fact three *nuqtās* of پ. It is not clear on the *I. M. C.* coin, but is in its perfect form on the Lahore Museum coin. As such it is either *par* or *pur*. And the mint name may be read either as Hāpai or Hāpur. The latter is the correct pronunciation.

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| 1. | Standard Type. | Good legend, fine condition, new symbol and die, beautiful coin ... | Rs. 175/- |
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| 3. | Do. | B. M. C. Pl. I, No. 12, Broad, Fine and beautiful coin ... | Rs. 175/- |
| 4. | Do. | B.M.C. Pl. I, No. 6, Broad Fine and Beautiful coin ... | Rs. 175/- |
| 5. | Do. | More or less similar to B.M.C. Pl. I, No. 7. Fine and well preserved ... | Rs. 150/- |
| 6. | Do. | New die, beautiful, good legend, goddess wearing dhoti ... | Rs. 250/- |
| 7. | Do. | B M C. Pl. II, No. 3. Full name Samudra-Gupta in two vertical lines. V. fine., in mint condition, beautiful ... | Rs. 350/- |
| 8. | Chandra-gupta I | Type. King & Queen. B. M. C. Pl. III, No. 1, Rare ... | Rs. 350/- |
| 9. | Kaca Type | B.M.C. Pl. II, No. 11 (slightly diff. die). Kaca Type coins are very scarce. Rs. 500/- | |
| 10. | Battle-axe Type | B.M.C. Pl. IV, No. 13. Rarer Variety ; Kra under Arm. Very few coins are known to exist of this variety ... | Rs. 750/- |
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- | | | | |
|-----|--------------|---|-----------|
| 12. | Archer type. | B.M.C. Pl. VI, No. 2. Goddess on chowki, Scarce and Rare ... | Rs. 225/- |
| 13. | Do. | B.M.C. Pl. VI, No. 5 "Chandra" outside the bow, well preserved. V. scarce. | Rs. 400/- |
| 14. | Do. | B.M.C. Pl. VI, No. 16, good inscription all round, beautiful and in mint condition ... | Rs. 160/- |
| 15. | Do. | B.M.C. Pl. VII, No. V. Fine Coin | Rs. 140/- |
| 16. | Do. | Archer-cum-hunter type, new variety | Rs. 250/- |
| 17. | Do. | B.M.C. Pl. VII, No. 3. Very Fine | Rs. 140/- |
| 18. | Do. | B.M.C. Pl. VI, No. 10, good coin | Rs. 130/- |
| 19. | Do. | New Die. Very fine ornamental work on the obverse side ... | Rs. 175/- |
| 20. | Do. | Archer type, ordinary coins, each | Rs. 120/- |
| 21. | Do. | B.M.C. Pl. VIII, No. 18. King facing in the opposite direction. V. Fine and Scarce and V. Rare coin ... | Rs. 750/- |

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23.	Lion-slayer Type.	B. M. C. Pl IX, No. 9. Fine and well preserved coin	Rs. 500/-
24.	Horseman Type.	Similar to B.M.C. Pl. IX, No. 15 (mount removed) Fine condition	Rs. 250/-
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26.	Do.	B. M. C. Pl. I, No. 5. Good condition	Rs. 225/-

III Kumar-gupta I.

27.	Archer Type	B.M.C. Pl. XII No. 5, cond. good	Rs. 200/-
28.	Do.	B.M.C. Pl. XII, No. 7. Extremely fine and broad coin	Rs. 400/-
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31.	Do.	B.M.C. Pl. XIII, No. 4. Extremely fine and beautiful coin	Rs. 250/-
32.	Do.	B.M.C. Pl. XIII, No. 8. V. Fine	Rs. 250/-
33.	Do.	B.M.C. Pl. XIII, No. 12. Extremely Fine and beautiful coin	Rs. 250/-
34.	Lion-slayer Type.	New Die-goddess with Mundmala in her hand	Rs. 500/-
35.	Do.	B. M. C. Pl. XIV, No. 12. Fine and Rare coin	Rs. 500/-
36.	Do.	B.M.C. Pl. XIV, No. 5 with a hook attached to the coin. Fine and beautiful	Rs. 450/-
37.	Tiger-slayer Type	B.M.C. Pl. XV, No. 1. Extremely Rare and in good condition	Rs. 750/-

IV. Skanda-gupta

38.	Archer Type.	B.M.C. Pl. XIX, No. 14. Extremely Fine and beautiful	Rs. 300/-
39.	Do.	B.M.C. Pl. XIX, No. 11. V. Fine	Rs. 250/-
40.	Do.	B.M.C. Pl. XIX, No. 12. Very fine and beautiful coin	Rs. 250/-

V. Prakashaditya.

41.	Horseman Lion-slayer Type.	Good condition ; Rare	Rs. 400/-
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VI. Narsingha-gupta.

42.	Archer Type.	B.M.C. Pl. XXII, No. 8. Fine, rare, well preserved and beautiful	Rs. 500/-
43.	Do.	B.M.C. Pl. XXII, No. 12, condition good. Rare	Rs. 500/-

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| 8. CHANDRAGUPTA II Archer type, B. M. C. pl VII No. 10 full figure of King & good legend | 150/- |
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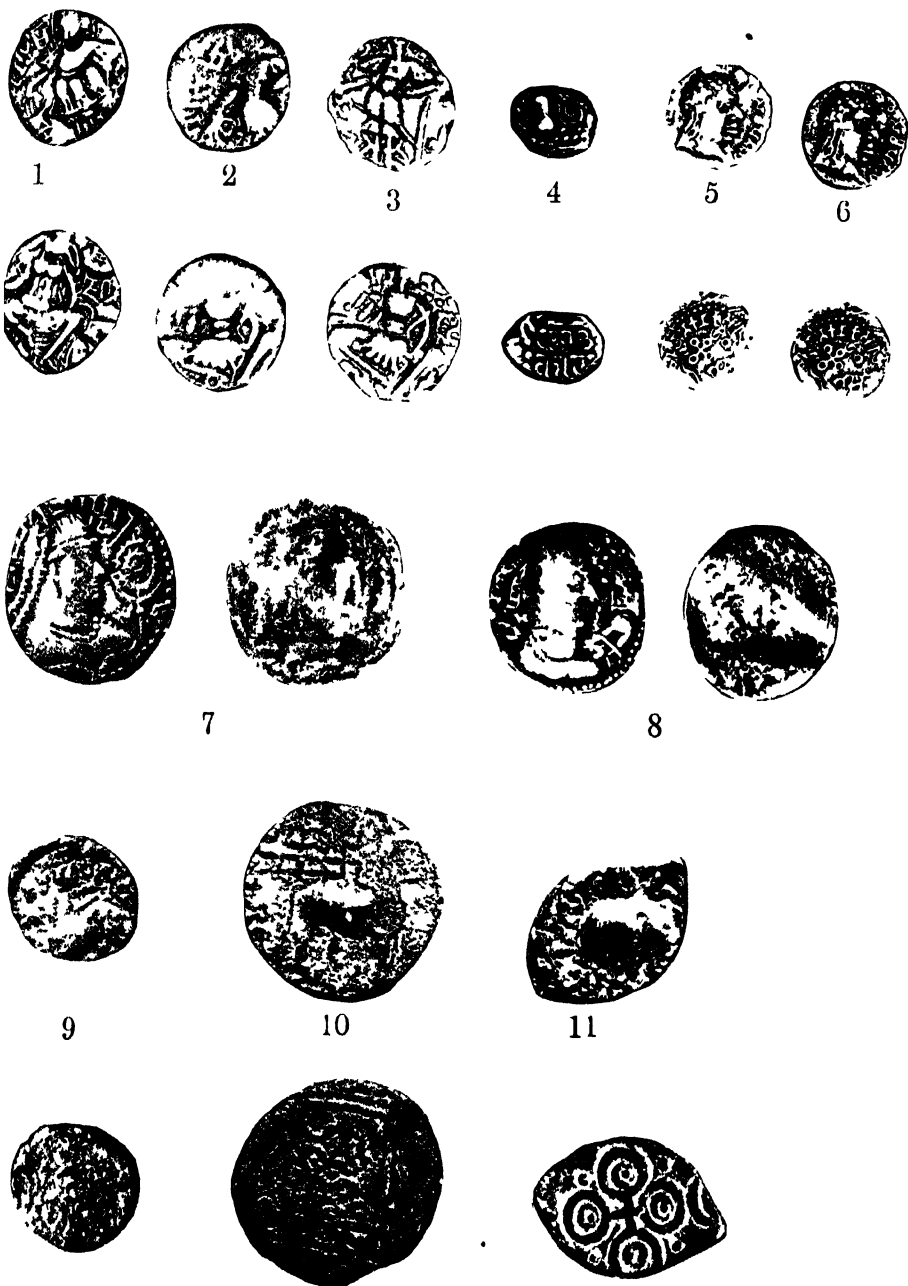


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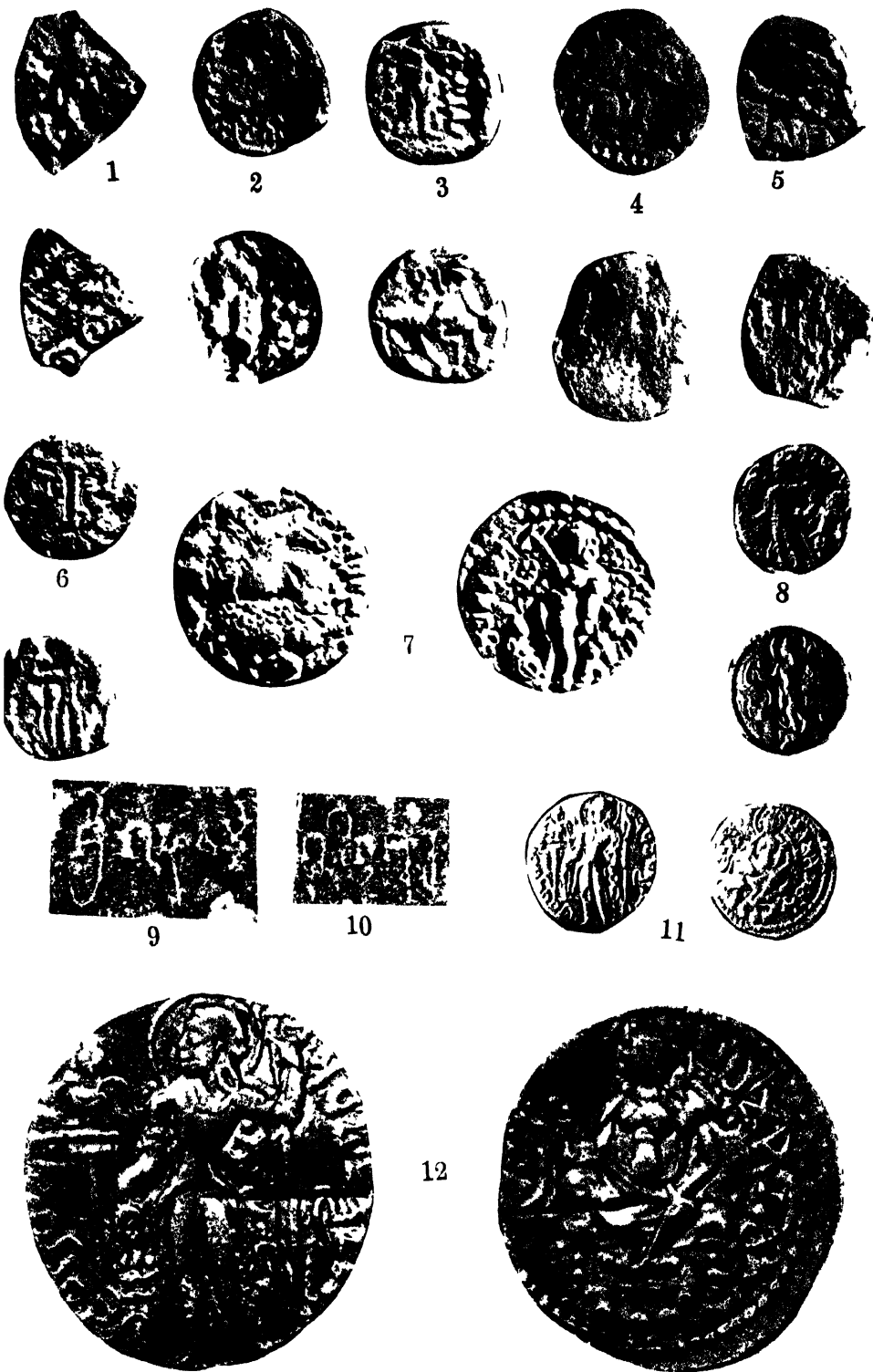


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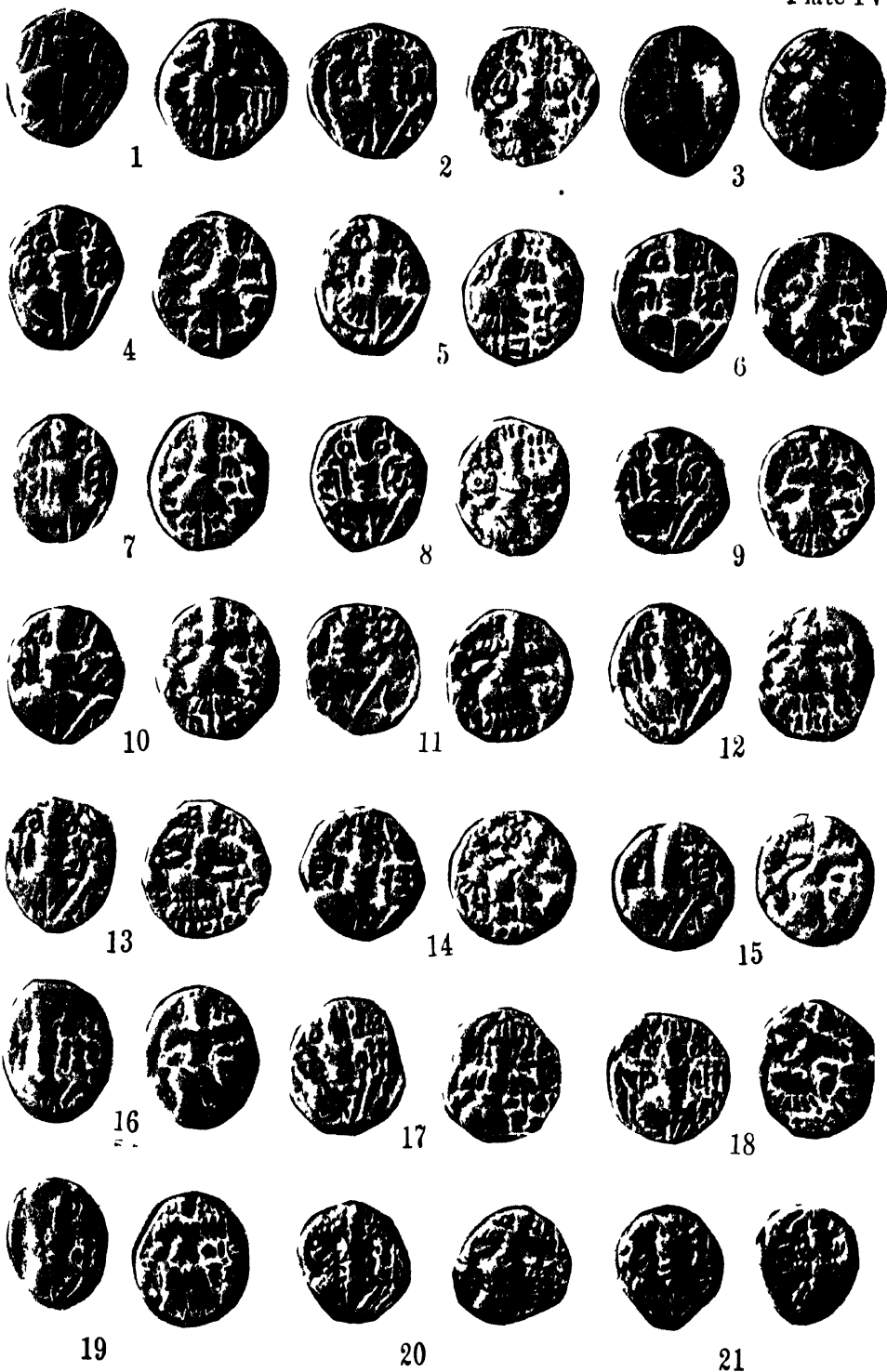


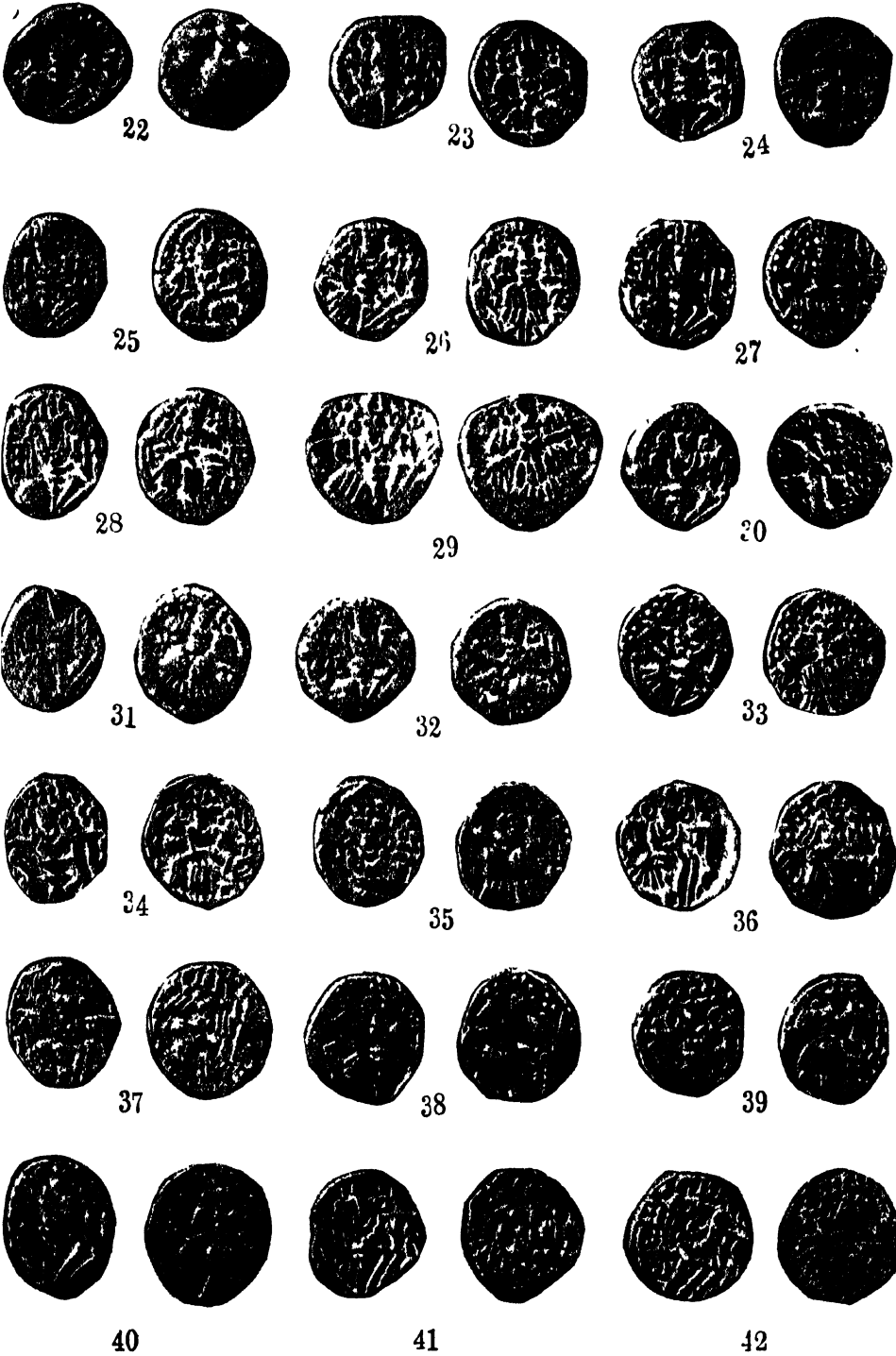


COINS FROM PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM, 1—6
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Pre-Gupta and Gupta Coin.





Ancient Kashmir Coins.

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While transliterating, the following system should be followed ; ऋ ri ; ॠ n̄ ; च ch, छ chh, झ ñ, ण n, श ś, ष ṣ

; द ढ ; दd ; kh خ ; ह h ; च ञ ; ज ञ ; s ث ; t ت ; p پ ; b ب ; a ا
; b ع ; z ط ; t ط ; z ض ; s س ; sh ش ; zh ژ ; z ز ; r ر ; z ذ
; y ی ; h ه ; w و ; n ن ; m م ; l ل ; g گ ; k ک ; q ق ; f ف ; gh غ

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INAUGURAL ADDRESS¹

BY HON. MR. HARE KRISHNA MEHTAB,

Prime-Minister, Orissa.

Dr. Bauerji and Members of the Numismatic Society of India,

The holding of the session of the Numismatic Society of India at Cuttack or anywhere in Orissa would appear to be curious for more than one reason. It would appear that there is absolutely no reason why a session of this august body should be held in Orissa. There is no activity of the Society in this Province, nor is there any scholar here who has devoted himself to the study of coins and the re-construction of history from the materials available from that study. Not to speak of numismatic researches alone, but from the point of view of any serious research this province has not made appreciable progress. If there is a place in India which anxiously calls for research and investigation, I think it is Orissa. It is our singular good fortune that a session of the Society is being held here and I am sure that it will benefit the province to a very great extent by creating interest amongst our scholars in the activities of your Society. For myself, I am neither an expert nor even an ordinary student of numismatics. You have done me a great honour in calling upon me to inaugurate your session. I do it with all humility by simply requesting you to commence your proceedings.



(1) Delivered at the inauguration of the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society held at Cuttack on the 27th December, 1949.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS¹

BY DR. J. N. BANERJI, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Friends and Fellow-workers, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am grateful to the members of the Numismatic Society of India for their electing me as the President of its Cuttack Session. I know it is their kindness which has led them to confer the honour on a student of Indian Numismatics like myself, and I am not conventional when I say that I accept it with some hesitation. My only claim to it may lie in the fact that I have long been connected with the work of teaching the subject of ancient Indian Numismatics to the post-graduate students of the Calcutta University, and it is perhaps this consideration that led my friends to select me for the office. I deem the honour not only as a personal one, but also as one to the small band of the teachers of the subject in a few other universities of India. I need hardly mention that my esteemed friend, our distinguished Chairman, Dr. A. S. Altekar, who has been the main guiding spirit of our Society during the recent years and who has much improved its status and position, also belongs to my profession.

In studying and teaching the pre-Islamic branch of Indian Numismatics for near about three decades, I have realised the immense possibilities of research which the subject as a whole possesses. Discoveries of coin-hoards like the great Bayana one of Gupta gold coins may be rare in the history of Numismatic research in India, but a peep into the pages of the different issues of our *Journal*, the various numbers of the *Numismatic Supplement* and *Numismatic Chronicle*, the contents of the different antiquarian periodicals and other works in and outside India will show how new types or new varieties of coins belonging to well-known, little-known and unknown groups were and are being discovered almost every year since the inauguration of the scientific study of the subject by its pioneers, James Prinsep and Alexander Cunningham. This extensive and growing literature would discountenance the possibility of its ever becoming an exhausted subject. Our knowledge becomes richer and richer with the passage of time not only in respect

(1) Delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India, held at Cuttack on 28-12-1949.

of numismatic novelties, but also as a result of the re-study and re-interpretation of the already known groups of coins. Old theories and conclusions arrived at in the early stages of research are being very often replaced by later ones which again are prone to be modified, rejected or supplemented in the course of further study and investigation. Some features of particular groups of coins, again, still elude the efforts of earnest scholars to offer universally acceptable explanation about them. A careful and analytical study of the earliest indigenous coins of India, and a comparison of their mode of fabrication with that of the earliest Lydian or Ionian Greek coins has shown the unsoundness of the views of those scholars who maintained that the Indians borrowed the very useful art of coinage from one or other of their western neighbours. The real significance of the innumerable symbols appearing on the huge number of the punch-marked and cast coins of India seems to have eluded hitherto the grasp of numismatists of eminence, though very assiduous and praiseworthy attempts were made by them from time to time. Then, take the question of the development of the art of coinage in our country. It undoubtedly developed along its own lines in parts of India, especially central and southern (cf. the Eran and Avanti coins, the coins of the Uddehikas etc.), but the fact cannot be denied that in the northern and north-western parts, the development took a different line. Many coins of Taxila, some coins of the Audumbaras, the Kunindas, the Yaudheyas and others show a pleasing feature of the admixture of indigenous and foreign modes, giving a re-orientation to the monetary technique of these regions. Be it noted that these were the regions which lay very much open to foreign contact from the earliest historical times. It should be observed on the other hand that some alien rulers of India like the Indo-Bactrian Greek Pantaleon and Agathokles did not hesitate to experiment on partly local methods in a few types of their copper money. It has been observed by numismatists that most of these alien rulers adopted the developed Indian mode in the bulk of their copper coins. This mutual give and take was the order of the times, and it is illustrated not only by numismatic art, but also by the contemporary and subsequent plastic art of some of these regions. Much of the technique of the sculptural art of the extreme north and north-west was no doubt Hellenistic in character, but most of its subject matter and even a part of its technique were indigenous in origin. In the extant art of the central territories on the other hand, the Indian elements reigned supreme.

The art of coinage in the south was early to develop in its own way from the method of punch-marking ; but there can be no doubt that this method long persisted there, centuries after the practice of issuing coins from matrices or dies had been introduced. The Sātavāhanas were some of the earliest of the south Indian rulers to introduce the method of die-striking, but an appreciable number of gold coins issued by such rulers as the eastern Chālukya king Śaktivarman (1000-1012 A.D.), or the Padmaṭaṅkas of some of the Yādava kings of Devagiri (Siṅghana II to Rāmachandra or Rāmadeva, a contemporary of Allauddin Khilji, 1290-1308 A.D.) distinctly show the persistent use of the earlier method. Some coins of Śaktivarman found as far away as the island of Ramree off the Arakan Coast were wrongly attributed by Elliot to the early Chālukyan king Māṅgalīṣa ; but their correct attribution was made by Fleet. In the central part of these coins are punched the figure of a boar, the leading emblem of this dynasty, and some other adjunct symbols, while the letters of the legend, *Śrī Chālukyachandrasya*, an epithet of Śaktivarman, are impressed around the central group by means of separate punches. Several Padmaṭaṅkas (43) were discovered in the course of diggings by the villagers for earth at Rachapatnam village of the Kaikkal taluk of the Kistna district in 1922. Exactly similar coins were at first mistakenly attributed to the Kadambas by such eminent numismatists like Elliot, Rapson and Brown, but they were later correctly assigned by S. R. Ayyangar to the successive Yādava kings mentioned above. They have the impress of a lotus flower in the centre with four other punch-marks around it, thus giving them a scyphate look. The legends written in Devanāgarī script on one side read Siṅghaṇa (sometimes Sīghana), Kāṇhapa or Kāṇhara, Mahādiva and Śrī-Rāma who were, as has been shown by Ayyangar, the following Yādava kings of Devagiri,—Siṅghaṇa II, Kṛishṇa (called Kāṇhara, Kāṇhara, Kandhara, Kāndhara in his inscriptions), Mahādeva and Rāmadeva. They are described in their inscriptions as Dvāravatipurādhīśvara. It may be noted incidentally how this correct numismatic finding helps us to suggest that several verses in the *Mahābhārata* (III. 80, 82-84) are possibly very late interpolations. They read :—

Pinḍārake naraḥ snātva labheḥ-bahu suvarṇakam

Tasmim-stīrthe mahābhāga padmalakṣhaṇalakṣhītāḥ

Adyāpi mudrā dṛiṣyante tadadbhūtamariṇīdama

Triśulāṅkāni padmāni dṛiṣyante Kurunandana

Mahādevasya sāmīdhyam tatraiva Bharatarshabha

The mention of Pinḍāraka which is a tirtha near Golagur

in Gujrat, 16 miles to the east of Dwarka, may show that the Dvāravati of the Yādavas has been confused in the text with the Dvāravati (Dwarka) of the Kathiawar Peninsula, the reputed capital of Vasudeva-Krishna, the original Yādava *par excellence*. It may be presumed, however, that the gold coins characterised by lotus marks, which, according to the author of this passage, were still being found at Dvāravati, are the same as those issued by the successive rulers of the Yādava dynasty in accordance with the old method. This technique is also traceable on coins of far earlier date, as some of the early Kadamba issues testify; they 'show on the obverse a *palma* in the centre with four punch-struck retrospectant lions round it', the reverse having a scroll ornament within a circle of dots. The long continuance of this practice in the south, however, does not mean that no foreign coins, either gold or silver, ever came there in ancient times, or it had no foreign contact in the olden days. Periodical discoveries of hoards of Roman gold and silver money have been made in different parts of the Deccan, and this fact certainly bears out the conclusion mainly derived from literary data to the effect that an intimate commercial connection existed between Rome and South India in the first century A. D., though it declined afterwards. A probable result of the influx of the Roman coins can be recognised in the variegated busts on Nahapāna's silver coins, for these appear to have been modelled on those of many of the Roman emperors ruling in the 1st-2nd century A.D. But Nahapāna himself was a foreign ruler, and the technique was based on Indo-Greek mode. Some Sātavāhana rulers like Gautamīputra Śrī-Yajña Sātakarṇi and a few other little known members of the line no doubt imitated the silver issues of the Western Kshatīapas, but most of their copper, lead and potin coins and those of many other south Indian kings after them followed a method that was presumably of indigenous development. Reference should be made here to a large number of Roman copper coins (some among them were of the emperors Arcadius and Honorius), which were all collected from Madura and its environs (*JRAS*, 1904, 610-11). These were supposed by Sewell to have been imported from Rome for currency purpose in purchases of comparatively small value by 'Romans or persons using Roman coins in daily life actually resident at Madura for a time'. Colonel Tufnell refers to another class of coins found at Madura, 'small insignificant copper coins scarce the size of a quarter of a farthing and closely resembling the early issues of the native mints', but which were at the same time Roman in character. They bear on one side the imperial

head, very much worn, with sometimes faint traces of an inscription, the other side bearing the figures of three Roman soldiers standing and holding spears in their hands (the reverse device may be confused with that of 'the little coins found in south India, probably Chola or of Chera origin, which have devices of Indian figures standing and holding long spears or bows in their hands'—Sewell). These little pseudo-Roman copper pieces were struck locally for the purpose of small purchases by the Roman settlers at or near the place, and they show in a characteristic way the compromise between the Roman and indigenous methods of coinage. They can be profitably compared with the curious bronze imitations of the late fourth-century Roman coins found occasionally in Ceylon. Mattingly observes about the latter, 'It seems that Roman merchants still carried on a lively trade with the distant island and that they actually found it convenient to export small change with them which was then multiplied by imitations on native soil' (*Roman Coins*, p. 255). Many and various are the types of the south Indian coins, mostly of the early and late mediæval periods, and struck in metals other than gold, the study of which would fully repay numismatist's labours. I may observe in this connection that no comprehensive work on south Indian coins has come out since the publication of Elliot's monograph on '*Coins of Southern India*' in the Numismata Orientalia Series under Marsden's general editorship. Some of Elliot's conclusions and observations have been found to be untenable, and a large number of new types and varieties of different groups of these coins have been discovered since then. It is high time that some numismatists, preferably south Indian, should direct their energies to this very necessary and important task.

Let us turn again to the north and consider a few points connected with some of the groups of coins issued either by the alien or indigenous rulers of northern India. The *sigloi* of the Achaemenid Persian monarchs were current in their Indian possessions, and some of them might have been struck there. Several *sigloi* are known which contain countermarks resembling Brāhmī and Kharoshthī characters and a few other symbols usually found in India. Rapson long ago suggested on the basis of these marks their Indian connection (J.R.A.S. 1895). But other numismatists connect these silver coins with such far distant countries of Asia Minor as Lycia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, and the island of Cyprus. Scholars admit 'the resemblance to the Indian punch-marks remains noteworthy', but still are doubtful about the proof of absolute identity (*CHI*, I, p. 344). But can it not be suggested that these very coins were actually

current in India and were punched with their own marks by the Indian moneyers and traders, and were later carried out of the country to far distant regions in course of trade and commerce? No one doubts now that there was extensive trade connection of India with the western countries of Asia and probably southeastern countries of Europe, and can these coins be not taken as the very mementoes of this ancient connection? The *darics*, however, could never have been generally current or struck locally on account of the then difference in rates of exchange between gold and silver existing in this country and the countries on its west. Another point about the Indian currency of the Achaemenids is worth considering. It has been suggested that the very heavy silver bent bars of Taxila and of some adjoining regions in the northwest 'were struck on a Persian standard and represent double *sigloi* or *staters*' (Allan, *Catalogue of Indian Coins, Ancient India*, p. xvi). Some no doubt weigh as much as 175 grs., or even more, while a few are comparatively very light, which have been described as half and quarter-*sigloi*. If this view is accepted, then another scholar's (Decondemanche's) suggestion that the local punchmarked coins constitute the Indian variety of the Achaemenid Persian coinage requires some consideration. But even if these two suggestions were partially correct, it would not mean that all the punch-marked coins were Persian in origin, for the French scholar's way of putting his suggestion necessarily implies the existence of an indigenous method. This will be then a case of the Indian monetary technique influencing the local currency of the earliest foreign rulers of India in the historical period. I have already referred to such influence on some Indo-Bactrian Greek coins. But, if on the other hand, these heavy silver bent bars be taken as *Śatanāna* pieces (1.83 or 1.75 grs multiplied by 100 would equal the actual weight of these coins), any foreign association of them would be discounted.

To return to the coins of the Greek rulers of India. Numismatists are of unanimous opinion that no coins were minted in India by Alexander or his generals during the very short period of the Macedonian occupation of the extreme north and north-west. But did an Indian ruler or a Hinduised Greek ruler, Saubhūti by name, of the Salt Range region, who is probably the same as Sopeithes, an Indian contemporary of Alexander according to classical writers, strike silver money in his name in accordance with Greek style and technique? Certain it is that a few drachmae of a lighter Attic standard mostly based on

the imitations of the Athenian 'owls' with the legend ΣΟΦΙΤΟΥ are known. Levi suggested long ago that the striker of these coins and Sopeithes of the classical writers were one and the same, and these two name-forms were based on some such Indian word as *Saubhūti*, a derivative of *Subhūta*, used in Pāṇinian *Gaṇapāṭha* in the sense of a *janapada*. This view of the French savant was universally accepted by scholars till recently, in spite of the fact that no discovery of Sophytes' coins in Indian soil is on record, and no Indian king with the name of Saubhūti is known from any other source whatsoever. Whitehead took this point up, and deservedly challenged the old view, dubbing it as a philologist's creation (*Num. Chr.*, 1943, pp. 60-72). He would locate Sophytes far away in the Oxus region where he was ruling as an eastern satrap presumably of Alexander. The old theory has thus been severely shaken, but Sophytes' exact association has not yet been settled beyond doubt. The objections raised by a previous scholar (Bhandarkar, *Armistead Lectures*, 1921, 29-30) against any contemporary ruler issuing coins in his name anywhere in Alexander's empire during the latter's lifetime or sometime after his death have not been answered, and we cannot say in the present state of our knowledge that Sophytes' problem has been finally solved. Many seemingly well-established theories regarding the next group of foreign coins, the Indo-Greek series, likewise have recently been questioned by the same scholar, and the points raised by him deserve very careful consideration. Most of these theories were propounded in comparatively recent times by such well-known numismatists like Rapson and Macdonald whose views were further advanced and fitted in the general scheme of the Greeks in Bactria and India by W. W. Tarn. Tarn's book on this theme has really added a sort of filip to the study and research in these groups of coins, and Whitehead in a series of articles (*N. C.*, 1940, 1947) has re-examined, modified and sometimes corrected the observations of the last named scholar. It will be of interest here to take note of one or two of these criticisms. Rapson suggested long ago that Eukratides' square copper coins with the Kharoshthi legend are sometimes coins of Apollodotus restruck, and the city deity of Kāpiśi on their reverse was no other than Zeus enthroned or preferably Zeus-Indra with the figures of a mountain and an elephant on its either side. The explanation of this device was sought by him in Hiuen Tsang's account of Kāpiśi. According to him the type thus inaugurated by Eukratides came to be the principal one of Eukratides'

house in the Kabul valley. The identity of the city-deity of Kāpīśi as enthroned Zeus was originally fixed by Cunningham whose view was endorsed by Gardner; Rapson built up his hypothesis upon it. But Whitehead now challenges it and observes not only on the basis of a well-preserved and beautiful specimen of this type in the British Museum, but also on the basis of Cunningham's drawing of another piece (*NC*, 1869, pl. vii. 6), that 'the city-deity wears a mural crown, carries a palm but not a sceptre, in fact she is a city goddess'. Alfred von Sallet was doubtful about Cunningham's identification, and in any case, there is no similarity between this figure and that of the radiate sceptred Victory bearing Zeus of Antialkidas' coins. Whitehead further observes that the only known Kāpīśi piece of Eukratides restruck on Apollodotus' coin was the one published long ago by Cunningham and now in the British Museum, and no other such over-struck piece is known. But the previous numismatists' way of mentioning this fact of restriking shows that there were known several coins of Apollodotus struck by Eukratides. In any case Whitehead's observations have taken away the ground from beneath the well-built theory of Rapson about the transference of the authority over the Kāpīśi kingdom from the house of Euthydemus to that of Eukratides. But one is unable to follow the critic's remarks about the "Zeus and elephant" reverse devices on certain tetradrachms of Antialkidas. He sees in the various delineations of the device a reference to 'a struggle between what may be called the Zeus party and the elephant party in which the latter was victorious; the elephant side appropriate wreath of victory and ultimately carry her entire, while the dethroned and Nikeless Zeus has to walk' (*NC*, 1947, p. 30). Should we not see in this Zeus and elephant the Hellenized form of the Indian Indra and his mount Airāvata (really the god himself in his theriomorphic form)? The over-struck coin of Eukratides might after all have some connection with Kāpīśi, for here as well as on the other '*kaviśīye nagara devata*' coins the fore part of an elephant is present beside the enthroned deity. Whitehead explains its presence to indicate 'the elephant of the mountain Pilusāra standing in a submissive attitude with hanging trunk paying homage or devotion to the enthroned tutelary goddess of the capital city of Kāpīśi'. The device of Antialkidas might also have been associated with the city, if we are to connect it with Hiuen Tshang's statement already noted. The device "Zeus" standing or walking by the elephant on certain tetradrachms of the king has better claims to be regarded as Indra and his mount, as

reminding us of the 'Śiva and his bull' device on many coins of the Kushāṇa emperors of India. Again Rapson's well-reasoned hypothesis about Menander's connection with Agathokleia and Strato I and about the relationship between the last two cannot now be accepted unhesitatingly since some weighty objections have been raised against them by the critic. But Rapson's view has recently been ably supported by H. L. Houghton on the basis of strong numismatic data (*NC*, 1948, 134-41, pls. VIII-IX). All this shows how conclusions based on numismatic data alone unsupported by epigraphic and literary evidence are prone to be challenged, if there is the least chance of their being differently interpreted. This, however, does not detract in the least the value of coins as one of the major sources for reconstructing India's past. How a chance discovery of two new coins as well as an inscription helps us to arrive at a sure conclusion is clearly illustrated by the Whitehead's paper on 'The Dynasty of the General Āspavarman' (*NC*, 1944, 99ff). The Bajaur relic casket inscription of the time of Menander and afterwards, as well as the two coins of Vijayamitra's son in P. Thorburn's collection studied along with the previously known coins of Āspavarman and his nephew Sasan have given us the names of four generations of viceregal rulers in the north-western region, Vijayamitra, his son Itravarman-Indravarma (both style themselves as *apracaraja*), the latter's son Āspavarman (a *strategos*) and Āspa's nephew Sasan (perhaps at first a subordinate ruler, then an associate-ruler of Gondophares).

I need not tire your patience by enumerating instances of old numismatic theories giving place to new, or to joint discoveries of epigraphic and numismatic data throwing substantial light on our past history. I should like now to say a few words about one or two of the many numismatic problems that still await solution. Take for example the most enigmatic series of the Mālava coins. I mean those with such inexplicable legends like Bhapamyana, Majupa, Mapojaya, Magajasa, Magojaya, Mapaka, Pacha, Gajava, Maraja, Jamaku, &c. What do these legends stand for? Vincent Smith suggested that most of these names are of foreign origin. Jayaswal's view about splitting them up and taking the first particle *ma* for *mahārāja*, the second portion standing for the name of the great king, is untenable. Allan is also not convincing when he says that they may mostly stand for incomplete parts of fuller legends. Might they after all have some foreign association? The technique of the coins on which they appear is no doubt Indian, and their date is, as has rightly been suggested by

Allan, must be about the 2nd or 3rd centuries A.D. But they remind one of the pseudo-Roman coins of southern India already referred to. I do not mean that they have any the least Roman association, but could they have really been issued by some foreign chiefs? This question cannot be satisfactorily answered in the present state of our knowledge. Douglas in his very interesting note on Mālava coins (*J.A.S.B.*, 1923, p. 42) has little to say on this point. A careful study of these and other similar groups of coins of the region and the adjoining localities may throw light on the problem some day.

Take again the question of the attribution of one or two gold coins issued by a certain Vatsadāman. Rapson was the first to notice one such coin (*J.R.I.S.*, 1900, p. 123). His description of it runs thus: obv.—*Sri-Vatsadāmana rāyana(ha)*, a cow to left suckling a calf; border of dots; rev.—Vishṇu striding to right, tramples on a demon with each foot, in his right hand he holds a discus, in front and behind him other demons, border of dots; *Λ*.—8 Allan noticed another piece in his account of Indian coins acquired by the British Museum in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1937 (p. 299), his description of it being virtually the same as that of Rapson, with this difference that what is described by Rapson as the obverse side is the reverse one and vice versa, according to him. Rapson, though he noticed the partial affinity of Vatsadāman's coin to the Ādivaraha coins of Bhojadeva, wrongly described the device on one side as Vishṇu (Vāmana) trampling on demons, which description was repeated by Allan. There is, however, no doubt that it is the same as Varāha *avitāra* device of Bhoja's coins, Vishṇu in his Boar incarnation rescuing the earth (the goddess can be faintly recognised as seated on the raised left elbow of the god (*vāmakūparaṁsthā*) his feet being placed on the hands of the Sesha Nāga (*Seshapāṇitale dhṛitah*), and this similarity justifies the assumption that Vatsadāman and Bhojadeva were not widely separated in time or distance. But can it be suggested that Vatsa of the coins, and Vatsarāja, the grandfather of Bhoja were one and the same? Vatsarāja was certainly the first great ruler of the Gurjara Pratihāra dynasty, whose achievements were only rivalled by his grandson, and the issue of gold coins by him cannot be ruled out. But even if the difference in the second components of the names be ignored, we have to consider the claims of a prince of the little known Śūrasena dynasty, the seventh in the line, whose name was identical. In the Kāma or Kāmavana village (about 40 miles from Mathura in the Bharatpur region), a Sanskrit inscription was found

engraved on one of the pillars among the ruins of an old fort in the village; a reference is made in it to this Vatsadāman, the son of Devarāja and the grandson of Durgadāman. Rapson, it is true, thought of the possibility of the identity of the two, when he remarked that 'the inscription is of about the 8th century A. D., and the Nāgari letters of the inscription and coin are not dissimilar', but he adjudged this evidence as insufficient for identifying the Vatsadāman of the inscription with the striker of the coin. But in the ninth and the tenth lines of the Kāmavana record clear reference is to be found to the Varāha incarnation of Viṣṇu (*udhṛitya prasabham Varāhavapushā; prithvī yena madhudvisheva na punah kroḍena samrakṣhīā*). It is true that in some inscriptions of other kings of the mediaeval times or even earlier, the royal prowess is compared to the feat of Viṣṇu as Varāha. But in this case the identity of the name lends pointed support to our suggestion. If this identification is accepted, then it is interesting to note that a prince belonging to 'probably only a petty feudatory family' (Indraji, *IA*, XX, p. 35) issued gold coins in his name. This is all the more striking, in as much as no coins, either in gold or in metals of lesser value, are known of some far more powerful sovereigns of the period. It may be noted incidentally that the device on the other side of Vatsadāman's coin, 'cow suckling a calf' is one which also appears on the money of Bappa Rawal and others (*NC*, 1933, pp. 139-42).

I am afraid I have taken much of your time in referring to a few only of the numismatic problems which crowd into my mind. But I have to resist the temptation of placing any more of them before you for fear of tiring you. I shall now briefly record some of the latest numismatic acquisitions by the different museums in India and the British Museum, and give you a brief idea about the work that is being done here and outside. The Foreign Secretary of the Royal Numismatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland informs me that the British Museum has acquired some pieces from R. Burns' collection, notably some good *dāms* of Akbar and a gold *nīṣār* of Shahjahan of Shahjahanabad mint. P. Thorburn of England has added to his extensive collection a beautiful specimen in silver of the type of coin published in *Num. Chr.*, 1923, pl. vi, 44, (a square mohur of Jaunpur mint, the mint-name being associated with the epithet *Dāru-s-saltanat*, date 985 plainly legible in the bottom margin of the obverse), and a nice broad rupee in good imperial style of Shah Alam's third year, mint Roshanabad-Tippera. R. Burns' nice collection of ancient Hindu coins,

copper Gupta coins, Tippera coins with a dragon on one side etc., have recently been disposed of in two sales, one on July 5, and the other on November 3, the British Museum only keeping a few among them. The American Numismatic Society continues to take a great interest in Indian coins. Mrs. Baldwin Brett writes on "Indo-Bactrian coins acquired by the American Numismatic Society in 1947" in the Society's *Museum Notes*, 1948, a very nice number beautifully produced. R. N. Frye's *Notes on the Early Coinage of Transoxiana*, American Numismatic Society, New York, 1949, throws some light on our subject. Three comprehensive and important works recently published, which have a great bearing on the money issued by several groups of early foreign rulers of India are, (1) R. Ghirshman's *Begram*, Cairo, 1947, (2) R. Ghirshman's *Les Chionites-Heptalites*, Cairo, 1948, and (3) *The Scythian Period of Indian History*, (pp. 435, 40 plates), by J. E. van Lohuizen, (Messrs. Brill & Co., Leyden, 1949). [I am indebted to Dr. Whitehead, the Foreign Secretary of the Royal Numismatic Society, for this useful information.]

Prof. S. L. Katare of Jubbulpore refers to a coin-hoard found about 250 miles east of Tripuri, which contains one Tripuri coin and one coin with the legend *sara Satasa*. The Tripuri coin is similar to those published by Allan (*CAI*, p. 239). The Sātavāhana coin is a thin rectangular piece with many symbols on one side, and the Brāhmī legend Sātavāhana on the other. A punch-marked coin is also in the hoard, which possibly shows a camel on one side. The Archæological Department of the Hyderabad State has discovered some more coins of the Mahisha dynasty; Principal Mirashi has discussed their peculiar features in an article being published in our Journal. The same scholar is publishing an article there about a new copper coin with the legend *siri śālavāha*, found at Kondapur. Prof. Altekar has identified a silver coin of Vāsithiputa Sātakarṇi in the collection of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. This would be the sixth silver coin of the Sātavāhana dynasty; it is similar to the silver coin of Gautami-putra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi. He thinks that this Vāsithiputa Sātakarṇi might have been a brother and possibly a successor of Vāsithiputa Puṣumāvi, and the son-in-law of Rudradāman. The same scholar draws our attention in our next issue to a very rare coin of the Yaudheya clan with the legend containing the word *tri* at the end in the collection of the said Museum¹.

The Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras, has acquired 59 coins of the Bayana hoard, including the rarer varieties—the Rhinoceros, the Apratigha, the Elephant-rider-Lion-slayer and Aśvamedha types of Kumāragupta I. It will shortly acquire a Chhatra type gold coin of the same Gupta monarch, only known from the Bayana hoard. Among the other notable acquisitions of the Kalā Bhavan are the coins of Budhagupta, Kumāragupta II and Narasimhagupta Bālāditya. It thus appears that the Banaras Museum has built up a fine collection of the Gupta gold coins.

The Provincial Museum, Lucknow, has acquired during the current year the following interesting types of coins:—

- (i) A brass coin of Chandragupta II, Archer type;
- (ii) „ „ Kumāragupta I, „ „ ;

(Sri M. M. Nagar, the Curator, is sure about the genuineness of the coins, the special interest of which lies in their metal)

- (iii) A gold coin of Chandragupta II, Horseman type, in a perfect state of preservation, its uniqueness lying in the fact that the goddess on the reverse is shown standing;
- (iv) A Lion-slayer type gold coin of Chandragupta II; it is unique for the lion mount of the goddess is shown walking;
- (v) A beautiful and well preserved specimen of the rare Aśvamedha type gold coin of Kumāragupta I.

The Curator, Numismatic Section of the Madras Government Museum, informs me that the Museum has acquired during the current year an important hoard of 15 Roman gold coins which were discovered in the Kadamath island, one of the Amindivis group of islands off the coast of South Canara District. Of these 5 belong to Vespasian, 9 to Antoninus Pius and one to Commodus. All the coins are well-preserved and appear to be in a mint condition.

Sri J. K. Agarwal of Lucknow writes to me that he has secured a small lot of 32 silver punch-marked coins of 25 ratti standard weight hailing from Basti. A detailed account of them which contain some interesting features will be published in our *Journal* in due course.

The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, has undertaken to list all coins that are still in its cabinet, after it had supplied the bulk of coins in the Indian Museum collection from its own stock long ago; Sunil Kumar Roy, M. A., the

James Prinsep Research Fellow of the Society, is entrusted with this work which is being done under my guidance. In course of this work, he has identified some new symbols on some of the punch-marked coins in the Society's collection.

To come to the Province of Utkal, the host of our annual Session, Sri P. Acharya, the joint local Secretary of the I. H. Records Commission, and I. H. Congress, draws my attention to the discovery of a gold coin of Kumāragupta I in the Angul subdivision of the Dhenkanal district. The Research Assistant of the Utkal University has brought to light some interesting Mughal silver coins from Puri, which are being exhibited here. It should be noted that Mughal coins used to be minted at Cuttack and Hariharpur.

The Numismatic Society of India has rightly undertaken the work of publishing useful monographs and brochures. Late Dr. Birbal Sahni's book on *'The Technique of casting coins in Ancient India'* that has already been published, proves the great scientist's interest in numismatics. I am glad to note that the very helpful *Bibliography of Indian coins* published by our Asst. Secy. and Treasurer, Sri C. R. Singhal, is being reprinted in a revised and enlarged form.¹

I should like to make one or two general observations before I conclude my address. Our Society has certainly gained much in strength and position due to the untiring efforts of our present Chairman, our past Presidents, and the past and present Secretaries, Asst. Secretaries and other office-bearers. There still remains much to be done, and I am sure that none of us will grudge any effort to advance its cause. I have already suggested the desirability of undertaking a comprehensive work, a sort of Corpus, on the south Indian coins. A scholar or scholars taking it up should be given proper encouragement by the authorities and be assured that their work should be suitably published. It is very hard now a days to have one's books printed, and the difficulty proportionately increases when these deal with such a highly technical subject as Numismatics. We know that some works on Indian coins are still in manuscript stage for want of funds. Not only in the interest of scholarship and research, but also for the proper understanding of our past history and culture, all such works should be brought out in a worthy manner.

I thank you again my freinds for the patient hearing which you have given me.

[1 This book has now been published in September 1950. A. S. A.]

A LEAD COIN FROM KONĀPUR

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR.

Konḍapur in the Medak District of the Hyderabad State has extensive ruins of the Sātavāhana age. They have already been described by Mr. G. Yazdani in the *Annals* of the Bhandarkar Institute, Vol. XXII, pp. 171 f. Recently some interesting coins from this site were sent to me for decipherment by my friend Mr. Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad. Some of them were published by me in the last number, Vol. XI p. 1 f. I describe here another coin from the same site.

This coin (Pl VI. 7) is of lead, roundish in shape with a diameter of '6". It is die-struck; for on the obverse there clearly appears an incuse formed by the die. The obverse shows the figure of a lion facing left, with the legend running round commencing at x. The reverse has the Ujjain symbol and a tree in railing inside a square border which appears on three sides of the device. The border at the bottom consists of a wavy line. The weight of the coin is 63·8 grains.

The legend is in Prakrit characters of about the third century A.D. I read it as *sura* [J.] *sacharakamasa*¹ (for *siri Jasacharakāmasa*, with the vowels restored). The letters *ra* and *ka* have not yet developed a serif, but *cha* has a long vertical. These characters show that the coin is of the late Sātavāhana period. The legend means '(This coin is) of the illustrious Jasacharakāma (Sanskrit, Yaśascharakāma²). This is a peculiar royal name, the like of which I have not come across elsewhere.

Coins of this type were issued by the Sātavāhanas; see, e.g., the copper coin No. 8 and the potin coin No. 11 in Rapson's *Coins of the Andhras* etc., Pl. I. These coins have the figure of a lion facing left on the former and right on the latter; but as Rapson has shown, the latter coin is reversed. So the type is the same in both the cases. The reverse has the tree in railing on the left and the Ujjain symbol with the

1. The preceding letters such as *rañño*, if they were stamped, have been cut off as the blank was smaller than the die. [I regret that owing to defective block-making, the first letter *sa* of the legend is blurred and seems to be joined with *ra* following. In the photograph *sa* and *ra* are distinct and separate. Similarly *ra* after *cha* is quite distinct in the original. A better facsimile will be supplied in the next number. A.S.A.]

2. The name seems to mean 'one who is fond of the spread of his fame'. चरतीति चरः । यज्ञसः चरः यज्ञश्चरः । तं कामयते इति यज्ञश्चरकामः ।

nandipada at the top, on the right¹. On the present coin the lion faces left as on the Sātavāhana coins described above, but the position of the tree and the Ujjain symbol is reversed. The *nandipada*, if it was stamped, has not come out on the present coin.

The aforementioned Sātavāhana coins were issued by Sātakarṇi. There were several kings of the Sātavāhana family whose names ended in Sātakarṇi. Which of them issued those coins cannot be determined in the absense of a complete legend. The vigorous pose of the lion and the neatly formed characters on the present coin show that it is of a later period.

The king Yaśascharakāma may have been a feudatory of the Sātavāhanas or may have risen to power after their downfall. As he makes no mention of any dynastic name, he cannot be connected with any of the known rulers of the Deccan.

1. This same device occurs also on the reverse of some other potin coins listed by Rapson, but they are uninscribed. See coins Nos. 221 and 227. The obverse has the figure of a bull instead of a lion.

SOME GOLD COINS OF THE KADAMBA DYNASTY

BY DR. M. G. DIKSHIT, PH.D., POONA

In a previous number of this Journal (*ante*, Vol. X, part ii, pp. 143-145) I had occasion to describe five gold coins of the Kadambas of Goa from the coin cabinet of Rao Raje V. A. Deshpabhu of Pedne, Goa. Through his courtesy again I am able to describe here another set of five gold coins issued by the same dynasty. All these belong to an unpublished variety and are now preserved in his cabinet at Viscount Park, Pedne. In almost all the cases I have been able to ascertain the names by which these coins were known through contemporary inscriptions.

TWO COINS OF JAYAKEŚI I.

(1) Metal : gold ; weight : 76.5 grains ; size : .65"

Obv. : Within a circle surrounded by radiating lines and dots, grotesque figure of *Gajasimha* i.e. of an animal combining long trunk of the elephant with the mane and tail of the lion.

Rev. : Within a circle surrounded by dots and radiating lines, the Kadamba crest of a *triśula* at the top and Devanāgarī legend in two lines below :

श्री मलेगे

भैरव

Pl. VI, 1.

(2) Metal : gold ; weight : 76.52 grains ; size : .65"

Obv. : Within a circle Kadamba Lion facing right with one of his front legs upraised.

Rev. : Within a circle surrounded by dots and radiating lines, the Kadamba crest of a *triśula* at the top and Devanāgarī legend in two lines below (similar to that on Coin No. 1)

श्री मलेगे

भैरव

Pl. VI, 2

In the case of both these coins the letter 'e' is shown with a *prishṭha-mātrā* and the palæography of the *akshara* 'bhai' clearly shows that they belong to the first half of

the 11th century A.D. Though the name of the king is nowhere indicated, their attribution to Jayakesi I, the Kadamba ruler of Goa, is certain, since the same device as the Kadamba Lion and the Kanerese title *Sri-malege-bhairava* occur on the seal of his Panjim copper-plate grant,¹ dated Saka 981.

It is of interest to note that these plates refer to a certain coin called *Bhairava* and as a name of a coin the word appears in certain other copper plates² issued by the same dynasty. It is obvious that by the term *Bhairava* the coins of the type described above are indicated.

The obverse of Coin No. 1 has the figure of a *Gaja-simha* in place of the usual dynastic crest of a Kadamba Lion ; and it is possible to suggest that it is intended to commemorate the victory over the Mālavas, a tribe living in hill forests subjugated by the Kadamba rulers and consequently accounts for the title *Malege Bhairava* on the reverse (a Kanerese equivalent for *Malaharamāri*, a title adopted by almost all the successors of Jayakesi I on their coins³ and inscriptions). In this respect Coin No. 1 is unique.

A COIN OF SOIDEVA

(3) Metal: gold ; weight : 63·75 grains ; size ; 75"

Obv. : Within a circle surrounded by dots at the margin, Kadamba Lion facing left with one of its front legs upraised ; figure of a conch-shell (*śaṅkha*) in front. Legend in Nāgarī characters to right
श्रीसोई

Rev. : Within a circle surrounded by dots at the margin, Kadamba crest of a *triśūla* at the top ; below legend in Nāgarī characters in two lines.

श्रीमलह
रमारि

Pl. VI, 3.

Only two coins issued by this ruler are known so far⁴. The present one belonging to the *Malaharamāri* series is

1. Moraes, *Kadamba-kula*, Pl. 47 and Appendix III, No. 2.
2. These plates recently discovered near Bāṇdivde, in Goa, by my friend Mr. G.H. Khare of the *Bhārata Itihāsa Samśhodhaka Maṇḍala*, Poona, are now under publication in *Epigraphia Indica*.
3. Coins of Jayakesi ; Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, Pl. II, 71.
Smith, *Indian Museum Catalogue*, I, Pl. XXX, 5.
Coins of Sivachitta : Moraes, *op. cit.*, Pl. 50-51.
Coins of Soyideva : Pissurlencar in *O Orient Portuguesas*, No. 22.
Coins of Later Kadambas : Moraes, *op. cit.*, Pl. 53.
above, Vol. X, Pl. X, 5, 6 and 7.
4. Elliot, *op. cit.*, Pl. II, 69 ; above, Vol. X, Pl. X, 4.

published here for the first time and has the Kadamba crest of a *triśūla* and the legend on the reverse as commonly noticed on such coins. But the figure of a conch and the name of the ruler on the obverse are novel features of this coin. It is also noteworthy that the name is given here as *Soi* and *not* *Soyi* as on previously published specimens.

This and other similar coins with the legend "Malaharamāri" on the reverse (see *ante*, Vol. X, Plate X, 5-7 and *Kadamba-kula*, Pl. 53) are apparently the "Malaharamāri Nishkas" mentioned in the Kiri-halasige Plates¹ of Jayakesōi III issued in Kaliyuga 4288 (i.e. 1186-87 A.D.). While publishing these plates Dr. Fleet had observed that the exact meaning of the words "Malaharamāri Nishkas" was not clear. But the actual finding of these coins, as well as the word "*Malaharamāri more*" in the Kauerese text of the same inscription clearly indicates that Nishkas with the word "Malavaramāri embossed on their face" are intended.

The weight of the present coin is 63.75 grains; while smaller coins with the same legend on the reverse weigh roughly about 45 grains. Which of the two denominations are represented by the Nishka above mentioned cannot be ascertained with certainty.

A COIN OF HEMMĀDI-DEVA (PERMĀDI)

(4) Metal : gold ; weight : 76.5 grains ; size : .69".

Obv. : Within a circle surrounded by dots near the margin, Kadamba Lion facing front with one of his front legs upraised. Figure of Sun to left above the lion. Nāgarī legend in front जय

Rev. : Within a circle surrounded by dots near the margin, Nāgarī legend of five lines in confused characters :—

- (1) श्री सप्तको
- (2) टीश । लब्धव (र*)
- (3) बीर हेम्मा
- (4) डीदेव मल
- (5) वरमारी

Pl. VI, 4

This coin belongs to the same type of coinage of the Kadamba rulers represented by Elliot *Coins of Southern India*, Pl. II, Nos. 68, 69 and 71 ; Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the*

1. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. IX, pp. 241-246.

Indian Museum, I, Pl. XXX, 5 and *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. X, Plate X, 3 and 4. It is closely similar to another coin of Hemmāḍi-deva or Permardī-deva published by Prof. Pandurang Pissurlencar in *Orient Portugesis*, No. 22(1938), which was struck in the cyclic year Išvara corresponding to Śaka 1079 or 1157 A.D. The present coin differs from it in having a new cyclic year which has been read as Jaya. It was apparently struck in Śaka 1096 or 1174 A. D.).

A SMALL PAṆA OF THE LATER KADAMBAS OF GOA.

(5) Metal: gold; weight: 6.3 grains; size: .25"

Obv.: Crude representation of Kadamba Lion within a circle bordered with dots.

Rev.: Within a circle surrounded by dots, the letter śrī followed by a *svastika*.

This is one of the smallest coins of the Kadambas of Goa. It is similar to such smaller coins found at Chandor,¹ which have the Kadamba Lion on the obverse and a *triśūla* on the reverse. The present one differs in having the auspicious letter śrī and the *svastika* on the reverse in place of the *triśūla*.

(6) A GOLD COIN OF THE KADAMBAS OF HANGAL.

Since the above was sent to the press, I have come across another gold coin of the Hangal branch of the Kadamba dynasty. It was obtained at Kālavade, a village near Karad in the Satara district of the Bombay presidency from Mr. G. R. Kulkarni by Shri M. N. Deshpande, Offg. Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Poona; and through his courtesy I am able to describe it here together with its photograph. I am obliged to him for kindly allowing me to publish it here.

The coin belongs to the well known South Indian fabric of punched coinage current in the Southern Maratha districts and Karnāṭaka during the Mediæval period; and it has on it the usual arrangement of symbols consisting of a punched figure in the centre, with four retrospectant lions at the cardinal points around the span of the coin, the intervening spaces being devoted to various symbols such as *āyudhas*, the auspicious letter śrī and the name of the issuer, in many cases indicated by his *virudas* alone. At present only the Kadambas,² the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi³ and some

1. Moraes, *op. cit.*, Pl. 54.

2. *Ibid.*, Pl. 49.

3. M. H. Krishna, in *M. A. R.*, 1933, Plate XXI, 4 figs. 3,4,6,8,9,12, 16 and 17.

other minor dynasties¹ are found to have issued such coinage, in each of whose types the central figure varies according to the dynastic *lāñchahhana* such as *varāha*, the lion etc. Their attribution to individual rulers, however, has often presented some difficulties since the proper names or the *birudas* on these coins are often only partially preserved.

Knowing these characteristics, it is easy to assign the present coin to the Kadambas of Hāṅgal, whose dynastic symbol, viz., the God Hanumān is always represented on their coins and mentioned in inscriptions. Only two coins ascribed to these rulers have hitherto been published.² They both have the Monkey God on their obverse shown in different attitudes with the word Nakara (standing for Nakareśhvara) in Hale Kaniṇṇaḍa engraved below; while the reverse shows the scroll as the chief ornamental design. As the fabric of the present coin is different from both these, it represents a new variety in the coinage issued by the Kadambas of Hāṅgal. In the present state of our knowledge and the incompleteness of the *biruda* occurring on the coin, it cannot be ascribed to any particular ruler from that dynasty.

The description of the coin is as follows:

(6) Metal: gold; weight: 120 grains; size: .82"

Obv.: In the centre of the coin a punched figure of the God Hanumān facing right, in a running posture, with his right hand holding a long club upraised; four retrospectant lions at the cardinal points (at XII, III, VI and IX respectively); the auspicious letters *Śri* (at I and VII respectively); figure of *ankuśa* followed by two *aksharas* in Kanerese characters, the first of which reads *su* and the second one probably '*ga*' which has become indistinct in both the cases. (at X and V respectively; at the latter the punch for the *ankuśa* and the legend is repeated).

Rev.: Blank.

Pl. VI, 6

1. Elliot, *op. cit.*, Pl II., 60, 66 and 67,

2. Elliot, *op. cit.* Pl. II, 78; Moraes, *op. cit.*, Pl. 55.

SOME INTERESTING COINS OF SOPHYTES AND THE PROBLEM OF HIS IDENTIFICATION.

BY MR. AWADH KISHORE NARAIN, M.A., BANARAS.

The two coins of Sophytes which are being published here belong to the collection of Mr. D.D. Ghoshal of Calcutta. Some Indo-Greek coins from his collection have already been published in this Journal by Dr. A. S. Altekar¹. Recently eight coins were sent by Mr. Ghoshal to Dr. Altekar for examination, which were kindly entrusted to me for study. I am publishing here two coins of Sophytes from this lot

The description of these two coins is as follows :—

FIRST COIN.

Wt. : 4.59 grms. (71 grs.) ; metal : silver.

Obverse : In an encircling border of dots, head of king r, wearing close-fitting crested helmet, wreathed with olive ; cheek-piece decorated with wing-like ornamentation.

Reverse : Border of dots. Cock to r., 1. caduceus.
Legend r. : ΣΩΦΙΤΟΥ ΠΙ. VI 9.

SECOND COIN.

Wt. : 3.73 grms. (58 grains) ; metal : silver.

This coin is similar to the first coin, but following points are worth noting :

Obverse : The king has somewhat sunken cheeks suggesting an age of about 65 ; the age suggested by the first coin is about 35. The upper rim of the helmet is not decorated with dots as on the first coin, but by slanting lines knit together. On the section of the neck there are three letters.
PMH.

Reverse : The designing of the cock is different. The crest of the cock in No. 1 is attached horizontally to it ; whereas in No. 2 it is over head and is of different design. The slanting curve lines of the neck are

1. *Ante*, vol. IX Part I. p. 16 ff.

comparatively shortened on the present specimen. It has also not got the five parallel horizontal lines of dots in the middle of the figure; and more dots have been used to show the stomach. The tail feathers have also been shown differently on the present coin.

The legend, too, on r. starts below the beak and ends very close to the claws, whereas in No. 1 it starts up the beak and almost touching the bordering dots.

The caduceus is very small on this coin and there are not two dots over it as on No. 1. [I. VI. 8.]

These coin types have not been so far published. The first coin shows the king at his youngest age on coins so far discovered. Almost all the coins of Sophytes hitherto published in catalogues and journals have the letter M on the section of the neck of the bust, but this specimen has clearly no signs of any letter at that place. But the most notable feature is its weight. It weighs 4.59 grammes i. e. about 71 grains. No coins of Sophytes have been found of this weight and it raises an important point about the metrology of his coins. Incidentally it is perhaps one of the most well preserved coins of Sophytes.

The second coin probably shows the king at his oldest age on the coins so far discovered. It very much resembles the coin published by Dr. Whitehead in *Numismatic Chronicle* 1943, pl. III, 8, but it definitely shows the king slightly older. Besides Dr. Whitehead has read only M on the section of the neck of the specimen published by him, whereas more letters are clearly visible on the present coin. The cock on the reverse appears to be more slim on this coin than on that of Dr. Whitehead. The border of dots, too, on both sides of this coin has come out comparatively well. The weight too is slightly less.

Before we proceed to discuss the identification of Sophytes, the issuer of these coins, we pause here to take note of the letters on the section of the neck of the bust. We read clearly M. After M the letter appears either as N, wrong N, or H. Now since M is a tens number in Greek, the letter following must belong to units and so we find that only H can be the proper letter. The first letter, that is, one before M is not very clear, but all the same a loop is definitely visible which may be regarded as the upper part of P,—this is the only possibility. In my opinion the letters should read P M H

Signifying 148 year of some particular era¹.

WHO IS SOPHYTES ?

Writing about the coins of Sophytes, Gardner says, "they are the more interesting because their date and place of issue can be approximately fixed...²", although he has given no clear indications about them nor has he discussed the problem in detail. As a matter of fact certain conclusions about the identification of Sophytes have been taken for granted and regarded as 'approximately fixed...', but the so-called "first Indian king whose name occurs on a coin" is still a mystery.

In the words of Sir George Macdonald, "Sophytes (Saubhuti) has been by universal consent identified with the Sopeithes of Arrian and Strabo³. It is this Sopeithes with whom Alexander came in contact in his eastward march after the capitulation of Sagala. He was known as the king of the Salt range in the Punjab, east of the Jhelum. It was opined by the scholars that since the name Sopeithes or Sophytes is not a Greek one, it must have been derived by the Greek writers from some Sanskrit word, and on this premise Mr. Sylvain Levi found out the original name of the ruler as Saubhuti.⁴ Further, since it was believed that some of the coins of Sophytes were found in the Punjab, and since it was a fact that all the hitherto discovered coins conformed to the Indian weight standard of 58 grains, the Indian nationality of Sophytes was regarded as almost fixed. His date was also regarded as approximately fixed. It was considered that the coin must have been struck before 306 B. C., when all the generals of Alexander had assumed the royal title; for the coin of Sophytes gives the name of the king without the title. The fact that the coin is similar to the well known type of Seleucus Nicator also supported this view, and it was thought that Sophytes, who was a contemporary of Alexander, "renewed with Seleucus, very probably on the occasion of that king's eastern expedition against Sandrokottos, the friendship which he had established with Alexander".⁵

This 'approximately fixed' view of the scholars was challenged by Dr. R. B. Whitehead in his paper in *Numis-*

1. Dr. Macdonald has however noticed that letters M or MN on some coins are the initial signs of a Greek artist who cut the dies. *C.H.I.*, Vol I, p. 388.

2. Gardner, P., *B. M. C.*, Intro. p. xix.

3. *Cambridge History of India.*, Vol. I p. 388.

4. *Journal Asiatique* 1890, p. 237.

5. Percy Gardner : *B. M. C.* Introduction, xx.

matic Chronicle.¹ He concedes that the literary tradition of Sopeithes need not be questioned, but he does not connect him with the ruler who issued the coins. According to him "the Sopeithes of Arrian is not this Sophytes of the coins." Saubhuti, he thinks, is a "philologists' creation" and avers that "there is no historical evidence that Saubhuti existed." He says that "it is unparalleled that a Hindu Rajah in India should strike a piece signed by a Greek artist, Greek in style and fabric, bearing an Hellenised form of his name." And "why should a Hindu masquerade in a Macedonian helmet?" This conception of a Hellenised Hindu is quite alien to India and to Indian sentiment. Dr. Whitehead further considers that the drachms of Sophytes are original Greek pieces and were not struck in India. Pointing out how his coins are usually found beyond the Hindukush, and considering their affinity to the Athenian 'owls', he places them in the Oxus region. He concludes, "Sophytes and his coins belong to the Oxus region; they are probably earlier than 320 B.C., the date given to them by Sir George Macdonald. It is suggested that Sophytes was a local satrap who asserted his independence on the fall of the Persian Empire²."

Dr. J. N Banerjea examined the view of Dr. Whitehead³. He thinks "that though Whitehead has raised well reasoned doubts about a topic which was so long accepted as a settled fact, he has not been able to solve satisfactorily the problem of Sophytes' place of origin. The connection of Sophytes with Saubhuti has still a great deal of plausibility in it, and if we can find any clear mention of a country named Saubhuta or of a ruler Saubhuti by name in early Indian literature, the hitherto accepted suggestion of numismatists will still recommend itself to many⁴".

Undoubtedly nothing can be said conclusively about the identification of Sophytes in the present state of our knowledge. Nevertheless I am doubtful whether the "hitherto accepted suggestion of numismatists will still recommend itself to many." To me it is not plausible to identify Sophytes of the coins with an imaginary Saubhuti, who none should deny is a 'philologist's creation.' Neither Saubhuti has any place in any genealogy nor Saubhuta exists in any map. Sophytes is known only from coins, and considering the available evidences from the numismatic point

1. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1943, p. 60 ff.

2. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1943 p. 72

3. *J. N. S. I.* 1945, Vol. VII, Hodiwala Commemoration Volume p. 23 ff.

4. *Ibid.* p. 25.

of view, it appears that Dr. Whitehead is justified in regarding Sophytes as an non-Indian ruler.

If we study the coins of Sophytes we find the following un-Indian characteristics: —

- (i) The coins bear no legend in Brāhmī or Kharoshthī.
- (ii) The headdress and attire of the king is quite un-Indian, and even the face, I am afraid, is not Indian. Specially noteworthy is the decoration of helmet by the olive which is peculiarly Greek.
- (iii) Caduceus has no meaning in Indian religious mythology¹.
- (iv) The cock motif on the reverse is not a familiar type on Indian coins of the 4th. century B.C.²
- (v) Round coins were not popular in the 4th. century B.C. in India ; so that the Indo-Bactrians had also to issue square coins side by side with their round ones.
- (vi) There is no definite evidence of the fact that the coins of Sophytes have been found in India³.
- (vii) If these coins were found in India, it is strange that they did not influence the contemporary coinage of North-West India.
- (viii) All coins of Sophytes do not conform to the Indian weight standard. We have noted already that one of his

1. Some punch-marked coins do have what we call Caduceus. But actually that is not Caduceus but only an incomplete likeness of it and it is only for convenience sake that we call it by that name. On the other hand Caduceus has a definite meaning in Greek mythology.

2. "There is nothing in the Middle east of the period to compare with the reverse design of the cock, which need not be an Indian game—cock ; it much resembles the cock on a piece of Carystos in Euboea struck in 336 B.C." *N.C.* 1943 p 65. No doubt some bird motifs are found on punch-marked coins but they cannot be compared with this type.

3. It is still doubtful whether Cunningham was sure that the coins of Sophytes were found in the Punjab. Dr. Whitehead has referred to the correspondence between Cunningham and Rapson in which the former writes, "What do you think of Sophytes being king of Albania, not the western Albania but Afganistan ?....." Sir George Meedonald in the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol I, p. 388, says about the coins of Sophytes that "for the actual finding of which in the Punjab, General Cunningham is able to vouch." Dr. Whitehead thinks that Sophytes and his coins belong to the Oxus region ; that the "Drachm of Sophytes is closely allied to a group of oriental imitation of Athenian money, conveniently known as 'owls' and 'eagles', and that 'the coins of this kind and this period obtained from the Rawalpindi dealers had been brought to them from over the frontier' (*N.C.* 1943). In this connection Dr. B. V. Head's remark may be noted profitably, "Far too little attention has hitherto been bestowed upon the provenance of the ancient coins. The intervention of the coin dealers between the finder and purchaser is often quite sufficient to obscure or obliterate entirely all evidence of provenance" (*N.C.* 1906).

coins, which is being published here, weighs about 71 grains¹.

(ix) A unique 'tri-hemiobol' in the Berlin Museum has been published by Whitehead in *Numismatic Chronicle*². This coin has the helmeted head of Athena on the obverse; this therefore supports the un-Indian leanings of Sophytes, and we see thus that whatever coin-types he issued, they were not Indian and were not known in India in the fourth century B.C.³ Further a 'tri-hemiobol' does not fit in with the Indian weight system of 58 grains⁴.

(x) We do not possess any other coin of India dating in the fourth century B.C. which can compare with these fine artistic pieces⁵.

Thus Sophytes was most probably a non-Indian and I agree with Dr. Whitehead's suggestion that his name 'need not be Indian, it is more probably Iranian'⁶; and considering the provenance of these coins and the place of the origin of their prototype it appears possible that Sophytes was a satrap ruling somewhere in North Eastern Iran under the Achæmænids. After the defeat of Darius III the Persian empire passed into the hands of Alexander. But Alexander reinstated some of the Persian Governors in their offices. Oxyartes was one of them and Phratphernes was another⁷.

1. All coins of Sophytes hitherto discovered weigh 58 grains. Cunningham preferred to assume the weight as belonging to the Indian standard rather than as being of a light Attic drachm. Gardner also accepted this view. Even with his own prewarning in dealing with the provenance of coins it is strange that Barclay Head attributes Indian origin to these coins, as Dr. Whitehead has suggested, because of his opinion that the weight standard was Indian. Some other scholars also, only because of its weight, have been inclined to accept its Indian origin completely overlooking the geographical distribution of the coins. Now, with the discovery of the present coins, it is no more possible to give much consideration to its weight of 58 grains in the discussion of its origin.

2. *N.C.* 1923, pl. XIV. 1., p. 317 Whitehead has referred to this coin also in *N.C.* 1943.

3. Dr. Macdonald in *C.H.I.* p. 388. While referring to this coin of the Berlin Museum he has remarked that the coin of Sophytes "leave a general impression of having been designed after Athenian prototype." But he has remarked this to show that the coin cannot be dated "long subsequent to Alexander's expedition." But as a matter of fact it further shows that the prototype of the coins of Sophytes was not Indian. Whitehead in *N.C.* 1943 also notes that "Athena of the smaller piece is of Macedonian type."

4. An obol weighs 11.2 grains and so a tri-hemiobol should weigh about 16 or 17 grains; but the coin of the Berlin Museum weighs only 13.5 grains

5. *N.C.* 1943, p. 62 Whitehead has remarked that "the execution of the piece shows it to belong to the finest period of Greek Art."

6. *N.C.* 1943, p. 65

7. Henry H. Howorth in *N.C.* 1890, p. 39, supposed that Phratphernes, the satrap of Parthia under Darius Codomannus, changed his name to Andragoros when after the conquest of Alexander he was reinstated in his office.

Now Sophytes should be added to that list. His coins also give the same indication. The earliest of his coins, which is being published here (Pl. IX, 9) in which he appears to be a youth of 25, weighs 71 grains which may be regarded as a reduced Persian standard. But after five or ten years, when the Persians were defeated by the advancing forces of Alexander and he was reinstated, he reduced the weight to 58 grains to suit the reduced Attic standard.

We know that for about fifty years after the sweeping victories of the Macedonian conqueror the history of the provinces like Parthia, Bactria and other neighbouring parts of the North-East Iran is in dark. Sophytes may belong to this dark period. We have seen above that a study of his coins shows that he must have reigned for about 40 or 45 years. Since only one coin weighing 71 grains has been found till now, it appears that he issued coins with reduced Persian standard only for a very short period before the overthrow of Darius III, may be, a period of five years. Thus he might have become a governor only in or about 335 or 340 B.C. and died between the years 300 and 290 B.C. If the letters on one of the coins published here are taken to mean the year 148, it should refer to an era started in the first quarter of the fifth century B.C. We do not know, however, if any era *was* started near about that time¹.

To sum up :

1. The Sophytes of the coins is not an Indian ruler.
2. He is probably one of the Persian Governors re-instated by Alexander the Great.
3. He coined money in two different standards although bearing the same type.
4. He ruled for about forty or forty five years i.e. from about 335 or 340 to 295 B.C.
5. Sophytes of the coins need not be identified with Saubhuti, who should be regarded as a historical fiction².

1. Darius I died in 486 B.C. but we do not know whether Xerxes or any other later Achaemenid successors of his started an era dating from the death of Darius I, who was undoubtedly the greatest Achaemenid ruler.

2. Lt.-Col. J. Kozulubski in his recent series on "Bactrian and Indo-Greek Coins" in the *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin* (1949) supports Whitehead and thinks that Sophytes need not be identified with Saubhuti.

SOME RARE COINS OF THE INDO-BACTRIANS

MR. AWADH KISHORE NARAIN, M. A., BANARAS.

It is indeed interesting and gratifying that new and rare Indo-Bactrian coins come to light off and on. They deserve careful study, since the reconstruction of the history of the period which remains to be done depends mostly on these inscribed metallic pieces. We are publishing below some rare coins.

I

A TETRADRACHM OF DEMETRIUS I

This is in possession of Mr. D. D. Ghoshal of Calcutta, from whose collection some rare and interesting coins of the Indo-Bactrians have already been published by Dr. A.S. Altekar in *J. N. S. I.*, vol. IX, Pt. I. The description of this coin is as follows :

Obverse: Diademed bust of king wearing elephant. Scalp to r. There are two holes near the diadem ends and shoulder drapery, obviously pierced later when the piece was used as a pendant in a necklace.

Reverse: Young Heracles facing, holding in left hand club and lion's skin ; with right hand he crowns himself with ivy-wreath. Monogram : as on the plate.

Legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ

PL. VI. 10

Undoubtedly this is one of the most familiar coin-types of Demetrius. Specimens of this type have been published in the Catalogues of coins in the British Museum and in the Punjab Museum. But both these coins of the two Museum catalogues differ in their monograms. The coin which we are publishing here contains a new and the third monogram of this coin type. This is not all. This monogram is very rarely found on the coins of the Indo-Bactrians taken as a whole. The Punjab Museum Catalogue does not contain this. In the British Museum Catalogue, too, this is found only on a coin of Euthydemus I¹ on his "Head of King and Seated Herakles" type. It is interesting to note here that most of the coins of Euthydemus I of the above type bear the monogram which is a combination of P and K and which is also familiar on the coins of Demetrius I of the type published here. And thus

1. *B. M. C.* Pl. I, 11

the monogram of this coin of Demetrius I will be another one already found on the coin of Euthydemus I.

Dr. Macdonald has rightly remarked that "the appearance of these particular monograms is a new phenomenon on the Bactrian coinage. As they usually persist through a long series of years, they cannot be interpreted as magistrates' names. They should be regarded as the names of mints, a view which is confirmed by occasional minor variations of type and by certain subtle peculiarities of style, such as the thin 'spread' fabric which is characteristic of many of the coins of the earlier kings with the monogram of combined P and K'.¹ This would mean that this particular coin of Demetrius I which is being published here belonged to the very mint which produced the coin of Euthydemus I mentioned above and which is published in the *B.M.C.* Further it is to be noted that a particular coin type was not in any way exclusive to a singular mint, as it is evinced by these coins of Euthydemus and Demetrius and of other Bactrian kings as well.

II

A HEMIDRACHM OF HELIOKLES

This hemidrachm was offered for sale to the Banaras Hindu University by a Delhi dealer. Its weight could not be ascertained.

Its description is as follows:

Obverse: Helmeted bust of the king thrusting javelin, the head turned to left. The crested helmet is ornamented with the horn and ear of a bull. The left shoulder is covered by the aegis.

Legend: From VIII to III, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ
Below ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥ

Reverse: Zeus standing to front holding a thunderbolt in right hand and a long sceptre which rests on the ground in left hand.

Kharosthi legend: From III to IX
Below *Maharajasa dhramikasa Heliya-kreyasa*

Monogram. Σ

Pl. VI. 12.

Heliokles was the last of the Bactrian kings to have ruled over Bactria. He succeeded Eucratides but he did not follow his familiar and popular coin types e. g. Dioskuri and Apollo types. Zeus was the popular deity with Heliokles and which continued to be so with his successors who issued coins with Zeus side by side with other coin types. The only

feature of the coins of Eukratides which finds its place also on the coins of Heliokles is "the bust of the king thrusting javelin" on the obverse. In the *N. C.* 1923, Dr. R. B. Whitehead has published a tetradrachm of Heliokles of this type and has noted that "A tetradrachm bearing the helmeted bust of the king thrusting javelin is new, (type formerly known being of the drachm size only)."¹ The coin which we are publishing here is a hemidrachm. Dr. Whitehead has stated in *P.M.C.* that a hemidrachm of this type was in the British Museum. He has listed that type in the category of unrepresented types in his catalogue.² But a hemidrachm of this type has not been published by P. Gardner in his *Catalogue of the coins in the British Museum*. And since it is not published, it is difficult to compare the present coin with that of the British Museum specimen. The monogram of this hemidrachm, which is being published here, however is different from the monogram of the tetradrachm of this type published in *N.C.* 1923. We do not find any coin with this monogram in *P.M.C.* The *B.M.C.* of course contains some coins with this monogram.

Rapson has shown in the *Cambridge History of India* that the Indo-Bactrian kings can be arranged in two families on the basis of the deities on their coins.³ In the absence of any authoritative and complete account no doubt it is not impossible to catch the threads of a lost story with the help of the coins. In this connection we may note that the obverse type of the present coin is found on the coins of most of the kings of the family of Eukratides including himself and it is singularly absent on the coins of most of the kings of the Euthydemid family, if we follow the classification based on deities made by Rapson. This is found on the coins of Eukratides, Helioklos, Archebius, Diomedes, Philoxenos, and Amyntas. The two exceptions are the coins of Lysias and Strato. In the case of Lysias it may be pointed out that he issued a coin jointly with Antialkidas which means some sort of political relation between him and the family of Eukratides, and it indicates some sort of political necessity or appeasement. But it is difficult to explain the reason on behalf of Strato who too belonged to the Euthydemid family. We should remember, however, that such exceptions occur in any classification of the Indo-Bactrian kings and their coins. If we take, for example, Rapson's classification by deities we find that Demetrius has issued coins with Zeus and Eukratides with Apollo.

1. *N. C.*, 1923., Pl. XIV; p. 322

2. *P.M.C.*, p. 29

3. *C.H.I.*, Ch. XXII

III

A DIDRACHM OF DIOMEDES.

Diomedes has been regarded as a member of the family of Eucratides and he too has issued coins having his bust thrusting javelin on the obverse. This coin was offered for sale to the Banaras Hindu University by a Delhi dealer. Its weight could not be ascertained.

Obverse : Helmeted bust of King thrusting javelin, head turned to left. The details are the same as on the coin of Heliokles described above.

Legend : IX to III, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ
Below, ΔΙΟΜΗΔΟΥ

Reverse : Mounted Dioscuroi holding palm leaves charging to right with levelled spears.

Legend in Kharosthi : III to IX *Maharajasa tratarasa*
Below *Diyamidasa*.

Pl. VI, 11

This is a very rare coin. It has not been published in any of the Museum catalogues of the Indo-Bactrian coins. One specimen of this type has been published by Dr. Whitehead in *N. O.* 1923, and he has compared that with the "Tatta specimen—*Num. Chron.*, 1887, pl VII. 3—which has been much forged.¹" The present specimen definitely appears to be a genuine one and thus together with Whitehead's specimen we have two coins of this type belonging to Diomedes. On close examination and comparison some small differences in details may be found, e. g. the face of the king on the present specimen looks larger in size than that of Dr. Whitehead's specimen, and unlike the latter, we find that on the present coin the ends of the javelin touch accurately the ends of the Greek legend on the upper half of the obverse. The monogram as it has come out in the photograph apparently shows a difference to that of Dr. Whitehead's specimen. But on minute examination it appears to be the same as on the latter.

1. *N. O.* 1923, pl. XVI, 10, p. 333

CHANDRAGUPTA'S STANDARD TYPE COIN— ITS ATTRIBUTION.

BY P. L. GUPTA, BANARAS.

In a very interesting paper¹ Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra has suggested the attribution of the gold coin of the Standard type of Chandragupta, that I had published earlier² as the coin of Chandragupta II, to Chandragupta I. The editor of the *Journal* prefers my attribution but concludes that a definite view will become possible only when more conclusive evidence becomes available.

The editor, discussing Dr. Chhabra's arguments has very aptly drawn the attention to the unique King and Queen-cum-Standard type of the coin of Chandragupta II, published in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. It has got on one side the king standing with a standard, as on the present coin under discussion, with the name *Chandra* under the arm and the circular legend ending with *Srichandragupta*; and on its reverse we have the king and queen seated on a couch facing each other and the legend is *Sri* on one side and *kramah* on the other. A similar unpublished coin has recently been seen by me in a private collection at Lucknow, it also has another coin of the Standard type, which has on the reverse *Srivikramah*. The legend on the obverse below the arm is however not clear but appears to be *Chandra*, The last letter being *dra* is certain. As such it can no longer be maintained that no other king than Samudragupta issued coins of the Standard type.

Of the other arguments, the argument (b) of Dr. Chhabra had appeared to the Editor as having considerable force. It stresses on the conspicuous absence of the common *biruda Sri-Vikrama* on the obverse or the reverse of the coin and regards it as a conclusive proof against its being the coin of Chandragupta II. It is true that this *biruda* generally occurs either alone or in combination with some other words on the coins of Chandragupta II; but there are exceptions to it also. One such exception has been pointed out here. It is the Archer type coin of Chandragupta II found in Bayana hoard, which has *Chandra* with *parasavarṇa* (n) like all his coins on the obverse below the arm of the king. It also has *Srichandra*-

1. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XI, p. 15-31.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, 146-50.

gu[ptah] as part of the circular obverse legend and on the reverse, in place of *Śrī Vikrama*, we find again the word *Chandragupta*.¹ The belief that an exclusive *biruda* of a particular Gupta king must exist on his coins, has been rudely shaken by some other coins of the Bayana hoard. The King-Queen type of Kumāragupta I, which is known from this hoard only, has *Kumāragupta* on the reverse instead of his title *Maheन्द्रa*.² The coin of Kumāragupta, which has three standing figures on the obverse and had been known so far as *Śrī-pratāpa* coin, has the name Kumāragupta on the obverse and *Apratigha* on the reverse, quite a new epithet.³ As such the *biruda Paramabhāgavata* could not be taken as negative evidence against the attribution of the coin to Chandragupta II.

Here it should also be borne in mind that Chandragupta II would have adopted the title *Vikrama* or *Vikramāditya* only after the expulsion of the Sakas, who had occupied the provinces of Gujarat and Kathiawar⁴; and it would have taken some time before he could have this achievement. It is therefore possible that the coins issued in the early part of his reign would naturally not have the *biruda* of *vikrama*. And the Standard type coin would have been amongst his earliest issues.

Now let us turn to the title *paramabhāgavata*. Śrī. Chhabra maintains that this epithet was not confined to Chandragupta II, though it was his well-known epithet. He has pointed out that it has been used in Gaya and Nalanda plates for Samudragupta. The genuineness of these plates is not acceptable to many scholars; but even if it be so, even then it could not be a conclusive evidence against my attribution. It may be pointed out that Samudragupta had besides his epithet of valour *parākramah* another epithet *apratirathah* on many coins; and it has been shown by Dr. Chhabra himself, that it was one of the names of Vishnu.⁵

1. *J. N. S. I.* Vol. X, p. 107

2. This coin is not yet published, but I have examined this coin personally along with Dr. A. S. Altekar.

3. *J. N. S. I.* Vol. X, p. 115.

[4. Titles like Dantidurga, Jagattunga, Vikramāditya were usually assumed by kings in ancient India at the time of accession, though cases are not unknown of new titles being assumed to celebrate a new victory. Thus king Lalitāditya of Kashmir took the title of Pratāpāditya after the overthrow of Yaśovarman of Kanauj, Gupta emperors are so far not known to have celebrated memorable victories by the assumption of new titles. Further, had Chandragupta assumed the title Vikrama after the conquest of Gujarat and Kathiawar in c. 400, the coins without this title would have been more than 70%. As it is more than 99% of his coins bear the title Vikrama either alone or in combination. *A. S. A.*]

5. *J. N. S. I.* Vol. VIII p.

If Chandragupta's father had the name of Vishṇu as one of his epithets, it is no wonder if Chandragupta II used the epithet *paramabhḡgavata*, on his early coins before his achievements of valour to entitle him for the *biruda Vikrama*.

The most conclusive proof against Dr. Chhabra's attribution exists on the coin itself, which has not been noticed either by him or the editor. It is the presence of the lotus throne on the reverse, on which the goddess is seated. The goddess on the coins of Chandragupta I sits on lion and that of Samudragupta on throne. Lotus had replaced these seats only in the time of Chandragupta II.¹

In view of these facts Dr. Chhabra's attribution is not tenable and I need not discuss his other arguments. They have been well met in the note of the Editor.

Lastly, I would like to say a few words about Dr. Chhabra's amendment to my reading of the legend. He has pointed out several faults of prosody in my reading and has expressed the view that the legend commences from I o'clock point and not from VII, as I maintain. In the reading he disagrees with me about three letters. He reads *trīdivam* where I read *Śrī Deva*. According to him the legend on the coin is *Vasudhāṃ vijitya jayati trīdivam prithivīśvaraḥ (punyaiḥ*)*—and not *Śrī Deva prithivīśvaraḥ vasudhām vijitya jayati (divam*)*.

The three letters, the reading of which is disputed by Dr. Chhabra are truncated i.e. the top portions and the *mātrās* of the letters are not on the flan. The last two letters are *da* and *va* and they may, in the absence of the tops, be read either *deva* or *divam*. They will have to be interpreted according to the context of the text. Whether the first letter is *trī* or *śrī* it is not easy to say, as only the lower portion of the letter, showing the subjunct *ra* is visible on the coin. To me it still appears to be *śrī* and I maintain my original reading². As regards the faults of prosody in my reading, I must admit that they exist; but this is not the only example of its kind, referred to Dr. Chhabra has himself one metrically defective legend, in his article.

[1. Lotus was introduced as the seat of the Goddess even in the reign of Samudragupta as is shown by some specimens of his Battle-axe type. See *B. M. C. G. D. Pl. IV 14. A. S. A.*]

[2. The letters in dispute have no doubt no top *mātrās*; but nevertheless *trīdivam* is almost a certain reading. That portion of *śrī*, which should have shown its central horizontal limb, is quite well preserved on the coin, and we find no trace whatsoever of any such stroke. The letter is therefore a *ta* and not a *śa*. *A. S. A.*]

Even if we assume that Dr. Chhabra's reading of the legend is correct, it does not affect the question of the attribution of the coin. The *Sri Deva* of my reading makes the identity of Chandragupta as its issuer a bit easier; but even the reading *tridivam* does not make any difference. *Sri Deva* as the part of the legend has been used by Chandragupta II on the coins of only two varieties. Had it been used on all his varieties, then alone its absence in the present legend would have been significant.

A NOTE ON THE KHAIRTAL HOARD OF THE COINS OF MAHENDRĀDITYA

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

In the last number of this journal (Vol. X, pp. 137 ff.) Shri. V. P. Rode has published some gold coins of Mahendrāditya. He divides them into two classes. The earlier ones were, according to him, issued by Kumāragupta I—Mahendrāditya in the fifth century A. D. and the later ones by Tivaradeva and his successors about 150 years later in the sixth century A. D.

Dr. Altekar, differing from Shri. Rode, has expressed the opinion that (i) the coins were not issued by different kings; (ii) that they were not the issues of Kumāragupta I of the Gupta dynasty, as they were confined to South Kośala and there is no evidence to prove that this province was included in the Gupta Empire and (iii) that they were issued by some ruler in South Kośala who assumed the *biruda* of Mahendrāditya. It is proposed to examine these views in the present article.

(i) If the coins are carefully examined, it will be seen that they were probably issued by different kings though they may not have been separated by as long a period as 150 years. The characters of the coins are indeed of the same type; the minor variations in the type which are noticed occur even in the issues of the same reign. But there is a clear indication that the coins were issued by different kings. Below the *akshara* *he* of the legend *Mahendrāditya*, each coin has some *akshara* or other *e. g.*, *da* on coins 1, 5 and 6, *pa* (?) on coin 4, and *śa* on coins 2, 3 and 7-9. (See Pl. IX B of *ante*, Vol. X). The occurrence of these different letters on the coins has not been explained. A possible explanation is given below, but they show in any case that the coins were issued by different kings though they have the same legend *Mahendrāditya*.

(ii) We have some evidence to show that the province of South Kośala (Chhattisgarh) was included in the Gupta Empire. Samudragupta defeated Mahendra of Kośala (*i. e.*, South Kośala), but reinstated him on his throne.¹ The latter must have plainly acknowledged the suzerainty of the Guptas, a sure indication of which is the adoption of the

1. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, C. I. I. Vol. III, p. 7

Gupta era by the kings of Kośala.¹ The copper-plate grant² of Bhīmasena II, found at Arang in the Raipur District of Chhattisgarh, is expressly dated in the Gupta era (*Guptānām samvatsara-śate*). Its date, which was previously read as G. 282, has been shown by me to be G. 182.³ This grant clearly shows that down to A. D. 501 Gupta supremacy was acknowledged in Mahakośala or Chhattisgarh. This grant mentions six kings Śura, Dayita (or Dayitavarman I), Bibhīṣhaṇa, Bhīmasena I, Dayitavarman II and Bhīmasena II. The last one issued the aforementioned grant in G. 182 (A. D. 501-2). Calculating on the basis of 20 years for a generation, Śura, the first king mentioned in the grant may be referred to the first quarter of the fifth century A. D. He was probably a contemporary of Kumāragupta I and may have introduced this coinage of his suzerain in his country. Perhaps there was a dynastic change in Dakṣiṇa Kośala at the time and Śura obtained the throne with the help of Kumāragupta I. In gratitude he may have issued these coins in the name of his suzerain. He has however caused the first letter of his name śa to be stamped below the legend of the Gupta Emperor. The type may have been continued by his successors. The coins with the *akshara da* may have been issued by Dayitavarman I or II. The third *akshara* may similarly denote some other king of Kośala, though he is not known from any other source.

(iii) It is quite plain that these coins were meant for circulation in South Kośala, but we know no other king of that province, who assumed this or any other *biruda* ending in *āditya*. The coins were therefore probably issued by Kumāragupta I—Mahendraditya. The type was evidently imitated from the copper coins of Chandragupta II. The coins being intended for circulation in South India were not current in North India. It is noteworthy that these are the first gold coins issued in South India. The earlier coins were generally of copper, lead or potin and rarely of silver. These gold coins could not have obtained currency in North India, where much heavier coins were in circulation. This is the reason why these coins are not found in the Bayana and other hoards of Gupta coins. Similar coins continued however to be struck in South India. The type of the present coins was adopted with some variations by

1. The Gupta era appears to have spread only with the extension of the Gupta Empire. It obtained no currency in Vidarbha and Mahārāṣṭra because the rulers of these provinces did not acknowledge the suzerainty of the Guptas.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 342 ff.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 227 ff.; *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. VIII, pp. 50 ff.

the Nala kings of Pushkarī¹ and Prasannamātra of Śarabhapura² for their coinage. It was also closely imitated by Tivaradeva in the seals of his grants.³ Like present coins these seals have in the upper half of the disk the figure of Garuḍa with expanded wings, facing full front, with a *chakra* on his proper right and a *śankha* on his proper left. The legend occurs below this device. This type was changed by Tivaradeva's grand-nephew Śivagupta, who substituted a bull for Garuḍa and *triśūla* and *kamaṇḍalu* for the *chakra* and *śankha*.⁴

The present coins may have ceased to be current in South Kośala when Gupta supremacy in the province came to an end, at the close of the fifth century A. D.

[Prof. Mirashi virtually agrees with me, when he says that the coinage was issued by the members of the dynasty of Śūra. I found it difficult to understand how one particular type in gold issued by Gupta emperors could be severely confined to one part of their empire only. We have however several other feudatory families ruling under the Gupta supremacy, and as a rule, they are not so far known to have issued any local type, bearing the names of their suzerains. The only exception will be that of the later Kushāṇa chief of the Punjab, who issued coins in the local type, but bearing the legend Samudra, giving probably the name of his feudal lord Samudragupta. It is not impossible that the rulers of the dynasty of Śūra may have done the same. But more definite proof is required to accept the theory as conclusively proved. A. S. A.]

1. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 29 ff.

2. *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. X, p. 595 and *Proceedings of the Fifth Oriental Conference*, Vol. I, pp. 456 ff.

3. *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 292; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 103.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 114.

SYMBOLS ON GUPTA COINS.

BY B. S. SITHOLEY, LUCKNOW.

Forty-five symbols are illustrated in Mr. Allan's *Catalogue of Gupta Coins*. He remarks that the symbol "seems to have been regarded as more or less an ornament balancing the fragments of the back of the throne on the right, or possibly it was associated with the cornucopiæ...It cannot be regarded as a deliberate mint-mark, though it may be used to check a classification by fabric and style..."-(p. lxxi).

For the ornament theory see (3) and (4) below. In regard to association with the cornucopiæ it is difficult to imagine the nature of the connection. But there is a great probability that the symbol was meant to check a classification. Nevertheless, other suggestions may also be considered. These represent the symbols as (1) mint-marks; (2) guild-marks; (3) ornaments; (4) space-filling devices; (5) auspicious signs; (6) monograms; and (7) dates. Several symbols are common to Kushāṇa and Gupta coins.

(1) It is impossible to consider the symbols as mint-marks because the Kushāṇas and the Guptas were not contemporaneous, and even supposing they had been, the mints could not be common to them

(2) Guilds, not being State-controlled and functioning as independent organizations of craftsmen, generation after generation, could do work for their patrons; but, even so, the guild-marks for the various orders executed could not be alike, particularly as the coins were not of any standard designs developed by the guilds which could justify the same marks.

(3) As the symbols are basically composed of points and lines and an occasional circle, they could not attain a high standard in decorative designs, and therefore would not have been chosen for this purpose. Gupta decoration is artistically very much more advanced than the rather primitive geometric designs of the symbols.

(4) As space-filling expedients, a sense of appropriate decorativeness in relation to the coin designs could be expected, but this is lacking.

(5) None of the symbols, represents any auspicious marks of cults, Vaishnavite, Saivite, or any other. The

svastika, signifying good luck and being the most common and characteristic auspicious mark in India, is absent.

(6) The symbols cannot stand for monograms which, as Mr. Allan has pointed out, should be composed of letters.

(7) Dates imply a system of numeration. If we regard the dots and lines as constituting one, we shall have to rule out such method of dating for the obvious reason that identical symbols could not stand for the dates of different periods.

Apart from the classification purpose suggested by Mr. Allan, what else, then, could the symbols mean? Perhaps they are disguised numeral figures.

A very ancient practice, still followed in villages remote from modern influences and by illiterate persons in urban households, is to keep an account of daily receipts of commodities from suppliers by marking lines and dots on the wall or door with the paste of slaked-lime or of catechu, which form ingredients of betel-leaves prepared for chewing and are ready to hand. This is the only method available to the illiterate, and its advantage lies in that the accounts cannot be mislaid, lost, or tampered with. A development of this method is the indication of annas and pice by vertical and horizontal lines adopted in the *bahī-khātās* (account books) by businessmen who do not have recourse to the modern system of ledger accounting.

The practice is apparently too old for its origin to be traceable; and having survived through the ages, it may safely be assumed to have been in use at every period. This system is particularly of the kind which craftsmen would employ. Therefore it is probable that the coin-engravers used it to indicate the total numbers of particular types of coins struck. Such indication was perhaps not demanded by State treasuries, but the mints or guilds may have required it for their technical guidance to indicate the quantum of the work done. The marks were accordingly disguised as geometrical figures and made as decorative as the numerical combinations would allow. Figures for the various quantities would be more or less of the same conventional designs at any time; and in regard to their being identical in the coins of different periods, there is nothing against the Kushāṇas having struck a given number of coins of a certain type and the Guptas striking the same number of another type subsequently.

How the symbols are to be numerically read, it is not possible to say unless some clue is forthcoming. But so far

as can be gathered from the present practice, the counting is done primarily up to and in twenties: eighty-seven as four-twenties and seven, and five hundred and four as twenty-twenties, plus five-twenties plus four, and so on to thousands. The lines might stand for twenties and combinations for multiples of twenty, and the dots, which do not exceed eight in number, for digits from one to ten.

Two of the symbols have the shape of leaves. They might be lines given a curvilinear shape, as a matter of fancy; or may be purely decorative, and fit as such. .

The symbols do not appear to have a magical or religious or any other significance except that of classification check, as indicated by Mr. Allan, or perhaps the one now suggested.

[I do not think that the suggestion about the interpretation of the Gupta symbols made above is likely to be correct. The most simple symbol consisting of three dots above a line, with a parallelogram hanging below (see the symbol on Coin No. 70 of *B. M. C. G. D.*) should indicate the smallest number; but it occurs on the most numerous class of the Archer type of Chandragupta II with Lotus on the reverse. 350 coins of this variety in the Bayana hoard have this symbol out of a total of 700. Since hundreds of coins were undoubtedly issued in this variety, its symbol should have contained several lines, but such is not the case. After making a careful classification of the symbols on the 1821 Gupta coins of the Bayana hoard, I have come to the conclusion that the symbols were most probably accepted as pure decorative elements by the Gupta mint-masters, who being under the creative vein of the age, decided to introduce as many artistic variations in them as possible. Each die-cutter was apparently given full freedom to exercise his own ingenuity. *A. S. A.*]

THE SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS FROM TAXILA.

(The hoard of 1924)

A CRITICAL AND COMPARATIVE STUDY.

BY P. L. GUPTA, BANARAS.

§1. Mr. E.H.C. Walsh's Memoir entitled '*Punch-marked Coins from Taxila*,'¹ on the two hoards found there in 1924 and 1912, undoubtedly makes a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the subject; there are, however, several errors in the work² and some of its statements and theories require corrections and modifications.

In this paper it is proposed to present a critical examination of the first part of the *Memoir*, which deals with 1059 five-symbolled pre-Mauryan silver punch-marked coins, that were found in 1924, in the light of an independent study of the photographs of the coins and of the new data now available for comparative study from various sources.

I

IDENTIFICATION OF OBERSE SYMBOLS.

§2. A comparative study of the symbols on the obverse of the coins in the present and other hoards shows that Mr. Walsh has identified parts of some symbols as separate and independent symbols; in some cases he has failed to distinguish between two varieties of the same symbols and in others he has not properly identified them.

SIX-ARMED SYMBOLS.

§3. The exact number of the varieties of the six-armed symbols or *shadara-chakra* cannot be ascertained at present, as every new hoard yields some new varieties. I could distinguish 40 varieties of this symbol on the coins of the present hoard, while Mr. Walsh has described only 26; even out of them, his varieties 1b, 1e, 1hh, 1n, 1s, and 1t, are really non-existent.

(i) Symbol 1b is a common variety of the six-armed symbol, usually found on the Mauryan and the later coins. Mr. Walsh detects this symbol on 5 coins (coins 470, 689,

1. *M. A. S. I.* No. 59.

2. See, for instance, D. D. Kosambi: A note on two hoards of punch marked coins found at Taxila. *New Indian Antiquary* Vol. III pp. 15-18.

854B, 873B and 896B), but really it does not exist on any one of them. Coin 470 has a new mark *lbb* (see § 17, ii) and coin 689 has another new mark *lā* (see §17 xiii). Coins 854B, 873B and 896B are very worn and marks are indistinct and there is nothing to show the existence of the present mark. Coin 280 also is described by Mr. Walsh as having this mark in table D of the *Memoir* under class B(e)1, but it has definitely the mark *lu*.

(ii) Symbol *lee* has been noticed by Mr. Walsh on the coins of classes M2 and M3, which have actually the symbol *lee* (Pl. VII). He has mistaken the *maṇḍapas* or the cup-shaped enclosure as oval on these coins.

(iii) Symbol *lhh* is attributed to coin 1155B of class Q10b, which however belongs to class Q10a and has the symbol *lii* (See §6, vi). Compare all the coins of this variety.

(iv) Symbol *lkk* is not illustrated on plate I of the *Memoir*, but is described in table B as having arrow, lance-head, taurine, arrow, lance-head and taurine in sequence and is attributed to coins 1154B and 1163B. On coin 1154B the symbol is altogether blurred and on coin 1163B, only its outlines are visible, but not so distinct as to identify its correct form. It is not, therefore, possible to say if this form of symbol does exist.

(v) Symbol *ln*, consisting of three arrows and three 'arrow-point on a ball' alternately placed around the central part, is attributed to coin 981 of class A12. As the mark itself is very much mutilated, one cannot say whether it is *ln* or not. Very likely it has the mark *la*. No coin of class A is known with any mark like *ln*.

(vi) The variety *ls* is described as having arrow, fish, fish, arrow, fish and fish in sequence in appendix II table B, but it is illustrated on the plate I of the *Memoir* as having arrow, beetle, fish, arrow, beetle and fish. Which of the two forms of the symbol is correct, is not mentioned any where. Of the 7 coins ascribed with this symbol, coins 1159B, 919B and 1166B are to be excluded. The coin 1159B has the symbol 49 (Pl IX), which has been mistakenly identified with the present symbol; on coins 919B and 1166B the form of the six-armed symbol is indistinct. The remaining 4 coins 816B, 897B, 912B and 1097 belong to class B(d)1a, which also includes the coins 842B, 856B and 926B. Mr. Puri has described a coin of the variety of the class B(d)1a (with a different fifth mark) as having arrow, fish, arrow, arrow, arrow and fish (Pl XXXVI)¹, which is apparently inaccurate, as no where three arrows are seen simultaneously, unless the

1. *Excavations at Rairh.*

symbol has six arrows. The illustration of his coin (Pl XXV, 25) is clear and shows four arms as arrow, fish, arrow and arrow. Mr. Bhattacharya has also described a coin of this variety from Patraha (coin 1679)¹ with the symbol 4j missing. He has identified the symbol on his coin, as having arrow, arrow, fish, arrow, arrow and fish, and is in quite accordance with the sequence of the four arms seen on the Rairh coin. This is further supported by the coins of the present hoard, though symbols on none of them are complete or clear. As such there is no coin in the present hoard of the present variety which can be stated to have the symbol 1s.

(vii) Symbol 1t is assigned to 3 coins (864A, 866A, 918A), but the coin 864A has an undescribed mark 1hhhh (see § 6(i)). Coin 866A is assigned with mark 1h in the appendix XI; but both assignments are incorrect. It really has the mark 1x (see § 6(xi)). Coin 918A too belongs to the same class and has the same mark 1x. Thus there is no coin with the present mark.

(viii) Symbols 1q and 1v are shown in their incomplete form on plate I of the *Memoir*. Symbol 1q is illustrated with only three arms—fish, arrow and a curve to left. The arrow, as shown on the plate, is not of the form as is found on the symbols. It is assigned to coin 1098 of class N3. The illustration of the coin on plate XXXVIII shows parts of two more arms—(i) a portion of the fish after the curve and (ii) part of another curve before the fish, adjacent to arrow. A coin of this variety is illustrated by Dr. Puri from Rairh hoards in his *Excavations at Rairh* (coin 11, pl. XXV; for symbols see pl. XXXV). It has clear impression of this symbol, with all the six arms as arrow, curve, and fish in sequence. So the complete form of the symbol can be restored now. **Pl. VII.**

(ix) Symbol 1v is illustrated on plate I of the *Memoir* with fish, arrow and fish, and is assigned to two coins—427 of class A25 and 763 of Q4a. On coin 427 (pl. XIV of the *Memoir*) three arms—arrow, fish and arrow are visible. A coin of this variety is in my collection from Lalganj (Azamgarh district) hoard. It shows a taurine after an arrow. But it too does not help in the restoration of the complete symbol. Coin 763 belongs to another class, of which two coins are published by Bhattacharya from Patraha hoard (coins 1684 and 1700). He describes the complete form of the symbol. The symbol in the illustrations of the coins in his *Memoir* is indistinct. Mr. Bhattacharya had, however, personally examined the coins and come to the conclusion that the symbol consisted of three arrows and three fishes

1. *Punchmarked coins from Patraha*, p. 90.

alternately placed. We may therefore accept his description and complete the symbol. Most probably coin 123 of class Q11a has also this symbol.

§4. The varieties 1*d* and 1*p* of the six-armed symbol are wrongly identified by Mr. Walsh. They require a minute scrutiny.

(i) The variety 1*d* is described by him as having three arrows and three beetles or crab-like objects and is assigned to coins of classes J3, K1 and K2. The coin 325 of class K1 is blurred. Possibly it has the mark 1*y*; see (Pl. VII). Of the two coins of class K2, coin 541 too has the mark 1*y* and coin 641, which actually belongs to class K3, has two arrows and a fish-like object in between. Coin 156 of J3 has four clear arms as fish, arrow, beetle and fish. Coin 260 of class J4, which is another variety of class J3, is not assigned to any variety of the six-armed symbol, as it has indistinct mark. As such with the help of only two coins—156 and 641—it is not possible to restore the symbol accurately. However it is clear that it does not have three beetles; at least one of them is fish. So, I have corrected the symbol 1*d* to this extent and have illustrated it on Pl. VII with five arms and putting and interrogation for the sixth.

(ii) The variety 1*p* is described as having 'object resembling the sign of aries', curve to the left, barbed arrow, curve to the left, 'crutch', curve to the left. It is assigned to coins 911 and 909B. The coin 909B is very much worn out and the symbol cannot be definitely identified on it. On coin 911 of class D7 the mark is superimposed by mark 4*b* and it has been so much jumbled up with the arrow arm of the symbol that it looks like 'crutch'. The arm which has been described as the 'sign of aries' is clearly arrow and the third mark described as the barbed wire is also a simple arrow superimposed with some indistinct mark. So far no six-armed symbol is known as having less than two arrows; and even those two arrows are placed opposite each other. And where the symbol has three arms of one type, placed at equidistance, it has definitely three arrows placed in between the two marks. So the correct form of the symbol would be three arrows and three-curves-to-the left alternately placed (Pl. VII, 1*p*).

§5. The remaining fifteen varieties—1*a*, 1*c*, 1*f*, 1*g*, 1*gg*, 1*h*, 1*i*, 1*j*, 1*k*, 1*l*, 1*m*, 1*o*, 1*r*, 1*u*, and 1*w* were correctly identified by Mr. Walsh. Of these varieties 1*i*, 1*j* and 1*l* only are new symbols and are not so far found elsewhere. Of the remaining twelve symbols, 7 were described by Durga Prasad; Bhattacharya has described 6; Allan mentions 6 and Puri one, viz., 1*r*. Varieties 1*a*, 1*c* and 1*f* are described by all the three scholars. Varieties 1*h* and 1*m* are mentioned by

Durga Prasad and Allan; Varieties *1g* and *1k* are mentioned by Durga Prasad alone; Varieties *1gg*, *1o*, and *1u* are known only from Bhattacharya and variety *1w* is referred to by Allan.

§6. The following 19 varieties of this symbol are also found on the coins of the present hoard. They could not be properly identified by Mr. Walsh, as he could not distinguish the forms of the arms accurately; they are illustrated on (Pl. VII.)

(i) The Varieties *1aa*, *1aaa*, *1ccc*, *1ee*, *1ff*, *1hhhh*, *1kkkk* and *1kkkkk*, (Pl. VII) have *manḍapas* or a cup-like-object, alone or with some object enclosed, as their component part. But Mr. Walsh could not distinguish this *manḍapa* from oval. Allan, Bhattacharya and Durga Prasad have recognised this distinction and described these symbols. The symbol *1aa* is seen on the coins of class M1, and M6, which were originally credited with the symbol *1a*. The symbol *1aaa* (Pl. VII) is a new symbol, noticed on a single coin 1024, which has been classified by me as M1(a). It has three arrows and three *manḍapas* alternately placed, having taurine in one *manḍapa*, a dot in the other, and some indistinct object in the third, not possible to be identified. *1ccc* is seen on the coins of class Q4 (b) 2. Coin 777 of this class was credited with symbol *1c*. The symbol *1ee* is seen on the coins of classes M2 and Q11b. Class M2 was originally credited with the symbol *1e*. Q11b is a new variety, constituted of a single coin 865A. The symbol on the coin is not clear, but a coin of the same variety is described by Dr. Puri (Pl. XX. 19) as having the present symbol. The symbol *1ff* is seen on the coins of class M4 which was originally credited with the symbol *1f*. *1hhhh* is seen on the coin of class Q6 (a). Of the eight coins of this class, only coins 864A, 905A and 925A have the parts of the symbol clear, which are sufficient to help the present identification. Dr. Puri has illustrated 3 coins of this variety (Pl. XXV. 7,8,27). Of them the symbol on coin 8 is very clear. *1kkkk* is seen on the coins of class M5, which was originally credited with the symbol *1k*. In this case Mr. Walsh not only erred in identifying the *manḍapa* as oval, but also did not pay attention to the correct position of the taurines and the *manḍapas*. Durga Prasad and Bhattacharya have correctly identified the symbol and attributed it to the coins of class M5. The symbol *1kkkkk* has the same arms as the symbol *1kkkk* but the position of the *manḍapas* and the taurines are interchanged. It is clearly seen on the coins of class Q4 (b) 1.

(ii) The symbol *1bb* (Pl. VII) is an incomplete symbol seen on a single coin 470, assigned to class Q19, as having only three

decipherable arms—arrow, an object like clipper and arrow. The coin was originally credited with the symbol 1*h*. However the object between the two arrows is not taurine but has the pointed ends curved inside, and is different from the common form of the taurine.

(iii) The symbol 1*ee* (PI. VII) is seen on the coins of class Q2. Coin 148 of this class was assigned with the symbol 1*e*; but the coins 140, 235, and 329 leave beyond doubt that the oval has a rectangular object and not a dumb bell. Durga Prasad has described this symbol as mark 6 (N.S. XLVII p1. XI) and has assigned it to class 28B of his classification (*Vide* his correction, N.S. XLVII p. 89.)

(iv) The symbol 1*eee* (PI VII) is described by Durga Prasad and Bhattacharya in their works as symbol 2*h* and 2*d* respectively. They have assigned it to a common variety 31A (pl. XV) and II.V.j respectively. In the present hoard it is seen on coin 1105 of class C7 which is altogether a different variety. The symbol on the coin, though partly punched, is clear enough for its identification.

(v) The symbol 1*h*h (PI, VII.) is seen on the coins of class N1, which was credited with the symbol 1*h* having arrow, taurine, fish, arrow, taurine, fish. But the examination of the four coins of this class (773, 797, 869, 886) shows that these coins have a different symbol, wherein the position of taurine and fish is interchanged, i. e. it has arrow, fish, taurine, arrow, fish and taurine in sequence. Mr. Walsh could not detect this difference

(vi) 1*ii* (PI. VII.) is seen on the coins of class Q10a. None of the coins of this class has the complete symbol. Coin 1155B has last four arms decipherable. But a coin from Rairh (Pl. XXV. 9) has the first four arms very clear and helps in the restoration of the complete symbol.

(vii) 1*iii* (PI. VII.) is seen on coin 890 of class Q10c, which was originally credited with mark 1*h*. The mark on the coin is not very clear, but a coin from Rairh (Pl. XXV. 10) helps in the identification.

(viii) 1*jj* (PI. VII.) is seen on the coins of B(d)1, which was originally credited with the mark 1*s*. The identification is discussed earlier (See § 3, vi).

(ix) 1*k*k (PI. VII) is seen on the coins of class B(b)5 and 6, which were originally credited with 1*f*, i. e. as having three arrows and three ovals alternately placed. But the coin 992 clearly shows four arms of the symbol as arrow, taurine, oval and arrow; another coin 897 has the four

arms as oval, arrow, taurine and oval. These two coins together restore the complete symbol.

(x) *1qq* (Pl. VII) has the same arms as has the symbol *1q*, but the position of the fish and curve is interchanged. It is seen on the coins of class D8. The two coins of this class 721 and 816 have fragmentary symbols and do not help in determining its complete form. But a coin of the same variety is published by Dr. Puri from Rairh (pl. XXV, coin 22), on which the four arms of the symbol are clear. It thus helps in determining the complete symbol.

(xi) *1x* (Pl. VII) is seen on the coins of class L, which was credited with the mark *1h*. The arm *okhalz* (two semi-circles placed one over the other) was mistaken for a taurine. Allan identified the *okhalz* on one coin (*B.M.C.* pl. VIII, 2), but thought it to be a cruder representation of the taurine (*Intro. XXII*, fn. 2). But on his plate the arm is quite clear. Durga Prasad and Bhattacharya have also identified this arm properly. The coins 557, 570, 625, 716, 845, 918, 1016, 1029, 1111, 1146, and 1169 of the present hoard have the arm *okhalz* very clear and it cannot be mistaken for a taurine.

(xii) The symbol *1y* (Pl. VII) is attributed to coin 689 of class P1, which was originally credited with *1'*. The coin is clear but the symbol is not complete; so the attribution is tentative, till a better specimen is known from any other hoard. Any how it is definite that the symbol on the coin is not *1b*.

(xiii) The symbol *1yy* (Pl. VII) is seen on the coin 920B of class Q17. Durga Prasad has described a coin of this class (23A) and his illustration is quite clear and the coin has the present symbol.

(xiv) The symbol *1z* (Pl. VII) is assigned to coins No. 325 of class K1 and No. 541 of class K2, which were originally credited with the symbol *1d*. The coins are clear but the symbol on them is not complete. So the present attribution is tentative till some better specimen is known.

§7. Apart from the well-known variation in the arms of this symbol, it may be pointed out that its central part also has two varieties. In some cases it is no doubt 'a circle with a conspicuous dot', but in others the entire circle is a solid dot. This latter form is seen on a number of published coins, but no notice was taken till I draw attention to it in one of my earlier papers¹. Coins 121, 133, 189, 245, 325, 363, 368, 371, 396, 512, 557, 564, 575, 586, 638, 653, 659, 664, 683, 723, 775, 778, 787, 684A, 878, 910, 921, 925A,

1016, 1021, 1027, 1037, 1038, 1045, 1068, 1073, 1087, 1120, 1131, 1141, 1160 and many more of the present hoard have the six-armed symbol with the solid dot at the centre

§8. Of the 40 varieties of this symbol described above, varieties 1a, 1aa, 1c, 1ee, 1f, 1ff, 1hhh, 1hhhh, 1kkkk, 1o, 1u, and 1x, have both the forms of the central part and they are separately illustrated on **Pl. VII** with small numerals 1 and 2 respectively. Symbols 1aaa, 1bb, 1cc, 1ccc, 1cccc, 1d, 1g, 1gg, 1i, 1ii, 1j, 1k, 1kkk, 1kkkkk, 1l, 1m, 1p, 1q, 1qq, 1r, 1v, and 1y have the central part 'a circle with the dot' And the remaining varieties 1h, 1yy, and 1z have the centre of solid disc. It is not unlikely that these varieties may also have the other form of the central object on the coins in other hoards.

THE SUN SYMBOL

§9. Mr. Walsh has noticed this symbol in the form of 16 rays around the circle with a conspicuous dot in the centre (symbol 2a, **Pl VII**). This form of the sun is recognised by all the scholars and is seen on almost all the coins. But on coins 689 and 834, the symbol is seen clearly as having slanting rays (symbol 2c, **Pl VII**). This latter form has been noticed by Allan also on five coins in the British Museum (*B. M. C.* Pl. VIII, 1; IX 5-8). Two coins from Rairh (pl. XXV. 16, 21) have also this form of the symbol. But this symbol is not seen on any one particular class of coins, and it is not possible to say if it forms a separate variety of the sun symbol or is simply an accidental variation due to sheer negligence of the die-cutter.

There is another form of this symbol, where-in the central circle with dot is replaced by the solid disc (symbol 2b **Pl. VII**) as is the case with the six-armed symbol, described above. This form of the symbol is commonly seen on the coins, but so far no notice was taken of it. Among the coins of the present hoard, I have noticed this form of the sun clearly on the coins 136, 155, 183, 187, 370, 371, 376, 381, 401, 407, 560, 564, 565, 566, 568, 569, 570, 571, 587, 591, 611, 612, 626, 631, 646, 650, 658, 659, 825, 836, 837, 868, 886, 909A, 939, 951, 1031, 1079 and many more.

THE BULL SYMBOL.

§10. Of the three varieties of the bull symbol, noticed by Mr. Walsh, symbol 3a (bull facing to right) and 3b (bull on the hill of five arches) are well known. But the symbol 3c (**Pl. VII**) is a new one, not noticed earlier. It is seen on two coins, 123 of class Q11a and 865A of class Q11b. Originally Mr. Walsh had identified this symbol on coin 123 only and had mistaken symbol 31 in its place on coin 865A. A coin of the later class is known from Rairh also (Pl. XXV.

19), in which the symbol is very clear. It undoubtedly occurs on some coins of Golakpore¹ and Paila hoards² and is also described by Durga Prasad³; but all these coins are of early period and of altogether different fabric.

A fourth symbol 3*d* (PI. VII) is also noticed in this hoard on coin 533 as 'bull facing right over some pedestal' shown by a straight line. The line is clear below the bull, but Mr. Walsh did not notice it. This symbol is probably not seen in any other hoard.

THE HARE SYMBOLS.

§11. Eight varieties of hare-symbol are noticed by Mr. Walsh in the present hoard and are described as symbol 4, 4*a* to 4*i* (omitting 4*d* in table D and 4*e* on plate I of the *Memoir*, as they subsequently proved parts of variety 4*h*). Of these varieties 4, 4*b*, 4*f*, 4*g* and 4*h* are well known symbols from various sources. Varieties 4*c* and 4*i* are new symbols and were partly identified by Mr. Walsh. Symbol 4*a* is a doubtful symbol.

The symbol 4*c*—hare facing to right within a circular enclosure, (PI VIII) was originally identified by Mr. Walsh as a symbol without the enclosure. But he has mentioned the enclosure in the Table B. It is assigned by him to coins 842B, 898B and 926B. Besides these coins it is also seen on the coins of class B (d) 1.

The symbol 4*i* (PI. VIII)—hare facing right within a rectangular enclosure with four taurines, one on each side—is seen on the coins 832, 844, 846B, 894A and 1148B of class B (d) 2. But it was identified by Walsh on coin 846B, only and others were credited with mark 4*g*. Parts of the taurines are clear on first two coins.

The symbol 4*a* (PI VII) is described by Mr. Walsh as hare facing to right on two arches and in front of it a symbol of 'a boss with a crescent trident on it', and is assigned to coins 834 and 981. But on coin 981, the symbol is simple symbol 4. The symbol on the other undoubtedly tallies with the description given by Mr. Walsh. But it is not unlikely that it too may be the same as the symbol 4 and the boss with a crescent trident, which is believed to be the part of the symbol, may be part of some other symbol. Since the other symbols, that are identifiable on the coin, do not belong to the symbol group of class A, to which the symbol 4 belongs, it may be assumed that the present symbol is other than the symbol 4. There-

1. *J. B. O. R. S.* (1919) p. 16-72

2. *J. N. S. I.* (1940) p. 17-78

3. *N. S.* XLV. pi. IV.

fore, the symbol as described by Mr. Walsh may be accepted tentatively, till some better specimen is known.

A new symbol 4j (PI. VIII.) is seen on coins 911 of class D7 and coins 721, 816, 870A of class D8 as 'a hare having a pup in the mouth.' The symbol resembles very much with the symbol 4h but the position of the pup, held in the mouth is different from what is seen on symbol 4h. The symbol on these coins was identified as 4b. The symbol is not however very clear on any of these coins. On coin 721 the hare is superimposed by the elephant and the surviving portion is meagre, so the pup was taken to be the hare. On coin 816 the symbol is punched in fragment. On coin 870A the pup is superimposed by some other symbols. Only on coin 911 the symbol is fully punched, but there too Mr. Walsh failed to identify the symbol. A very clear example of the coin of class D7 is in the collection of Bharat Kala Bhawan, Banaras, and there the symbol is quite clear. A coin of class D8 is known from Rairh, but there, the symbol is not clear.

FLATTENED M-SYMBOL.

§12. The symbol 5 (PI. VIII.)—an object resembling a flattened capital M over a spear with five taurines around it is a well known symbol and is found on the coins of class D. On the coins of this class Mr. Allan has identified this symbol as 'a solid rectangle with curved sides with a handle and five taurines around it' (*B. M. C. Intro.* § 32.6) If the incuse between the flattened M and the spear is not clear, the symbol will look undoubtedly like the symbol described by Mr. Allan. A number of coins of the present hoard viz. 116, 138, 144, 161, 213, 218, 227, 247, 279, 286, 317, 327, 358, 450, 452, 535, 575, 930, 954, 982, 1005, have the symbol resembling the later type of the symbol. Should this be taken as a different symbol than the symbol 5 or be taken as the same symbol? At present I am unable to decide this point.

CADUCEUS.

§13. Two varieties of caduceus symbol—6a and 6b (PI. VIII.) are known from this hoard. Of these 6b was not known so far. It is seen for the first time on a single coin 553 of class D6.

ELEPHANT.

§14. Elephant facing to right—symbol 7a (PI. VIII.)—is the commonest symbol and it appears on the coins of no less than 33 varieties of the present hoard (See Appendix A). A

different form of this symbol,—symbol 7*b* (Pl. VIII)—, is noticed by Mr. Walsh on the coin 869 of class N1. There is another coin of this class, coin 773, with another form of this symbol,—symbol 7*c* (Pl. VIII). But it is very difficult to say if it is a symbol different from the common symbol 7*a*. Most likely 7*b* and 7*c* are the same symbol punched from different dies.

On coin 216 two elephant symbols are punched, while the coins generally have a single elephant symbol 7*a*. Another coin with two elephant symbols is illustrated by Durga Prasad (*N. S.* XLV. pl. XIII. 51); but on it, the second elephant is punched as the sixth or extra symbol. The explanation of the second elephant on that coin is not very difficult. Only tusks of one of the elephant is punched on the coins, so very likely the mintman knowingly repeated the symbol. But here it is not so. It has only 5 symbols and of them two are elephants. There is no space on the coin to assume the existence of the sixth symbol. As such it is some thing very extra-ordinary. Mr. Walsh has classified this coin to class A1 and has taken one of the elephants as bull symbol. But both the symbols are fully punched and none of them has the hump of the bull; instead both have the tusks of the elephant. So, there could be no mistake of identification, and therefore the coin cannot be classified to that class. Another noteworthy fact about these symbols is that they are differently designed. One of them is the usual elephant symbol 7*a* and the other resembles a wooden toy elephant with a flat back (mark 7*d*) (Pl. VIII). As such it may be a different mark. The coin and the symbol deserve attention.

BEETLE-SYMBOLS.

§15. Four beetles in a square (symbol 8*a*), two beetles in a rectangle (symbol 8*b*) and two beetles within two curves opposite facing each other (symbol 8*d*) are the three variations in the beetle-symbols known in the present hoard (Pl. VIII). Another mark 8*c*,—a beetle in a loop—, is also illustrated on the plate I of the *Memoir*. Since Mr. Walsh found it to be part of the symbol 8*d*, it is omitted. All the three symbols are well known and described by scholars. The obvious mistake that has crept in the correct identification of the symbol 8*a* by Mr. Walsh is that he has shown the two rows of the beetles (two in each row) facing one and the same direction, while actually on the coins the beetles face each other, as is shown in the accompanying Plate VIII (see coins 157, 328, 395, 685, 725, 1035). Mr. Walsh has, on the other hand, properly identified the symbol 4*d*, which the other scholars have failed to identify accurately.

The encircled object in all these three symbols were identified by the scholars as fish instead of beetle. But, as Mr. Walsh has pointed out¹, the enclosed objects in these symbols differ from fish. In these symbols, the head and the fork of the animal at the end is found in contrast to the pointed head and tails of the fish; also the two projections on the either sides are at right angles to the body and not sloping backward as in the case of the fishes. Compare the object in symbol 8a on coin 323 to mark 8b on coins 1131 and 1150 and to mark 8d on coin 1150 with the fish symbols 38 on coin 922 and 36 on coin 235. The object appears to be aquatic; so without its proper identification, Mr. Walsh has named it as beetle to distinguish it from fish and I have accepted that name for the present.

A new mark 8e (Pl. VIII)—four beetles, each in a square, placed in two rows of two, facing each other—is seen on a coin 340 of class O3, which was originally credited by Mr. Walsh with symbol 8a. The symbol is clear enough to identify it as the present symbol. The symbol is not known as yet anywhere else.

THE HILL-SYMBOLS.

§16. Thirteen varieties of hill-symbols, i.e. symbols having hill as component part in combination with other marks, were noticed by Mr. Walsh on the coins of the pre-ent hoard. He has divided them into four groups of symbols 9 to 12. Seven symbols are grouped under symbol 9 (only 6 symbols are illustrated on pl. I of the *Memoir* and the seventh symbol 9dd is described in its Table B); one under 10; three under 11 and two under 12.

Of the seven symbols grouped under symbol 9, symbols 9d and 9e are in themselves no symbols. 9d is the incomplete form of symbol 9dd (Pl. VIII). Symbol 9e is the part of one or the other hill symbol on the coins which are credited with it. On coin 190 the symbol is indistinct, but it looks more like 9a; on coin 215, it is nothing but symbol 4—hare-on-the-hill; one arch with the hinder portion of the hare is seen on the upper left part of the coin. On coin 1160, it forms the part of the symbol 12 a tree on the hill and the coin belongs to class L1.

The symbol 9b is described by Mr. Walsh as 'a hill enclosed in a semi-circle and an oblong enclosure with two beetles under it'. It is assigned to coins 179 and 553 (533 is wrongly printed in Table B). Though the symbol on the coin

1. Note on the Silver Punch-marked coins in British Museum (*J.R.A.S.* (1987) pp. 620-633; A Comparative Study of the Patraha (Turnea) hoard of Silver Punch-marked Coins (*J.N.S.I.* Vol. IV. pp. 89-90).

is not very clear, a part of *damarū* over it visible; as such the symbol on it is the same as 9*e*. On coin 553 the symbol is clear, but it has no semi-circle enclosure over the hill. Therefore the symbol is known from a single coin and its correct form is 'a hill on an oblong enclosure with two beetles.' (PI VIII) This symbol is not known elsewhere.

The symbol 9*dd* is not illustrated on the plate I of the *memoir*; but it is described in Table B as 'hill-mark in an oblong enclosure with two beetles on either sides of the hill'; and is assigned to coin 816. But the part of this mark was described as 9*d* also; so the coins 721 and 911, which were assigned to that mark, also have the present symbol. Another coin 870A also has this symbol. Whether the symbol has an oblong enclosure is doubtful. On coins 816 and 870A there is nothing like enclosure. On coin 911 there appears something other than a line over the hill, but there is no line under the hill. A coin of this variety is known from Rairh (pl. XXV. 22), but there the symbol has nothing over the hill; as such the correct form of the symbol appears to me to be 'hill with two beetles on either sides' (PI. VIII).

The symbol 9*f*—hill of three arches with a *damarū* within each arch (PI VIII)—is a new symbol. A hill of six arches with *damarū* in each arch is known on the Mauryan coins, but the present symbol is noticed for the first time on a pre-Mauryan coin. The remaining symbols 9*a* and 9*c* are well known.

Symbol 10, hill of six arches, is a well known symbol. Here it is assigned to coins of class I 1-4; but the coin 1074 of class I 4 has somewhat different symbol than the present one. Instead of three arches at the base, it has two and has also a vertical line to the right. It looks like symbol 10*b* (PI. VIII). The mark on the coin seems incomplete. Since no other coin with this mark is known, the exact form of the symbol cannot be determined.

Of the three symbols described as 11*a*, *b* and *c*, only symbol 11*a* is a known symbol, but no other scholar, except Durga Prasad, had earlier identified it accurately. Mr. Walsh has assigned it to the coins of classes JI-5, but the coins of classes J3-5 have other symbols described below. The symbol 11*b* is assigned to coins 325, 541 and 641 of the classes K1 and 2. But on coin 641 of class K2, only the upper part of the symbol is seen. The other coins have the symbols 11*d* and 11*f* described below. The exact form of the symbol cannot be determined, but it may be like the illustration of Mr. Walsh. The symbol 11*c* is attributed to two coins 850A

and 1148, which I have classified to class K4 along with another coin 905B. These two symbols are not known elsewhere.

Besides these three, the symbols 11*d*, 11*e*, 11*f* (Pl. VIII) are other three symbols of this group, which were not properly noticed by Mr. Walsh. Symbol 11*d*,—hill of five arches with a taurine at the top with dumbels on either sides—,is seen on the coins 156, 269, 325 and 965 of classess J3 and J4. The first two coins were credited by Mr. Walsh with symbol 11 without any mention of the variety in the appendix XI and coin 965 was credited with 11*a* therein. In Table D all the three coins were credited with symbol 11*a* and the coin 325 with symbol 11*b*. But coin 965 clearly shows that the hill is five arched and not six-arched and it has taurine in the middle and a dumbel on either side. The symbol on other coins are not so clear but give a fair idea of their form. Symbol 11*e*,—Six-arched hill with a beetle-like object on either side of top arch, is seen on coin 261 which was originally credited with the symbol 11*a*. All the symbols on the coin are quite clear and show the beetle-like object within the incuse of the die of the hill symbol. The symbol 11*f* five-arched hill with two arches over the three, and having three dumbels on the top—,is seen on the coin 541 of class K3, which was originally credited with the symbol 11*b*. The symbol on the coin is clear.

Of the two symbols 12*a* and 12*b*, symbol 12*a* is the well known symbol. Symbol 12*b* (Pl. VIII) is an incomplete mark seen on coin 613; it may be the part of symbol 12*a*, but the dots on either side of the tree raise some doubt. So it is described separately and the coin is classified as L5.

TREE-SYMBOLS.

§17. Sixteen varieties of tree-symbols i.e. symbols having tree as a component part, were noticed by Mr. Walsh on the coins of the present hoard and they are grouped in the *Memoir* under 6 symbols, 13 to 18. Symbols 13 and 14 have only one variety of symbols; 16 and 18 have two varieties (one variety of symbol 16 is not illustrated on plate I of the *Memoir* but is described in table B); symbol 15 has four and symbol 17 has six varieties. Of these symbols, symbols 15*d*, 17*a*, 17*d*, and 17*e* do not occur on the coins or could not be identified as such on the coins credited with them.

The symbol 15*d* is assigned to coins 931 and 853, but both the coins have the clear mark 15*a*. Symbol 17*a* is assigned to coins 864A, 891A, 1079 and 1104, but none of them has this symbol. Coins 864A and 1079 has the symbol

17*f* (in its corrected form); and coin 891A has the symbol 14*a* (in its corrected form) and coin 1104 has the symbol 17*c*. Symbol 17*d* was attributed to a single coin 862B, but it could not be identified on that coin. Symbol 17*e* was attributed to coins 884B and 905B; but coin 905B has the mark 15*d* (in its corrected form) and on the other coin the symbol could not be located. So these symbols have been excluded from the accompanying **plate VIII**. Of the remaining, symbols, the following are inaccurately or partly identified.

The symbol 13 is described by Mr. Walsh as double trident', but it is a tree symbol with the horizontal branches and in its correct form is illustrated in the accompanying **plate VIII**. It is accurately described by Durga Prasad and Bhattacharya.

The symbol 14 was identified by Mr. Walsh as 'five branches around a central disc, one branch longer than the other and an oval boss, apparently a fruit between the branches'. But this identification is amazingly wrong. The coins of the class, to which this symbol is attributed, are very well known and described by Durga Prasad, Bhattacharya and others. They have identified the symbol as the plam tree, as illustrated on the accompanying **Pl. VIII**, 14*a*. The symbol in this correct form is clearly visible on a number of coins of the present hoard. Some of them are 442, 606, 798, 842A, 856A, 883A, 919A, 1083, 1094, 1152, 1166A. This palm-tree symbol has got no less than 6 varieties, of which symbol 14*a* is the commonest and is recognised by the scholars. The others have come to light from the coins of the present hoard. Of these varieties, Mr. Walsh has identified two and has described them as separate symbols 54 and 71. The latter one is partly identified. These will be discussed later on. The remaining three are described here as 14*b*, *c* and *d*.

Symbol 14*b* (**Pl. VIII**),—a small circle within a circle surrounded by leaves and placed over the thorny trunk—, is seen on a single coin 759 of class B (b) 2 and is clear. Symbol 14*c*—a conical solid circle surrounded by leaves and placed over the thorny trunk—(**Pl VIII**), is seen on coins 873A, 1158A and 1165A of class B (b) 2. It is clear on coin 873A. Symbol 14*d* leaves around two trapaziums, one over the other placed over the thorny trunk (**Pl VIII**)—, is seen on coin 877A of class B(b)10. The symbol is incomplete on the coin, but it gives perfect idea of its being plam tree different from the varieties described above.

Symbol 15*a* is identified as having a plant with straight branches over a railing of four squares, but in fact the railing

has six squares. It is seen on the coins of classes B(e)2 and D2. Coins 133, 149, 180, 191, 343, 412, 495 and 1005 of class D2 and coin 959 of of class B(e)2 have clear and complete railing portion of the symbol with six squares. This symbol is also attributed to coins 838B and 860B and has been contended by Mr. Walsh that it had a long continuance as they are here seen on the older side of the double-obverse coins. But that is not so; none of these two coins has any indication of this symbol.

The symbol 15*b* is shown by Mr. Walsh as having some part of the railing. It is assigned to the coins 115, 187, 287, 1042 of class A23 and to coin 668 of class Un 11 (which is also of the same class A23). The examination of the coins shows that it has got no railing (see coin 187). This symbol is also seen on the coins of class K4, a new class not described by Mr. Walsh.

The two coins 420 and 695 have got a slightly different symbol than the symbol 15*c*, as illustrated by Mr. Walsh in plate I of the *Memoir*; the symbols on these coins are not alike. One of them has the symbol 15*c*₁ and the other symbol 15*c*₂ illustrated in the accompanying Plate VIII. Both symbols are incomplete so the form suggested by me should be taken as tentative.

The symbols 16 and 16*b* are assigned to coins 853 and 1164 respectively. The symbols on both the coins are clear, but it is doubtful if they are complete, or if they are exactly the same as drawn by Mr Walsh. Since there is no other coin known having these symbols, they may be accepted tentatively in the form suggested by Mr. Walsh.

The symbols 17*b* and 17*c* are the parts of some symbol, not known so far. Of the two coins 1093 and 921B credited with symbol 17*b*, only on coin 1093 is the symbol clear to some extent. But none of the two coins 850A and 866B has the symbol 17*c*. Coin 850A has the tree symbol 15*b*, though not very clear and coin 866B has no trace of any tree mark. Instead, coin 1104, which was originally attributed with mark 17*a*, has some indistinct traces of a symbol resembling the symbol 17*c*.

The symbol 17*f* is the only symbol, which is identified by Mr. Walsh correctly to a great extent in this series. The fish in the lower portion is not enclosed in a rectangle but is within two parallel lines. Not only the coins 905A, 925A, and 1163A, which are credited with this symbol, but all the coins, which were assigned with the symbol 17*a*, also have this symbol. The symbol 17*a* is only a part of the present

symbol. This is a known symbol and in its correct form it may be noticed on the coins 905A, 1163A and 925A, which have the clear lower portion on them.

A most interesting feature of this symbol was so far missed by the scholars. It is the presence of fish facing to right on some coins and facing to left on some others. In the present hoard, of the coins which have the lower portion punched, the coin 905A has the fish facing to right and coin 1163 facing to left. Of the three coins from Rairh (pl. XXV, 7, 8 and 27) coin 8 has the fish facing to right and the coin 27 has incomplete fish facing to left. As such the symbol has two varieties, which are illustrated in the accompanying plate as 17f and 17g (Pl. VIII)

The two symbols 18a and 18b are inaccurately illustrated on plate I of the *Memoir*. The symbol 18a has conical leaves instead of round almonds, as suggested by Walsh. Besides the coins of class A9 and I3, to which it is attributed, it is also seen on the coins of class B (b), Q4a, Q4(1)b. The symbol 18b has been described by Mr. Walsh as 'upper part of a tree with trifid ends to the branches'. But the examination shows that the symbol has no trifid ends, but has three roundish leaves in each branch. It is seen on the coins of class A11. The coin of class J3, which has been credited with this mark, has got a different mark 18c (Pl. VIII) which has got three sets of branches instead of two. Another tree symbol 18d (Pl. VIII) is seen on the coin 1046 of class A35, which was not noticed by Mr. Walsh.

SYMBOLS OF TAURINE-COMBINATIONS.

§18. Six symbols, grouped as symbols 19 and 20 have four or six taurines in combination with some simple objects. Of these symbols 20b and 20c are new and are not known from any other source. The symbols grouped under symbol 19 are illustrated on plate I of the *Memoir* slightly inaccurately. Symbol 19a is a square made of four circles with dots, and four taurines are placed between the two circles. Symbol 19b is illustrated on plate I of the *Memoir* as a square with four circles, one on each side at its centre and four taurines, one on each corner. But the coin 427, to which it is attributed, has the symbol with the circles at the corner and the taurines in the centre (Pl. VIII, 19b). It is quite clear on the coin. Another coin of this variety with this symbol is in my collection in Lalganj hoard. The symbol 19c is composed of two circles with eight taurines around them. Mr. Walsh has arranged them to make the symbol look like a oval. This symbol is also described by Durga Prasad, but he has arranged

the taurines to look like a rectangle (symbol 107 pl. XXVII of his monograph). But the arrangement made by both these scholars is inaccurate. The taurines are in fact placed so as to look like an octagon, each taurine forming a side. The incuse of the symbol and the taurines at the corners are clear on coin 389, one of the two coins attributed with this symbol. There is another symbol Eight taurines, around a solid oval, and is seen on coins 541 and 641, but it is not noticed by Mr. Walsh. The symbol is partly punched on the coins. It is here illustrated as 20*d* (Pl. VIII)

OTHER SYMBOLS.

§19 59 other symbols are noticed by Mr. Walsh and illustrated on plate I of his *Memoir* as symbols 21 to 72. Of these he has excluded the symbols 44, 45 and 55. He included the first two under symbol 43 and mark 55 appeared to him as the part of symbol 46 (*Vide* table E). Besides these following symbols also do not appear on any coin of the present hoard.

Symbol 31 is attributed to a single coin 865B, but no symbol resembling the symbol drawn on plate I of the *Memoir* is seen on the coin. What looks like the symbol is a reverse mark.

Symbol 33 is attributed to a single coin 907A. The symbol is superimposed by at least three symbols; still it is clear enough to show that it is simply a bull symbol,—either symbol 3 or 3*b*. A hill like object seems below the animal.

Symbol 39*b* is attributed to a single coin 1149A. On examination of the coin it appears that it is the part of symbol 1*ee*. What are identified as two triangles with a dot, are the two arms of the symbol 1*ee* having dot in *maṇḍapa*. Crescent above the fish is the upper part of the arrow and the fish is misidentified with the lower portion of the arrow and the central disc which is obliterated.

The symbol 47 is said to be an incomplete form of another variety of symbol 46 and is attributed to coin 778; but it is no other symbol than the symbol 46, and is partly punched.

The symbol 56 is ascribed to coin 838A, which was originally unclassified; but I have classified it to class 12 with the symbols 1*h*, 2, 7, 10 and 57. The other misidentified mark on this coin was 57. It was identified by Mr. Walsh as 18*a*. The symbol 57 is clear on the coin and is the clue for the proper identification of the present symbol. It is symbol 10, which is blurred and partly punched.

The symbol 60 is the same as symbol 59 (See § 21).

The symbol 62 was attributed to an unclassified coin 486B. I have classified it to class B(d)2 with the symbols 1, 2, 4j, 7 and 36. The coin is double-observe and the side on which this mark occurs is the older one. The marks on it are much worn and cannot be properly identified, but I think the present mark is mistaken for the symbol 36.

The symbol 66 is assigned to coins 869B and 925B, but on none of them it is to be seen.

§20. There are two more symbols of doubtful nature. They are the symbols 61 and 67 (Pl. IX). The former is assigned to coin 1151B, on which Mr. Walsh has tried to identify all the five marks. But to me all symbols, except the present one, appear to be altogether imaginary. The present symbol too is incomplete and nothing definite can be said about it. The other symbol 67 is ascribed to coin 853, which has its symbols so jumbled together, that it is extremely difficult to distinguish any of them properly. Tentatively these symbols may be accepted in the present form, but they add nothing to our knowledge.

§21. The following symbols are either partly identified or identified inaccurately.

Symbol 22a was partly identified. Mr. Walsh has missed the crooked tail, which is clear on the coin 691. The symbol is known from other sources also, but unfortunately no scholar had so far identified the complete mark. The tail of the symbol is seen on coin 4 of pl. IX of Durga Prasad's Monograph (N. S. XLV) and also on a coin from Rairh (pl. XXV. 41). Symbols 23b and 22c are assigned to coins 846A and 926A respectively. These coins have all the other symbols in common. A minute scrutiny shows that both the coins belong to one and the same class, and that these symbols are parts of one and the same symbol. While on the coin 846A the lower portion is punched, on coin 926A, left portion has survived. These help us in restoring at least three fourth of the symbol. A coin of this variety is known from Rairh (pl. XXV. 20), and it has got the complete upper part and Dr. Puri has correctly identified the symbol (pl. XXXVI). Therefore the symbol on these coins may be identified with the symbol illustrated on the accompanying Pl. VIIj as 22a.

The symbol 23 is assigned to the coins of classes A15, N1, N2, and N3, and is illustrated on plate 1 of the *Memoir* in one form, and given in Table H (p. 94) in another form as a correction to the former. But none of the coins of the above classes have either form of the symbol. The central circular portion altogether differs on the coins of classes N1-3, and the coins of class A15 have an altogether different

symbol. Three different symbols have been confused as a single symbol by Mr. Walsh. Coins 773, 795, 869 and 886 of class N1, coins 739 and 1142 of class N2 and the coin 1098 of class N3 have the symbol 23a (PI. VIII), and the coin 1143 of N2 the mark 23b (PI. VIII). Coins of class A15 have the symbol 23c (PI. IX). Originally a single coin 1135 was assigned to this class with the misidentified mark, but two other coins—225 and 559—have this newly discovered mark. All the coins have the parts of the symbol clear. This symbol has been correctly identified by Allan and Bhattacharya.

The symbol 24b (PI. IX) was incompletely identified as two taurines in an oblong enclosure. The correct symbol is 'four taurines in two rows facing each other enclosed in a square'. The symbol in its incomplete form was assigned to coins 599 and 877B in table E, but in appendix XI the coin 599 is assigned to class A17 without the fifth i.e. the present mark. In fact it has no mark like the present one. Only on coin 877B the symbol is partly punched but gives the clear idea of the complete symbol. Coins with this symbol and having the same symbol group are illustrated by Cunningham in his *Coins of Ancient India* (Pl. I coins 4 and 5.)

The form of the symbol 25 is 'four fishes around a circle enclosed in a circular enclosure' (PI IX). It is seen on a single coin 865A and is illustrated in its incomplete form on pl. I of the *Memoir*. Another coin with the complete symbol is known from Raish (pl. XXV. 19).

Mr. Walsh had described the symbol 27 as having foot-print with two beetles on either side, but it appears to me that the central object is *Sankha* and not a foot-print. It is seen on a single coin 470, where it is clear.

Though the symbol 30 is described by Mr. Walsh as an animal other than hare, with long ears without tail, facing to left, it is undoubtedly hare facing to left (PI. IX). This is seen only on coin 765 in this hoard, but it is known from two other coins in Patraha hoard (coins 1684 and 1700). On the later coin the mark is complete. On coin 1684 it is partly punched and Bhattacharya has mistaken it as bull facing left, but Mr. Walsh has detected this mistake in his paper on that hoard¹. The coin of the present hoard also belongs to the class of these two coins and the symbol is overpunched at the bottom and the hinder portion is out of flan; but what is on the coin shows that it is hare.

Symbols 43a and 43b are the two symbols which are correctly identified by Mr. Walsh, and they need not be

described here, but he has given very confusing descriptions. In table E he has included with these symbols, the symbols, which he earlier had identified as 44 and 45. In table D he mentions two other symbols 43*e* and 43*d*, but he has neither illustrated these symbols nor described them anywhere. The symbols 43*a*, *b* and *c* are together assigned to the coins of class A12, A12*a*, C5, C5*a* and J2 in the table E without any distinction. Symbol 43*d* is separately assigned to Class M5. But in table D all these varieties are credited with the symbol 43*a*. In fact the coins of these varieties have symbols of no less than 6 varieties, of which Mr. Walsh knew atleast four but illustrated only two. Symbol 43*a* (PI. IX) is seen on the coins of class A12*a*, J2 and C5 only. Symbol 43*b* (PI. IX) is found on coins of class B(a)1*b*. Two other symbols 43*e* and 43*d* as illustrated in the accompanying PI. IX, are the other varieties of these two symbols respectively, wherein the tail is curved on the other side. Symbol 43*e* is seen on the coins of class M5(b) and B(a)1*a*. On coins 825, 885, and 923 the tail is clear. Symbol 43*d* is seen on coin 818 of class C5(b) and coin 1105 of class C7. The symbol on them is quite clear. Symbols 43*e* and 43*f* (PI. IX) are two other symbols of this class. 43*e* is a curved arrow pointed to right and is seen on the coins of class M5*a*. It is clear on coin 924. Its tail is clear on coin 922. This symbol was known to Durga Prasad (symbol 62). 43*e* is similar to the variety 43*a*, but is without the top and with the thick centre below the arc and tail is deeply curved. It is seen on the coins of class C5*a* and J2. On the coins of present hoard it is partly punched but it can be easily distinguished from the symbol 43*a*. Durga Prasad has described this symbol also.

The symbol 46 is described accurately in table B but is illustrated wrongly in the plate I of the *Memoir*. This symbol is known to Durga Prasad and Bhattacharya, but both have identified it inaccurately. Mr. Walsh has pointed out the inaccuracy of Bhattacharya in his comparative study.¹

Three coins—481, 592 and 812—are credited with the symbol 50, which is described as a figure of two squares. But it is an incomplete form of the symbol, as far as the latter two coins are concerned. They belong to class 13. The coins of this class are described by Durga Prasad and Bhattacharya. Coin 1688 of Patraha hoard has got the complete symbol. I have also seen a coin of this class in Bharat Kala Bhawan, Banaras, with the complete symbol. It is like the symbol 50 illustrated on the accompanying PI. IX. As regards the correct identification of the symbols on coin 481

1. J. N. S. I., Vol. IV, p. 88,

nothing can be said with certainty, its symbols are so much jumbled together that nothing can be made out of them.

The symbols 58a and 58b are inaccurately illustrated on the plate I of the *Memoir*. The former is seen on coin 340, whereon the crescent around the wheel is upside down (pl. IX). 58b is illustrated as having rectangular knobs around the wheel between the two spokes, while the knobs are over the spokes. It is assigned to a single coin 920B, whereon the symbol is not clear; but the coins of the same variety are illustrated by Durga Prasad and Dr. Puri, and the symbol is quite clear on them. The correct form of the symbols is shown on the accompanying plate IX.

In spite of the fact that symbols 59 and 60 are one and the same, the actual form of the symbol cannot be determined at present. On coin 656, the upper part of the symbol is seen. Coin 895 has four horizontal lines below the vertical line. Coin 896 gives traces of five flowers, instead of four, over the vertical line. Coin 1155B gives an idea that the horizontal lines below the vertical lines are connected with arcs. Coin 890 suggests something below the arcs, probably another big arc in the middle. But none of these coins is helpful in the restoration of the symbol. Durga Prasad has illustrated two coins with this symbol (Pl. XXV 9 & 10), but they too do not help much. Most likely the form of the symbol is the same as illustrated by me in the accompanying Pl. IX, (sym. 60). Till better specimen are known, my restoration may be accepted tentatively. It is more near to the symbol, if not the actual symbol.

The symbol 63, as described and illustrated by Mr. Walsh, is inaccurate. The lower portion is encircled in a rectangle. It is clear on all the coins credited with this symbol, and shows that it has no roundish corners. The upper part is another rectangle which is divided into 5 compartments. This portion is not very clear on any of the coins of the present hoard and does not help in determining the accurate form of the symbol; but a coin from Rairh has this symbol with complete and clear upper part (Pl. XXV, 10). The symbol is as illustrated on our (Pl. IX.) Symbol 65 is known from a single coin 1105 of class C5(a), but it has no taurine below the central part of the symbol. To me the symbol appears, as I have illustrated in the accompanying plate IX.

Symbol 68 is partially seen on a single coin 865 and accordingly Mr. Walsh has illustrated the part. Since another coin of the same variety with the complete symbol is known from Rairh (Pl. XXV 19), the complete form of the symbol can now be restored as given in our Pl. IX.

The symbol 69 has got two rows of pellets, four in each row, encircled in a rectangle with a line between the two rows, but Mr. Walsh has identified it on the single coin 920B as a single row of pellets stringed together. A row of pellets without string encircled in rectangle is clear on the coin. But there are traces of another such row also visible on the coin. Three coins with this symbol are known from Rairh and Dr. Puri has correctly identified the symbol (Pl. XXXV), but has given only three pellets in each row. The coins illustrated by him (Pl. XXV, 5 & 6) clearly show that the symbol has got more than three pellets. Durga Prasad has also illustrated this symbol with four pellets, but he has not given the encircling rectangle and had considered it to be some sort of a tree. On his coin the symbol is incomplete. The correct form of the symbol is illustrated in our Plate IX.

The symbol 71 is seen on a single coin 903 of class B(b)9 and is not clear and complete; but the variety of the coin and the part of the symbol, which is on it, show that the symbol is some variety of palm-tree symbol (symbol 14). A careful study enabled me to restore the symbol in its complete form, as illustrated on Pl. IX.

The identity of symbol 72 (Pl. IX) is doubtful and may only be accepted as tentative. It was attributed to coins 838B, 842B and 856B; but on 856B I find no trace of the symbol; coin 838B is so worn that it is difficult to find any symbol of the nature illustrated by Mr. Walsh. Only on coin 842B, some symbol, resembling the present symbol, is traceable, but I doubt its identification. The central figure is there, but the right side part is out of the flan and nothing could be said about it. Identification of the figure on the left is not possible.

Symbol 73 is not illustrated on the plate I of the *Memoir*, but is described in table B as 'part of a mark consisting of dots and taurines round a central boss'. It is seen on a single coin 1132. On the examination of the coin the symbol could be restored as illustrated on the accompanying Plate VIII.

§22. The remaining symbols 21, 24a, 26, 28, 29, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39a, 40, 41, 42a, 42b, 48, 49, 51a, 51b, 53, 54, 57, 64 and 70 were correctly identified. Some of these symbols need some additional remarks, which are being offered here.

On some of the coins, symbol 24a is seen with a circular disc instead of a circle in the centre and it is very clear on the coin 111. This variation was noticed by me first, while I was examining the Lalganj coins. Whether this peculiarity constitutes another variety of the symbol is a question which I

am not taking up at present, but I have illustrated the symbol in this second form in the accompanying plate IX.

Symbol 26 was originally attributed to a single coin 148 of class Q2, but coins 140, 235 and 329 also have this symbol and belong to the same class.

Symbol 28 is seen on eight coins—550, 722, 1079, 1163A, 552A, 864A, 905A and 935A; but Mr. Walsh identified it on only three coins.

Symbol 29 (Pl. IX) is seen on a single coin 689 and is altogether new. This is some unknown animal facing to right, which according to Mr. Walsh resembles to the civet cat (*viverra civetta*). The animal is different from the familiar symbol of hare; its tail comes down vertically behind the body.

Symbol 32 is another animal symbol not known earlier. Mr. Walsh's identification is almost correct but the figure is slightly different than what is illustrated by him. It was originally assigned to a single coin 846A, but it is seen on another coin 926A (partly punched). A coin with this symbol is also known from Rairh (Pl. XXV, 20) where the symbol is more clear.

Symbol 39a (Pl. IX) was originally assigned to 4 coins in table B, but in table E only 3 coins—861B, 897B and 1097—are credited with this symbol. But coin 861B has a new symbol 74 (Pl. IX). Thus only 2 coins have this symbol.

Symbol 41 is a very common symbol and is seen on the coins of classes A6 and C4 in every hoard, but it is unfortunate that no scholar was able to identify it accurately. Durga Prasad had identified it as the flower carrier (symbol 122; N. S. XLV); Allan missed the knob at the top. Bhattacharya added two taurines at the top.

Symbol 42b is a different symbol than 42a, but scholars often confuse the two symbols.

Symbol 48 has three beetles around a circle, but they have often been mistaken by scholars for fish. Mr. Walsh has pointed to this mistake in detail in two of his papers¹.

Symbol 49 was noticed for the first time in the present hoard; it was subsequently found on a coin from Rairh but Dr. Puri was unable to identify the symbol correctly.

Symbols 51a and 51b are two other new symbols known from this hoard, and both of them are found on a single coin. The former is known from coin 850B of class P2 and the latter from coin 689 of an unclassified variety.

Symbol 52 is a well-known mark and is seen on some of the coins as an extra mark in addition to the fixed group of five symbols. It is known from various hoards, but in all cases it has been found punched near the edges of the coins, and in consequence, generally only a part of it appears on the flans. This shows that care was taken to avoid the over-punching over other symbols. The coins, on which it appears, do not belong to a single class. It is also clear that it is not a reverse mark, punched on the obverse, as it has never been found on the reverse. It seems that this symbol has got some particular object of its own and it requires a careful study. In the present hoard it is seen on 19 coins.

Symbol 53 is some peculiar object and is seen for the first time in the present hoard on a single coin 837 on which other marks are not decipherable.

Symbol 54 is a variety of the symbol 14, and its proper place would have been there. It is seen on coin 848 only of class B(b)8 and is not known elsewhere.

Symbol 57 was originally assigned to coins 892A and 1104A but another coin 838A also has this symbol. It is also known from the coins of Rairh.

Symbol 70 is known for the first time from four coins -847B, 908B, 913 and 1155A, but subsequently a coin with this mark was noticed in the Rairh hoard (Pl. XXIV. 21).

SOME NEW SYMBOLS

§23. Following are some other symbols that are found on the coins of the present hoard, but were not noticed by Mr. Walsh.

Symbol 74 (Pl. IX), two fishes with a flat taurine over their head encircled in a square, is noticed on a single coin 861B, which was originally credited with the symbol 39a. The present symbol is clear on the coin.

Symbol 75 (Pl. IX), eight spokes around a small circle, is seen on coin 911 in the lower left corner; but it could not be properly identified till I came across another coin of the same class in the collection of Bharat Kala Bhawan, on which the symbol is well preserved.

Symbols 76 and 77 (Pl. IX) are seen on coin 767A. They are not complete, but show that they constitute a new variety of coin, not known elsewhere.

Symbol 78 (Pl. IX) is another incomplete symbol seen on coin 470, which belongs to a new variety. The symbol was identified by Mr. Walsh on this coin as part of symbol 21, considering the central part of the symbol as the lower

portion of the staff, but in that case the taurines would have been punched on the coins upside down. It is clearly a part of some new symbol.

Symbol 79 (Pl. IX) is a new symbol having four fishes in a tank and is seen on a single coin 261. This was originally identified as symbol 8a. But the animals have the pointed head and tail and the two projections on either side are sloping backward in contrast to the round head and fork and the right angled projections of symbol 8a.

II

CLASSIFICATION OF THE COINS

§24. The classification of the coins, according to the symbols grouped on them, is the next important factor in the study of the punch-marked coins. The present hoard included 1167 coins. Of them 33 were long-bar coins and 79 were minute coins. Remaining 1059 (wrongly described by Mr. Walsh as 1155) are the subject of the present paper.

Of these 1059 coins, 64 have double obverse symbols i.e., they bear a group of obverse marks on both sides. These coins are classified in table A of the *Memoir*. For the purpose of the classification, these double-obverse coins should be treated as two. As such 1123 (1059+64) are to be classified. But we find that in Table A of the *Memoir*, A side of 33 coins and B side of only 2 coins are described with their groups of symbols. So it appears that Mr. Walsh has classified only 1026 coins (1059-64+33+2) to classes A to Q including the unclassifiable coins. Of the remaining coins he took no notice in his classification. But in Table C, where the classes of the coins are described, he has listed 1038 coins and in Table D, where the coins are classified, he has listed 1041 coins.¹ But both the

1. Class.	No. of coins Table C	No. of coins Table D
A	485	482
B	90	97
C	102	102
D	151	152
G	2	2
H	1	0
I	12	12
J	17	16
K	3	3
L	28	28
M	53	54
N	8	8
O	4	4
P	2	2
Q	25	25
Unclassifiable	55	55
	<u>1038</u>	<u>1041</u>

figures are inaccurate. Scrutiny shows that he has classified only 981 coins and of the remaining 142, he has listed 55 coins as unclassifiable. But the classification of even these coins is partly erroneous.

Five coins are classified in entirely two different classes. Coin 243 in A1 and A5; 245 in A4 and D2; 481 in Q14 and Un16; 721 in B(a)3 and D7; and 781 in A16 and B(a)1. Eleven coins 141, 244, 247, 347, 702, 771, 808A, 868B, 870A 875A and 882 are assigned to their classes in Appendix XI but are not classified in Table D. Similarly coins 924 and 1105 are classified in Table D, but they are not assigned to any class in Appendix XI. Following coins are assigned to two different classes in Table D and Appendix XI.

Coins	Table D	Appendix XI
All coins of class B(b)1	B(b)1	B(a)2
120	Un 15	Un14
237	C1	C2
243	A1	A5
245	A4	D2
603	A28	A 27
803	Un 3	Un 5
890	Q10 (c)	Q10 (b)
1096	L1	L2

All the five marks were identified by Mr. Walsh on coins 838A, 838B, 842B, 846A, 846B, 847A, 850A, 865A, 865A, 877B, 897A, 898A, 905A, 906A, 920B, 924, 1105, 1148A, 1148B, and 1151B, but he did not classify them either in Table D or Appendix XI.

Apart from all these errors and omissions, a number of coins, were wrongly assigned to such classes, to which they do not belong. On many coins the symbols are not properly identified. Many other inconsistencies and inaccuracies occur in the classification. A minute scrutiny is necessary for proper classification and identification.

§ 25. Owing to want of space, I cannot present a fresh and correct tabulation of the coins of this hoard, based upon the identification of symbols as made above in this paper. The inaccuracies in the classification proposed by Mr. Walsh will however have become clear already. It may be pointed out that classes A5a, A16, A18, A20, A22, A32, A34, B(a)3, B(e)1-3, D2a, G1-2, H, K1, L3, M3, O2, Q2b, Q6c, Q7, Q8, Q9, Q12, Q13, and Q14, have no existence of their own. In case of some of these, the third or the class mark is missing and they cannot therefore be assigned to any class. On the other hand there are coins which constitute new varieties, not recognised by Mr. Walsh. He has either not classified them

or put them into such classes, to which they do not belong. I have tabulated these coins in Appendix B, with their symbol groups and the classes to which they belong.

I hope that this critical study would help in furtherance of the proper studies of the punch-marked coins, which is a complicated and still practically an unattended branch of the Indian numismatics. Later on an approach would be made towards the interpretation of the symbols and symbol-groups on the coins.

APPENDIX A

THE OBERSE SYMBOLS.

In this table is given the symbols and the classes of the coins on which they appear in the present hoard. The symbols that were inaccurately or partly identified by Mr. Walsh are printed in *Italics* and the symbols that were not identified by him and are added by me are printed in bold letters.

Symbols	Classes	Symbols	Classes
1a	A1-19, 21, 23, 24 ; B(b)1, 9 ; C1-6 ; 14 J15 ; O1, 3.	1jj	B(d)1
1aa	M1, 6.	1k	B(b)7; Q16
1aaa	M1b.	1kk	Omitted
1b	Omitted	1kkk	B(b)5, 6
1bb	Q19	1kkkk	M5
1c	A19a, 26, 27, 30.	1kkkkk	Q4 (b) 1
1cc	Q2	1l	B (b) 2, 3
1ccc	Q (4) b1	1m	B (a) 2
1cccc	C7	1n	Omitted
<i>1d</i>	J3, 4 ; K2.	1o	D1-5
1e	Omitted	<i>1p</i>	D7
1ee	M1a, 2	<i>1q</i>	N3
1f	A31, B(a)1, B(b) 4, 8 ; 11, J1-2 ; K4	1qq	D8
1ff	M4	1r	Q15
1g	N2	1s	Omitted
1gg	I3	1t	Omitted
1h	I2	1u	B(e)1-3
1hh	Omitted	1v	A25 ; Q4a, Q11a
1hhh	N1	1w	Q5
1hhhh	Q(6)a1	1x	L1, 2, 4-6
1i	B(d)2	1y	P1
1ii	Q10a	1yy	Q17
1iii	Q10c	1z	K3
1j	Coin 914B (unclassified)	2a	Coins of all classes
		<i>2b</i>	do do
		2c	Coin 689 of class P1
		3a	A1-7 ; B (a) 1 ; J5 ; L1-4 ;

Symbols	Classes	Symbols	Classes
	O1 ; Q4a	9e	Omitted
3b	C1-7	9f	A14
3c	Q11a, b	10	I1-3 ;
3d	Q5	10b	I4
4	A1-37	11a	J1-2
4a	Coin 834	11b	K2
4b	B (a) 1-4	11c	K4
4c	B (d) 1	11d	J3-4
4d	Omitted	11e	J5
4e	Omitted	11f	K3
4f	B(b)1	12a	L1-4,6
4g	A26-29	12b	L5
4h	B(e)1-3	13	A3; A29; D3;
4i	B(d)2		Q2a; Q11
4j	D7-8	14a	B(b)1, 4, 7,
5	D1-5		10, 11
6a	A2, 19, 19a,	14b	B(b)2
	2b; I4	14c	B(b)3
6b	D6		
7	A1, 23, 26, 31, 35;	14d	B(b)10
	B(a)2; B(b)1,		
	9, 10; B(d) 1, 2;	15a	B(e)2; D2
	B(b)1; C1; D1, 6,	15b	A23; K4
	8; I2; J1; K3; L1;	15c	A11
	M1, 6 ; N1 ; O3 ;		
	Q4(b)2, 5, 6(a)2-3,	15d	Omitted
	10a, 15, 16, 18, 19.	16	Coin 853
7b	Coin 869 of	16b	B(b)6
	class N1	17a	Omitted
7c	Coin 773 of	17b	Coin 1093
	class N1	17c	Coin 1104B
7d	A35	17d	Omitted
8a	A4, 24, 25 ;	17e	Omitted
	J5, 01	17f	Q6(a)1-2
8b	I1	17g	Q6(a)3
8c	Omitted by	18a	A9, 29 ; B(b)7 ; I3 ;
	Walsh		Q4a-b
8d	I2	18b	A10 ;
8e	O3	18c	J2
9a	B(e)1-3	18d	A17a
9b	D6	19a	O1
9c	D1-5		
9d	Omitted	19b	A25
9dd	D7-8	19c	A13

Symbols	Classes	Symbols	Classes
20a	A8, 21, 27 ; D5	48	Q(4)b
20b	J3, 4	49	B(b)5
20c	Q5	50	I3
20d	K2-3	52a	Coin 850B
21	C1-5 ; J1-2	52b	P1
22a	A31	52	Coins 302(J2) ; 540(I1) ;
22b	Q15		548(I1) ; 691(A31) ; 739
22c	Omitted		(N2) ; 747(B(a)1) ; 836
23a	N1-3		(M1) ; 843(M1) ; 853 un-
23b	Coin 1143 of N2		classified) ; 862A(B(B)
23c	A15		888(I1) ; 918(L2) ; 923
24a	A7 ; B(b)4, 8 ; C3 ; L2, 5 ;		(M5) ; 1132 (M6) ; 1090
	M2 ; N2 ; Q6(a)1, 10c, 17		I1 ; 1142(N2) ; 1146(L2) ;
24b	Q16		1149(M1) ; 1160(L1) ;
25	Q11a		1164(B(b)6 ; 1171(B(b)7
26	Q2a	52	Coin 837
27	Q19	54	B(b)8
28	Q6a	55	Omitted by Mr. Walsh
29	P1	56	Omitted
30	Q4a	57	12
31	Omitted	58a	O3
32	Q15	58b	Q17
33	Omitted	59	Omitted
34	M1-7	60	Q10a-c
35	A19, 21, 21a, 24 ; Q11	61	Coin 1151B
36	B(d)2 ; Q2a	62	Omitted
37	N1-3	63	Q10a-c
38	M1 6	64	Q16
39a	B(d)1a	65	C7
39b	Omitted	66	Omitted
40	B(b)2-3 ; K4 ; L4 ; M4 ; N3, P1	67	Coin 853 (doubtful)
41	A6 ; C4	68	Q11a
42a	A5 ; J4	69	Q17
42b	C2	70	B(a)2 .
43a	A12a ; C5 ; J2	71	B(b)2
43b	B(a)1a	72	B(d)1c
43c	B(a)1	73	M6
43d	C5b	74	B(d)1b
43e	M5	75	D7
43f	C5a	76	Q18
44	Omitted by Mr. Walsh	77	Q18
45	Omitted by Mr. Walsh	78	Q19.
46	Q(4)b	79	J5
47	Omitted		

APPENDIX B.

THE NEW VARIETIES OF COINS NOT IDENTIFIED BY MR. WALSH.

Class	Symbols on the coins	Coins	Remarks.
A17a	1a, 2, 4, 3, 18c	1016	
A19a	1c, 2, 4, 35, 6	927	
A21a	1c, 2, 4, 35, 20a	205	
A35	1, 2, 4, 7d, 7	216	
B(a)1a	1f, 2, 4b, 3, 43b	747, 882, 980	D. Pd. 5A ₁
B(b)10	1a, 2, 4f, 14d, 7	877A	
B(b)11	1, 2, 4f, 14, x	458, 584, 1171	
B(d)1a	1jj, 2, 4c, 37, 7	987B	
B(d)1b	1jj, 2, 4a, 74, 7	861B	
B(d)1c	1jj, 2, 4c, 72, 7	842B	
B(d)1d	1jj, 2, 4c, x, x,	912B, 926B	
B(b)3	1u, 2, 4h, 9a, x	151	
C5b	1a, 2, 3b, 21, 43d	818	
C7	1cccc, 2, 3b, 75, 43d	1105	
K3	1a, 2, 11f, 20d, 7	541	
K4	1f, 2, 11c, 15b, 40	850A, 905B, 1148A	
L6	1x, 2, 12a, 3, x	438	
M1a	1ee, 2, 34, 38, 7	1149	
M1b	1aaa, 2, 34, 38, 7	1124	
M5a	1kkkk, 2, 34, 38, 43f	885, 841, 923, 825	Allan 5. I.c
M7	1, 2, 34, 38, x	836	
Q4b(2)	1ccc, 2, 48, 46, 7	778, 906A	Patraha 1703 Rairh.
Q6(a)2	1hhhh, 2, 17f, 28, 7	852A, 864a, 924A, 1163A	Rairh. Rairh.
Q6(a)3	1hhhh, 2, 17g, 28, 7	905A	
Q11a	1cc, 2, 3c, 25, 68	865A	
Q15	1r, 2, 32, 22b, 7	846A, 926A	
Q16	1k, 2, 64, 24b, 7	852B, 877B, 892B	D. Pd. 8A ₁
Q17	1y, 2, 58b, 69, 24a	920B	D. Pd. 23A ₁
Q18	1(?), 2, 76, 77, 7	867A	Tentative
Q19	1bb, 2, 27, 78, 7	470	Tentative.

Note 1. The references of the hoard or the publications in the remarks column, shows that the varieties are known from that sources. Other varieties are new to our knowledge.

Note 2. Varieties A19a, A21a, M1a and M1b deserve our particular attention. These have different six-armed symbols

from those of class A19, A21 and M1 respectively. On the coins of class A19 and A21 the six-armed symbol is seen as symbol 1a (Pl. VII), but on A19a and A19b it is noticed as 1c. Scholars have noticed coins of these classes having these two different type of six-armed symbols; it is also said to occur on class A24, of which the second variety with symbol 1c is not present in this hoard and which also belongs to the same sub-class. That the coins of the same variety, i.e. having group of same five symbols, could have two types of six-armed symbol appears very doubtful to me. It would not be unlikely that none of these two varieties have the symbol 1a and 1c but they may have a third symbol, which may be the combination of 1a and 1c. All the coins of these classes in the present hoard, which have been assigned with symbol 1a, have one or two arms with taurine in oval visible on them, so it cannot be said as to what was the third arm,—taurine or dumb-bell. On the other hand coins assigned with 1c have only one arm visible with dumb-bell in oval. The coins of these varieties, published by other scholars, too are of no help in this matter. Unless some coin with complete symbol is noticed, nothing could be said with certitude. For the present I have classified them separately following the scholars preceding me. Same is the case with the coins of class M1.

SOME INTERESTING PAPERS ON NUMISMATICS.

Since the publication of this Journal, the papers of Indian numismatic interest are generally published in it; it is rarely that we see any paper on the subject in any other journal of the country. But now and then some papers of Indian numismatic interest are published in foreign journals. To keep our readers informed about their contents we propose to publish their brief summaries.

These papers were published in foreign journals during last two or three years and were listed in the *Numismatic Literature*, a quarterly publication of the American Numismatic Society, meant for listing current numismatic publications with abstracts of their contents. We are indebted to the publishers of the above Journal for permission to reproduce these notices.

BARTLETT, R. G. Some notes on the History and Coinage of Northwestern India. The earliest period. In *Scaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin*, No. 365 (Oct. 1948), pp. 453-45; No. 366 (Nov. 1948) pp. 491-494.

A general, non-technical but well informed introduction to the coinage of ancient North-West India with some reference to the associated coinages of the whole sub-continent. The body of the first article is devoted to the punch-marked coins. The second instalment contains brief but good summaries of the coinage of Taxila, the Audumbaras, the Kunindas and the Yaudheyas. The article concludes with a sketch of Alexander's campaign in India.

GHIRSHMAN, R. Begram. *Recherches archeologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans*. Cairo, Imprimerie de l'Institut Francais, 1946. 232 pp., 54 pls., maps, charts. (Ministere de l'Education Nationale Memoirs de l'Institut Francaise d'Archeologie du Caire, Tome LXXIX, Memoires de la Delegation Archeologique Francaise en Afghanistan, Tome XII).

This large and important work contains a brief chapter (pp. 85-97) on the numismatic finds at Begram (Afghanistan), together with a summary of the coins found by Hackin in 1937-39 at the same site. The period ranges from Eucratides down through the 'fourth' Kushan dynasty. Special attention is devoted to a drachm of Spalirises, a bronze piece of Guḍa (?) and five drachms of Kujula Kadphises. Of greater interest than the purely numismatic section is the discussion of eras and dates (pp. 99-108) and Kushan history (pp. 109-184), in both of which numismatic evidence is

naturally brought under heavy contribution. The accession of Kanishka is dated 144 A.D.

HAUGHTON, H. L. The Bajaur hoard of 1942. In *Numismatic Chronicle*, 6th Ser., Vol. VI (1946) pp. 141-144, illus.

Two deposits, separate but found in close proximity to each other, were brought to light in Bajaur in 1942. The second deposit was composed of entirely of Indo-Greek coins, about eight hundred to one thousand in number. This hoard forms an almost exact parallel to that found in Bajaur in 1926. The coins of both hoards are all hemidrachms and the same rulers are represented. The rulers in question are Menander, Antimachos, Apollodotus and Zoilos. The author has examined 120 of these coins carefully. The results are contained in tables showing the distribution among rulers and the monograms found on the coins of each ruler. References are given to the Punjab Museum Catalogue. A few coins of Menander and Zoilos with uncommon types which have come to the author's notice are also described.

MARSHAL, JOHN. Greeks and Sakas in India. In *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, April 1947, pp. 3-32, 8 pls.

In the first half of this article, Sir John takes issue with the views on Hellenistic, Parthian and Gandharan art in North-west India expressed by Dr Ludwig Bachhofer in the *Jour. Am. Or. Soc.*, 61, Dec. 1941, 'On Greeks and Sakas in India', pp. 223 ff. The second part contains comments for the numismatist on the history and chronology of the Śaka or Parthian kings, who ruled Arachosia, comments on some coins connected with Hermaios, last of the Greek kings of India, and the dates of the first three Kushan kings.

The author rejects Bachhofer's theory that Vonones, 'Great King of Kings', who struck coins in conjunction with his viceroys Spalahores and Spalagadames, was identical with Vonones I of Parthia, 8/9 to 11/10 A.D. (as also advocated by Herzfeld, *Sakastan* p. 96). He casts doubt on Bachhofer's argument that the square form of letters on the coins of Vonones' brothers, Spalahores and Spalirises, calls for a date after ca 10 A.D. According to Marshall (and others), the Vonones who struck the joint issues, doubtless a Parthian to judge from his name, was perhaps a Suren, who established himself as suzerain in eastern Iran before the middle of first century B.C. Vonones I, king of Parthia, he regards as far too insignificant to have become independent ruler in Arachosia. The king Azes, with whom Spalirises

issued a joint coin, cannot therefore be Azes II, who preceded Gondophares (19-45 A. D.) but may be Azes I whom the excavations of Sirkap (Taxila) prove to have been the successor of Maues, ruler of the kingdom of Taxila.

However, Whitehead (*P. M. C.* p. 93) thought that the earlier style and better execution of the silver coins of Azilises, another ruler in the kingdom of Taxila after Maues, justified placing him before Azes I, a theory not mentioned by Marshall. On p. 26 of his article (reprint), Marshall mentions a coin type of Azilises, Zeus Nikephoros enthroned, as evidence that Azilises was ruling in Kapisi, and was hence later than Hermaios. If the type meant is the one figured in *P. M. C.* pl. XIII, 325, with the Dioskouroi mounted on reverse, the reviewer sees no connection with Kapisi.

Rapson had a theory that the Indo-Bactrian coin type originating at Kapisi, the enthroned Zeus Nikephoros accompanied by an elephant symbol, appeared on later Indo-Bactrian issues deprived of the special emblems, Nike and elephant, and became the characteristic type of coinages of the upper Kabul valley until the end of the Greek rule India (*CHI.* p. 556). Tarn used this theory when he explained the seated Zeus reverse on a bronze coin of Spalirises, as 'Great King of Kings' as proof of this King's victory over Hermaios in Kapisi (*Greeks in Bactria and India* p. 350); but as Marshall rightly objects, this coin was struck in Arachosia. Here however, Zeus is not Nikephoros, as Marshall wrote. The type is indeed that of Hermaios, but did it in his case originate at Kapisi? Rapson's idea has greatly affected the views of Tarn and others as to the connection of coin type with locality and the association of Hermaios with Kabul or the upper Kabul valley.

But now that we know that Whitehead's 1917 hoard of Indo-Bactrian tetradrachms containing 12 tetradrachms of Hermaios (*Num. Chron.*, 1923) was found at Shaikhano Dehri, Near Charsadda (Pushkalāvati) (*Num. Chron.*, 1940, p. 108 and *ibid* p. 123), not in the Kabul region, as he was first informed, the whole picture of the mints of the issues in the find is changed.

As to Marshall's statement that Azilises was the immediate predecessor of Azes II—in other words, that the order of succession after Maues was Azes I, Azilises, Azes II—the type Zeus standing to left rev. Nike, of Azes I (*Num. Chron.*, 1923 Pl. XVII, 12) is an exact copy of that of Maues (*BMC.* pl. XVI, 2) and Azes later issued another tetradrachm with reverse, Zeus standing to l., of fine style (*BMC.* Pl. XVII, 8). On the other hand, the silver issues of Azilises illustrated

in *PMC.* pl. XIII, are superior in style and execution to the majority of those struck by Azes I. These unworn coins were found with tetradrachms of Hippostratos in Kashmir, probably in Punch, east of Taxila (*Num. Chron.* 1940, p. 358), and Azes and Azilises each used monograms of Hippostratos (*PMC.* Indo-greek monograms, 78, 79, and Indo-Sythian, 7, 9). Again Azilises used a type of Zeus standing similar to those of Maues and Azes I, but standing to right. (*PMC.*, Pl. XIII, 320).

These facts indicate that Azes I and Azilises were closely associated with each other and with Maues in the Indo-Parthian kingdom of Taxila, as Newell named it in his arrangement of these issues in his trays. He gives precedence to Azilises but calls Azes I also a successor of Maues. The kingdom of Taxila doubtless included the other important mint of Pushkalāvati as far as this reviewer is able to judge from the comments of Rapson and Whitehead on mints and a brief study of coins.

It is doubtless erroneous to speak of the monograms on Indo-Bactrian, Indo-Parthian and Indo-Sythian (Saka) coinage as the signatures of mint officials or moneyers. They seem rather to be the marks used by individual mints over and over again, and at a given mint several different marks were in use at the same time. Occasionally, as Whitehead surmised and others have probably thought, they represent true mint names. Marshall does not mention this intricate problem, but when the three volumes on his excavations at Taxila, now in press are published, we shall learn his views on the evidence from finds made at site.

Marshall makes sound objections to Bachhofer's opinion that Hermaios was still ruling in the second decade of the first century A.D., as against the usually assumed date *ca.* 30 B. C. for the end of his reign. He discusses briefly the perplexing problem of certain of the bronze 'imitations' issues bearing Hermaios name.

The date of the Kushan King, Kanishka is analyzed from the monuments and other sources and the conclusion reached that his rule began in 128 rather than 78 A. D. (as accepted by Bachhofer, Tarn, Rapson, etc.), He succeeded Wima Kadphises II, but only after an interval of about two decades, during which Soter Megas coinage was issued. Wima reigned from 78 to *ca.* 100 A. D.; Kuzula Kadphises I, founder of the Kushan kingdom, conquered the Indo-Parthians in Kabul about 50 A. D., and during the later years of his life Wima subjugated the Parthians in Taxila, in *c.* 60 A. D.

(Reviewed by Agnes Baldwin Brett)

OLYBRIUS (MABBOTT THOMAS OLLIVE). An unusual mint technique at Kandahar. In *Numismatic Review*, Vol IV, No. 2-4 (April-Oct. 1947), p. 98.

A brief note on copper coins of Kandahar of the late seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries, with flans consisting of layers of copper bent together lengthwise.

THORBURN, P. Coinage of Muhammedan Queens. In *Scaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin*, No. 367 (Dec. 1948) pp. 547-49.

The author briefly describes the coinage of fifteen women who ruled in Muslim lands, ranging from Sayyida of Aden (died c. 1137) to the late nineteenth century Begams of Bhopal, and including the famous Shajr al-Durr of Egypt, several Mongol queens and Nurjahan, the wife of Jahangir. Short biographical sketches are included.

WALKER, JOHN. Islamic coins with Hindu Types. In *Numismatic Chronicle*, 6th Ser. Vol VI (1949) pp. 121-28, illus.

The recent publication in the Arabic Journal *Sumer* of a supposedly unique 'Bull and Horseman' dirham of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mustadir prompted the present article in which Mr. Walker points out that this type of coin has frequently been described in Western Numismatic literature. A coin of similar type struck by al-Muti is unique. After summarizing the earlier bibliography on the subject the author speculates on the circumstances and significance of the striking of these unusual coins. 'It is not impossible that the coins.....were propaganda pieces purposely struck by the Caliph's Moneyers in Iraq, in order to win the approval of the Hindu tribes of the Kabul Valley.' The prototypes are the coins issued by the Hindu rulers in Afghanistan and the Punjab in the latter half of the ninth century'. 'Bull and Horseman' coins were also imitated later by Ghaznavids, the Ghorids and the Sultans of Delhi.

It is of interest to note that there is an unpublished gold 'Bull and Horseman' coin of al-Muqtadir in the Museum of the American Numismatic Society.

WALKER, JOHN. The largest gold coin of Shah Jahan. In *Numismatic Review* Vol. IV Nos 2-4 (Apr. Oct) p. 31-332 pls.

A two-hundred Mohur piece, 142mm. in diameter, is described and illustrated from a cast in the British Museum. The original is lost. The 'gignatic coin' is dated Shahjahana-bad in 1064 A. H.

WHEELER, R. E. M. Roman coins, first century B. C. to fourth century A. D., found in India and Ceylon. In *Ancient India* No. 2 (July 1946) p. 116-121.

A list of Roman coins found in Ceylon and India which

includes finds of single specimens as well as hoards. The eighty finds listed are arranged geographically by find spot. An accompanying map shows the distribution of the coins found. The list constitutes appendix I of the authors article 'Arikamedu: an Indo-Roman trading station on the east coast of India.'

WHITEHEAD, R. B. Notes on the Indo-Greeks. In *Numismatic Chronicle*, 6th Ser. Vol. VII (1947) pp. 28-51, pls.

Mr. Whitehead maintains his judicious method of approach to the difficult problems of Indo-Greek numismatics, namely re-examination of the coins and reconsideration of theories accepted in the past. He still keeps us posted on new finds and current comment. Most noteworthy is his interpretation of the seated deity formerly called Zeus, on Eucratides' bronze issue at Kapisi, as the tutelary goddess of the city with mural crown, holding a palm branch. He makes apt comparison with late-city-goddess types, noting that Masson, who got the first example at Kapisi described the deity as female and turreted. Consequently 'Rapsons' enthroned zeus type' on the coinages of various kings can no longer be related to Eucratides' coin type. For the far-reaching effect of Rapson's theory, cf. review of Sir John Marshal's 'Greeks and Sakas in India,' reproduced above.

On the Eucratides Soter Tetradrachm recently published in Russia, Whitehead quotes the publisher's attribution to Eucratides I and Tarn's to Eucratides II without taking side.. To my thinking the younger face, Apollo reverse and monograms of this class of Indo-Greek tetradrachms and the epithet Soter on the Hermitage piece favour the theory of Tarn (following Macdonald) that these coins represent a second Eucratides, son or younger brother of the well known king.

More important is the account of Lal Dheri 1944 hoard of Indo-Greek tetradrachms, the second one known. It would be helpful if such coins were described and illustrated apart from the others in these articles.

Whitehead rightly rejects Tarn's attribution to Demetrius II the tetradrachm with the usual types of Demetrius I but with more youthful face than on most extant examples. There are two superb specimens of the young Demetrius I in this country (i. e. America), one in Boston, the other in the Newell Bequest at the Museum of the American Numismatic Society.

Included in this paper are notes on coins of Kushano-Sassanian group and the Shahs of Khwarizm and on find spots of Indo-Greek coins recorded in earlier works.

(Reviewed by Agnes Baldwin Brett).

ZAMBAUR, EDUARD. Ein Denkmal des indischen Aufstandes von 1857. In *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol 72, (1947) pp 117-32, illus.

The author describes an unpublished rupee, dated at Bareilly in 1247 A. H. in the fictitious 73rd year of the reign of Shah Alam II. The discussion includes an investigation of the extremely puzzling problems connected with the theoretical regnal years on quasi-Mughal coins of the period. With reference to political connotations of the coin, the late Dr. Zambour presents a comprehensive outline of the native political situation throughout India in the latter half of the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries, including sketch maps and useful genealogical tables and data. He concludes that the coin in question was a product of Lukhnau mint. A list of known Bareilly issues concludes this valuable article.

ZAMBAUR, EDUARD. Eine neue Münzstätte der Mughulkaiser Raidernagar (Bednor). In *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol 72 (1947) pp. 113-116, Illus.

Description of a hitherto unknown rupee of Haider Ali dated 1193 A. H. and struck at Haidernagar, or Bednor, in South India. Like other local issues of the period, the coin bears the name of Moghul emperor Shah Alam II. A sketch to the career of Haider Ali, who captured Bednor in 1176 A. H. (1736 A. D.) supplements the description of the coin.

SOME RARE BAHAMANI AND MUGHAL COINS.

BY LT. COL. P. S. TARAPORE, HYDERABAD DECCAN.

1. A unique gold tankah of Allauddin Humayun Shah Zalim Bahamani. Gold. Wt. 160·801 grs. Size 1·05". Date 86X A.H. (Pl. X. 1).

This is the same muhr which was formerly in the possession of Mr. C. N. Bandorawalla, and was published in N. S. XXXIX Art. 264, dated 11th November, 1924, by Mr. Muhammed Ismail, but, so far as I know, it was not illustrated in the Plate. It is done now (Pl. X. 1), as it may be of interest to readers of the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.

As regards the description of the coin by Mr. Muhammed Ismail, the usual order of the sides of the coin appear to have been reversed. As far as I am aware, in the case of all coins of Muhammedan rulers, including those bearing Islamic regal titles, the side of the coin bearing the creed with the names of the four Khalifas or any quotation from the Holy Quran, has always been treated as the obverse side, as these religious inscriptions take precedence over all kingly or other titles. Therefore the first opening chapter of the Holy Quran 'Al Fatiha' with the complement of the legend (which is not clear) should be regarded as on the obverse side of the coin, and the name of the ruler within the square with the marginal legend (which is also not clear) as on the reverse side.

Jalaluddin Akbar.

2. Gold. Wt. 167·51 grs. Size ·75"

Mint Sitpur. Date Farwardin 47 R. Y. (Pl. X. 2)

Obverse

In triple circle, the central one of dots.

الله
اکبر
جل جلاله

Reverse

In triple circle, the central one of dots.

نور دین الله
۲۷
ستپور
ضرب

This is the only Ilahi muhr of Akbar from Sitapur mint which has not yet been published, though rupees of Mihr 47, 48 and 49 R. Y. are known. It is noteworthy that all the known rupees are of Mihr Ilahi, whereas this Muhr is of Farwardin 47 R. Y. and is therefore the earliest known coin from this rare mint.

3. Square muhr Wt. 165·431 grs. Size .67"
Mint. Katak Banaras. Date 987 A. H. (Pl. X. 3)

Obverse

In triple square the middle
one of dots, the Kalima.

Reverse.

In triple square as on
obverse.

۹۸۷

Mint mark (see plate) over ۵ of محمد

محمد اکبر شاه
جلال الدین غازی
کنک بنار[س]

Gold and silver coins of Akbar from Katak mint are known, but the muhr with the full name Katak Banaras has not yet appeared. The name Banaras is clear on this coin. In the note on the known gold and silver coins of the Katak mint by R. B. Whitehead in the Punjab Museum Catalogue, page xcv, it is not indicated that any of these coins bear the full mint name Katak Banaras; the mint mark on this coin is characteristic of Katak mint.

4. *Nuruddin Jahangir.*

Square muhr. Wt. 209·1 grs. Size .67"
Mint Agra. Date 1019-5 Dai Ilahi. (Pl. X. 4)

Obverse

In triple square, the central
one of dots, enclosing four
wavy brackets the ends of
which intersect with each
other and on flowered
ground.

Reverse

On flowered ground
same as obverse.

در دیمه
خست
زر بر سکه نور
با گره ۵

اکبر شاه
شاه
نگیر
ز نور نام جها
۱۰۱۹

با گره سکه زر بر نورخت در دیمه

ز نور نام جهانگیر شاه اکبر شاه

"In Agra the gold coin shone forth in the month of Dai with the light of the name of Jahangir Shah the great king or Jahangir Shah (son of) Akbar Shah."
The couplet is new.

This is one of the most beautiful and artistic heavy muhrs of Jahangir. In the article published in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. 1, page 48 by the late Mr. H. Nelson Wright "Notes on some rare gold Mughal coins acquired by the British Museum", it is stated "Muhrs

of Azar, Dai and Bahman 1019-5 and of Ardibihist 1020-6 are not, so far as I know, anywhere recorded. A look out should be kept for these." With regard to this remark, I may say that the muhr of Azar 1019-5 is in my Cabinet and has already been published in *N.S.* No. XLIV page N 24 (Pl. 2-4) and I am now publishing the next muhr of Dai 1019-5.¹

5. *Aurangzeb 'Alamgir.*

Silver. Wt. 175.15 grs. Size .9"

Mint. Guti Date. (11) 07-41 R. Y. (Pl. X. 5)

Obverse

The usual mehr Munir couplet

Reverse

مانوس

میمنت

۳۱

سنه جلوس ۷۰۷ [۱]

ضرب

گوتی

The only unique rupee reported to be from Guti Mint was published in 1902, though from a different die, in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (Vide "Some coins of the Mughal Emperors" by Mr. M. Longworth Dames published in *Numismatic Chronicle*, Forth Series, Vol. II page 295 Pl. XIV.40.)

6. *Jahandar Shah.*

Gold. Wt. 167.46 grs. Size .84"

Mint. Bahadurgadh. Date 1124-Ahd. (Pl. X. 6)

Obverse

[۱۲]دشاه جہا[۱۳]

۱۱۲۴

قران جہاند[۱۴]

حسب

[۱۵]د سکہ بر زر جہا

Reverse

مانوس

میمنت

احد جلوس

سنه

ضرب

بہادر گڑھ

This is a unique muhr of Jahandar Shah from an extremely rare mint Bahadurgadh (Pedgaon).

7. *Shah 'Alam II.*

Copper. Wt. 143.058 Size .75"

Mint. Shamsabad Date 1195 A. H. (Pl. X. 7)

1. This heavy square muhr with a new couplet was formerly in the possession of Mr. O. N. Bendorawalla and was exhibited on his behalf by the Secretary at the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India in 1924, (Vide Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of 1924, page 5) But so far this unique coin was not published in any of the subsequent Numismatic Supplements.

<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
شاه عالم	جلوس
ع	ضرب
شاه ۱۱۹۵۱	شمسا با [د]

A unique coin from a new and unrepresented mint. Shamsabad is a town in Kaimgunj Tahsil of Farrukhabad District U.P. situated 27°32' N and 79°18' E, 18 miles North-West of Farrukhabad.

There was an old town called Khor which was founded by a Rathor, a descendent of the last king of Kanauj, in the beginning of the thirteenth century. In about 1228 A.D. Shamshuddin Iltutmish defeated and drove out the Rathors, and then renamed the town Shamsabad after himself. (Vide *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXII page 229)

NOTES AND NEWS

Dr. A. S. ALTEKAR, PATNA.

Re-importation of Ancient Coins.

There had been some doubt regarding the question whether ancient Indian coins of gold, silver and copper which had been sent out, can be reimported into India. With the establishment of independence, the reimporting of ancient Indian objects of art like sculptures, paintings, coins etc. is consistent with National interests. Customs restrictions about the import of archæological specimens and also photographs, plastercasts or antiques intended for exhibition, for public benefit and imported under cover of a certificate issued by the Director General of Archæology in India that the articles are intended for exhibition, were recently lifted by the Government. The question about restrictions on coins was also taken up by the Director General of Archæology with the Finance Ministry and it was observed that under Item 86(3) of the Indian Customs Tariff, 'antique coins' are already free. The case of ancient coins would be covered by this article. In case there is any trouble with the Customs Authorities about their import, the matter might be referred to the Ministry of Finance, Revenue Division, for necessary action. It should, however, be noted that the permission of the Reserve Bank of India to the importation of ancient Indian gold, silver and copper coins must be obtained beforehand in each and every case.

DISCOVERY OF COPPER COINS WITH THE LEGEND VĀRĀṆASĪ.

Mr. Shubhendu Singh Roy, who is an indefatigable coin collector, reports to me the discovery of two copper oblong coins with the legend Vārāṇasī inscribed on them. Mr. Roy states that the legend is absolutely clear even to the naked eye and hopes to contribute a paper on the subject very soon.

FRESH DISCOVERY OF KOŚALA VARIETY OF PUNCH-MARKED COINS.

Punch-marked silver coins with only four symbols on the obverse and weighing about 44 grains were first published by the late Babu Durga Prasad in the *Numismatic Supplement*, 1934. Mr. J. K. Agarwal of Lucknow reports the acquisition of a lot of 32 coins of this type. Triskelis, Taurine on a shield and Elephant to right are three constant symbols on

these coins and the fourth one is varying. The reverse is covered by a large number of small symbols, as was also the case with the coins published by Durga Prasad. A note on these coins will appear later in the Journal.

A HOARD OF 35 MEDIEVAL COINS FOUND IN AJMER-MERWARA.

Deputy Commissioner, Ajmer Merwara, records in his Administration Report of 1948-49 the discovery of 35 old coins found in the village of Manoharpur in the Kekri Sub-division of Ajmer-Merwara. The Report, of which an extract was kindly sent to me by the Deputy Commissioner, gives the following information about the coins :—

“Even in extremely rusty condition obliterating most of the details, it is apparent that there are Nāgarī characters (assignable to the 11-13th centuries A. D.) on the obverse, whereas the reverse is occupied by a rudely executed figure of a goddess seated cross-legged, as is common in a few coins of Mediæval dynasties of Central and Northern India (Vide *Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum*, Vol. I, pl. XXVI). In shape all the pieces are almost round with diameter ranging from .52" to .6" inches. One dozen coins with least rusty incrustations were found to weigh 29.5 to 32.5 *ratīs*, which probably indicates that these pieces were intended more or less to harmonize with the weight system of indigenous Indian type of coins i. e. “*Dharaṇīs*” or “*Purāṇas*” of 32 *ratīs* (= about 58 grains).

The metal used in the coins does not seem to be pure silver but silver considerably alloyed with other inferior metals. The coins require careful examination for finding out exactly the mixed metal used in them.”

The above description of the coins is obviously incomplete and it is to be hoped that the authorities of the Ajmer Museum will take steps to publish the coins in an adequate manner. Lakshmī seated cross-legged on the reverse occurred as the reverse device of the currency in the precious metals issued by most of the medieval north-Indian dynasties like the Tomaras, the Chāhamānas, the Gahaḍwālas, the Chedis etc. The findspot of the coins would suggest that they may have been the issues of the Chāhamānas. Among the rulers of this dynasty, only Ajayapāla issued silver coins with the device of seated goddess on the reverse and the legend on the obverse. His successors usually preferred the device of the horseman for the reverse, though his queen Somaladevī had also issued some coins of the Sassanian type with Bust on the obverse and Fire-altar on the reverse. The

coins of the present hoard are therefore likely to be the issues of the Chāhamāna ruler Ajayapāla, who was first king of the dynasty to start coinage.

We urge the authorities to get the coins properly examined with a view to their adequate publication.

[P. S. A copy of this note was sent to Mr. Bhattacharya, the Curator, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, for his observations on the 14th of August 1950. In his reply dated the 2nd of September, 1950, which I have just received at the galley proof stage, Mr. Bhattacharya confirms my conjecture. He says, 'At least three consecutive letters, *ya*, *da* and *va* could be made out on two specimens of the hoard; they may be the issues of Ajayadeva. There are literary and epigraphical references to Ajayadeva issuing coins. It is stated in *Prithvī-rājuvijaya* that Ajayaraja filled this earth with his *rūpakas* of silver (Canto V)]

A COIN OF RAMSINGH IN THE NAME OF BAHADUR II.

Mr. Chaturbhujdas Chaturvedi, Curator, State Museum, Bharatpur, reports the acquisition of a gold Muhar for the Museum obtained in the state itself. Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, who examined the ink-impression of the coin, reports that the specimen is like the Jaipur Muhar published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* Vol. IV, Pl. XV. 8 with the difference that its regnal year is 11 and not 13. It is a Muhar issued by Ram Singh in the name of Bahadur II. Its legends are as follows :—

Obv :—

محمّد شاه

بہادر

بادشاہ غازی

سکہ مبارک

Rev :—

مانوس

ست

ضرب ۱۱ جلوس

سوائی [جی پور]

FIND OF VENECIAN SEGNS IN SASARAM DISTRICT, BIHAR.

Mr. P. L. Gupta reports the find of 12 Venecian Gold Segns in Sasaram District of Bihar. Mr. Gupta saw these coins when they were presented for sale by the finder to a shroff in Barhalganj in the Gorakhpur district. Their description was sent by him to Mr. Aravamuthan of Madras, who was good enough to inform him that they were segns, issued by Duke Ludovious Menin.

Efforts were made by Mr. Gupta to get the coins acquired for some museum; but he was not successful. Probably the coins have met with the usual fate of being melted down.

COPPER COINS IN BARODA MUSEUM.

Baroda State Museum Bulletin, Vol. IV, Parts 1 and 2 contains a brief account of 4,000 copper coins in the Museum belonging to the period 300 B.C. to 1000 A.D. As the account of 4,000 coins is given in four pages, it is naturally very inadequate. There is a small plate illustrating 13 of these coins in a very diminutive size. It is high time that our Museum authorities should take early steps to illustrate their coins in an adequate manner. It may be that the coins they have in their custody may not be all unique or rare; it is however necessary that the country should know what coins are available for study in our public museums.

The Baroda Museum has a fairly good collection of Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian, Indo Parthian and Kushāṇa coins of the ordinary types. Among the punch-marked coins one is described as having three human or divine figures, two women facing each other and one male facing both of them (?) The male figure is said to carry in the right hand a staff or spear crowned by a taurine. This type seems to be new and deserves to be properly published. The same is the case with the coin of Bhūmaka. Coins of this ruler are very few and the problems connected with his reign can be solved only when more coins of his come to light, and their legends are fully deciphered.

Among the Nāga coins of the Museum, one is said to be of Janendra Nāga. No such Nāga ruler is known so far and the coin therefore is worth publishing. Possibly Janendra is the title of some Nāga ruler and not a personal name.

Copper coins of the Gupta rulers referred to in the note also deserve to be adequately published. Copper pieces of Chandragupta II are very rare and are hardly found outside the Uttara Pradesh. Copper coin of Kumāragupta described as having Garuḍa with folded wings on the reverse is very probably a silver-plated coin; copper coins of Kumāragupta are very very rare. The Museum contains a number of Gadhia coins, but we do not know whether all of them are uninscribed. There may be some rare types also that may be revealed by a careful examination. The paper refers to copper coins of Mihira Bhoja of the

Ādivarāha type. Usually this type is known only in silver ; so if the Museum really possesses a copper coin of this type, it deserves to be published. The Museum also has some coins of the Bull and Horseman type, whose legends are said to be indistinct. Steps should be taken to get them read by experts.

It is to be hoped that the Baroda Museum will soon take steps to get its coins not only in copper but also in silver and gold properly examined and classified, and publish an adequate and authoritative account of them. We are sure that such a step will be very helpful for the proper reconstruction of our country's history.

TREASURE-TROVE FINDS IN THE U. P.

Eight treasure troves were found in the U. P. during 1948-49 and five during 1949-50. Majority of these consisted of modern or medieval coins of no particular numismatic importance. Three of them refer to ancient India and are worth noting. One of these consisted of three gold coins of the standard type of Chandragupta II.

The second hoard consisted of 11 gold coins of Gāṅgeya-deva and was found in Sitāpur district. It is interesting to note that the coins of this ruler are quite common in the U. P. finds. The jurisdiction of this king did not extend much in the U.P., but his coins had become fairly common there, probably because he was the first king to issue gold coins in Madhyadeśa which had no currency of its own in gold subsequent to the disappearance of the Gupta rule. Out of the 11 coins of Gāṅgeyadeva, eight were *drmmas*, two quarter *drmmas* and one half *drmma*. The 3rd hoard consisted of 110 copper Kushāṇa coins found in the village of Bindwal in Azamgarh district. Kings represented are Kanishka and Huvishka only and among the deities Oesho, Oado Mao, Mihiro and Athsho are common. That this hoard should contain no coins of Vasudeva and Wima Kadphises would tend to show that the Kushāṇa rule over the U. P. was confined to the reigns of Kanishka and Huvishka only.

OBITUARY

We regret to record the death of Mr. Vicaji D. B. Taraporewala, which took place at Bombay in March 1950. Mr. Taraporewala was a self-made man. At the beginning of his career, he was anxious to join the Bar, but eventually his passion for the book-trade got the better of him and he, in co-operation with his elder brother, Mr. Framroze D. B. Taraporewala, soon secured the premier position for their well known book-firm, D. B. Taraporewala and Co.

Mr. Taraporewala got interested in coin collection early, and numismatics continued to be his chief hobby till the end of his life. His collection of the Mughal coins was splendid. He had also a valuable library of Numismatic publications. He was a senior member of the Numismatic Society of India and a Fellow of the Royal Numismatic Society, London. One of his early papers on "A Persian Gold Medal" published in Numismatic Chronicle disclosed the existence of a large and unique Persian Gold piece belonging to the time of Fath Ali Shah Kajar (1794-1834) and weighing 3,545 grains. Amongst his other contributions on numismatics are the following :

Two Mughal Muhars

(*J. P. A. S. B. (N. S)* XIX, 1923, No. 6)

Aurangzeb's Rupee of Daru-s-Surur-i-Burhanpur

(*J. P. A. S. B. (N. S)* XXV, 1929, No. 2)

Rare Mughal Coins in my Cabinet

(*J. P. A. S. B. (N. S)* XXVI, 1930, No. 2)

His work on Mughal Bibliography is in the press.

Mr. Vicaji was a man of charitable disposition ; he gave donations for a Laboratory at the Wadia College Poona, for an aquarium in Bombay, for educational institutions and different hospitals, which amounted to several lakhs. He thus leaves behind a memory of unselfish devotion to knowledge and of enlightened cultural charity. May his soul rest in heavenly bliss.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF
THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA.

The business meeting of the Society was held on the 24th December, 1949 at Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, at 10.30 A.M. Dr. A. S. Altekar, the Chairman, presided

The following members were present :—

1. Mr. M. N. Ghosh, Allahabad.
2. Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad.
3. Mr. J. M. Nanemti, Curator, Watson Museum, Rajkot.
4. Dr. D. R. Patil, Gwalior.
5. Dr. Motichanda, Bombay.
6. Mr. R. G. Gyani, Bombay.
7. Mr. P. Acharya, Cuttack.
8. Dr. R. B. Pandey, Banaras
9. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, New Delhi.
10. Mr. B. B. Nath, Cuttack
11. Dr. V. S. Agrawal, New Delhi.
12. Mr. U. C. Bhattacharya, Ajmer.
13. Mr. M. M. Nagar, Curator Provincial Museum, Lucknow.
14. Mr. Bishun Narain Kapoor, Lucknow.
15. Dr. P. M. Joshi, Bombay, 1.
16. Mr. A. C. Ghosh, Patna Museum, Patna.

(1) The accounts of the Society, as audited, were passed. They are published at the end of the Proceedings

(2) It was resolved that the institution membership fee in India should be raised to Rs. 10/-.

(3) It was resolved that the individual membership fee should be £ 1 in case of Great Britain and 4 dollars in case of America.

(4) The following office-bearers were elected :—

President—Dr. V. S. Agrawala, New Delhi.

Vice-Chairman—Professor J. N. Banerjee, Calcutta.

Secretary—Mr. R. G. Gyani, Bombay.

Members of the Executive Committee :—

- (1) Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad
- (2) Dr. N. P. Chakravarty
- (3) Mr. V. P. Rode

- (4) Dr. P. M. Joshi
- (5) Dr. Motichand
- (6) Mr. P. Acharchaya

It was resolved to offer the best thanks of the Society to the Utkal University for the excellent arrangements made in connection with the meeting of the Numismatic Society.

With a vote of thanks to the chair, the meeting came to an end.

N.B. Papers read at the Annual meeting are included in this number of the Journal.

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Balance Sheet as at

FUND & LIABILITIES	Rs.	As.	Ps.	Rs.	As.	Ps.
General Fund :—						
Balance on 1st Dec., 1948.	4,980	10	1			
Add Excess of Income over Expenditure this year ...	5,267	0	6	10,247	10	7
Special Publication Fund :						
Balance of Last Year ...	9,223	0	0			
Less Amount paid for Special Publication ...	1,285	0	9	7,937	15	3
Suspense Account.					5	0 0
Total ...					18,190	9 10

We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the books and vouchers and beg to report that we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required and in our opinion the above Balance Sheet exhibits a true and correct view of the state of affairs of the Society according to the information and explanations given to us and as shown by the books of the Society.

DINUBHAI & Co.,

Chartered Accountants.

Hon. Auditors.

Bombay,

9th December, 1949.

OF INDIA.

30th November 1949.

PROPERTY & ASSETS	Rs. As. Ps.	Rs. As. Ps.
Furniture.		100 0 0
Cash and other Balances.		
National Savings Certificates:		
Maturing on 1-1-58 ...	2,000 0 0	
„ „ 2-7 58 ..	1,000 0 0	
„ „ 25-4-59 ...	3,000 0 0	
„ „ 28-2-60 ...	4,000 0 0	
Central Bank H. S. A/C ...	4,603 3 1	
Bank of India Ltd. Current A/C. ...	3,317 7 9	
Cash on hand ...	139 15 0	18,090 9 10
	<hr/>	
Total ...	...	<hr/>18,190 9 10 <hr/>

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Income and Expenditure Account for the Year

EXPENDITURE	Rs.	As.	Ps.
To Stationery and Printing...	1,893	3	6
„ Postage and Telegram ...	177	12	0
„ Sundry Expenses ...	330	7	0
„ Bank Charges ...	11	14	0
„ Contribution Charges ...	328	0	0
„ Travelling Expenses ...	151	8	0
„ Office Expenses of Editor	736	8	0
„ „ „ of Treasurer	392	8	0
„ Excess of Income over Expenditure transferred to General Fund ...	5,267	0	6
Total ...	9,238	13	0

Examined and found correct
Bombay, dated 9th Dec., 1949.

DINUBHAI & Co.
Chartered Accountants,
Auditors.

OF INDIA.

Ending 30th November 1949.

INCOME	Rs. As. Ps.	Rs. As. Ps.
<i>By Interest :—</i>		
Central Bank. H. S. A/C.	25 5 0	
Postal Savings Bank A/C.	9 8 0	
Bank of India Current A/C	6 0 0	40 13 0
<i>„ Subscriptions :—</i>		
Arrears ...	335 11 0	
Current ...	511 11 0	
Life ...	299 12 0	
Advance ...	51 2 0	
Quinquennium ...	25 0 0	1,223 4 0
<i>„ Advertisements</i>		32 0 0
<i>„ Sale of Journals</i>		392 12 0
<i>„ Government Grants :</i>		
Baroda State ...	300 0 0	
Bharatpur State ...	5,000 0 0	
Madras ...	300 0 0	
Uttar Pradesh ...	300 0 0	
Central Provinces ...	300 0 0	
East Punjab ...	300 0 0	
West Bengal ...	600 0 0	
Orissa ...	300 0 0	
Hyderabad ...	200 0 0	7,600 0
Tota Rs.l ...		9,288 13 0

Recd. on 3.6.80
 7824
 31156

List of the Members of the Society August, 1950.

Patron :

- H. H. The Maharajadhiraj Maharana Sri Bhupalsinghji Bahadur, G.C.S.I., Maharana of Udaipur (Mewar).
H. H. Col. Sri Brijendra Singhji Bahadur Bahadurjung, Maharaja of Bharatpur.

Life Members :

- Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., D. Litt ; Patna University, Ranighat, Patna 6.
Bishun Narain Kapoor, Jewellers, 83 Chouk, Lucknow.
Curtis, James W., Col. Numismatist, 515 East Capital Avenue, Springfield, Illinois, U.S.A.
Dongre, R. V., 384, Lamington Road, Bombay 4.
Govel, K.C., B.Sc., Executive Engineer, 16, Babar Road East, New Delhi.
Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, M. A., LL. B. Hyderabad Museum, Hyderabad Deccan.
Klug Walter, 2668-North 29th Street, Milwaukee, 10, Wisconsin, U. S. A.
Muhammed Abdul Wali Khan, Keeper of Coins, Hyderabad Museum, Hyderabad Dn.
Law, B.C., Dr., M.A., Ph.D, 43 Kailas Bose Street, Calcutta.
Nahar, B.S., B.A., 48, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta.
Natu R.M., 689 Sadashiv Peth, Natu building, Poona 2.
Patel, I.B., B.A., LL.B., Frenny House, Sitladevi Temple Road, Mahim, Bombay 16.
Poddar H.P., 34 Raja Santosh Road, Alipore, Calcutta 27.
Powills, Michael, A., 9545, South Leavitt Street, Chicago 43, Illinois (U.S.A.).
Raghubir Singh, Major, M.K., Raghubir Niwas, Sitamau (C.I.).
Shukla, S. M., Manager, Rawal Tiles and Marble factories, Arthur Bunder, Colaba, Bombay.
Shitholey B. S., C/o Dr. R. V. Shitholey, 1096 Kunjbihari Building, Lalbagh Circus, Lucknow.

Original Member

- Whitehead, R. B., I.C.S., F.R.A.S.B., Millington Road, Cambridge, England.

Ordinary Members :

- 1922 Acharya, G.V., B.A., Harsha Sadan, Ganesh Falia, Junagadh.

- 1948 Agarwala, B. R., Registrar, Institute of Palæobotany, Lucknow University, Lucknow.
- 1932 Agarwal, Jai Krishna, Krishna & Co, Chowk Lucknow.
- 1948 Agarwal, Ram-aran, c/o Babulal Ramsaran, 463/4 Sakar Bazar, Ahmedabad.
- 1950 Advani, N.R., Chief Conservator of Forests, Madhya-Bharat, Indore.
- 1950 Adams, E. G. P. Lt. Col., Wincheombe, Kalahatti, P.O. Nilgiris (S.I.).
- 1950 Blackwell, B.H., Ltd., 48-51, Broad Street, Oxford, England.
- 1946 Agarwal, V.S., Dr. Supdt. C.A.A. Museum, New Delhi.
- 1949 Agrawal, Baldeo Prasad, Thatheri Bazar, Banaras.
- 1946 Ahmad, S.M., B.A., (Deputy Collector), Abbasmanzil, Yehyapore, Allahabad.
- 1911 Allan, J., M.A., British Museum London, W. C.
- 1937 Antani, V R., M.A., Holy Lodge, Takko Hill, Simlo.
- 1913 Bandoiwala, Cooverjee Nowrojee, B.A., Patuck's Bangalow, opposite Minerva Cinema, 91, Lamington Road, Tardeo, Bombay.
- 1947 Banerji, A.C., Archaeological Museum, Nalanda House, P. O. Nalanda, Dt. Patna.
- 1930 Banerji, J. N., Dr., M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University, 28, Manoharpukur Road, Kalighat P. O., Calcutta.
- 1945 Banerjee, Dr. S.K., Professor, Lucknow University, Lucknow.
- 1948 Banker, Harilal, O., Post Box No. 2362, Kalba Devi, Bombay.
- 1939 Baron, B.K., Bar-at-law, "Wisteria" Mussoorie (U. P.)
- 1950 Benson, Lauren, Rural Route, Devonport, Towa, U. S. A.
- 1940 Bhat, B W., Hon. Secretary, Rajwade Sanshodhan Mandal Dhulia.
- 1934 Biddulph, C.H., Major, I.E., C/o The Chief Engineer, South Indian Railway, Trichinopoly (S. I.)
- 1911 Botham, The Hon'ble Mr. A.W., C.S.I., I.C.S., The Manor House, Alford, Lincolnshire.
- 1950 Chhabra, B. Ch., Dr., Government Epigraphist for India Ootacamund.
- 1934 Chatterji, C.D., Reader, Lucknow University, Lucknow.
- 1945 Chinmulgund, P. J., I.C.S. Registrar of Cooperative Societies, Central Offices, Poona.
- 1944 Coachman, K.R., 16 Cowasji Patel Street, Bombay 1.
- 1942 Contractor, K. N., 16 Feroz Castle, Victoria Road, Karachi.
- 1915 Contractor, Sorabshaw C., Umrigar Byilding, Ormiston Road, Apollo Reclamation, Sangli.

- 1949 Cresswell, Oliver, D.G. 9, Agincourt St., Ormean Road, Belfast (England).
- 1934 Dar, Mukat Bihari Lal, B.S.C., LL.B., 6, State Entry Road,, New Delhi.
- 1950 Dasgupta, C.C., Dr., 128 South End Park, P. O. Ballygunj, Calcutta 29.
- 1950 Fonest, C.S., 88:66, 257 street, Eloral Park, New York.
- 1934 Darbari, M.D., B. COM., F.S.A.A.R.A., 8, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta.
- 1949 Dear R.B., 1074, Masjid Khajur, Delhi.
- 1947 Deshpande, M.N., Asst. Supdt. A.S.W. Circle Poona 5,
- 1950 Dikshit M.G., Dr., Deccan College Research Institute, Poona 6.
- 1935 Driver, Dorab Cursetji, M.A., (Cantab), Bar-at-Law, of Messrs. Tata Iron & Steel Co., Ltd., 102A, Clive Street, Calcutta.
- 1950 Dutt, Amar Nath, 52 Maharaja Ranjit Singh Road New Delhi.
- 1938 Faizullah Khan, Secretary, District Local Board, Lyallpur Punjab.
- 1922 Forrer, L. I Helvetia, 24, Homefield Road, Bromley Kent, England.
- 1937 Gadre, A.S., M.A., Archaeological Department, Baroda.
- 1944 Ganda Singh, Prof. Director of Archives, Patiala.
- 1920 Ghanshyam Das, Rai Bahadur, Commissioner (Retd.), Ghazipur (U. P.).
- 1928 Ghosal, D.D., Retd. Superintendent, Calcutta Improvement Trust, 85, Tantipara Lane, P. O. Santragachi, Howrah.
- 1947 Ghosh, N. N , Ganga Villa., New Bairana, Allahabad.
- 1829 Ghose, A , M.A., 42, Shambazar Street, Calcutta.
- 1940 Gupta, Parmeshwari Lal, 63/42, Victoria Park (north), Banaras.
- 1933 Gyani, R.G., M.A., Curator, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- 1930 Hon'ble Mr. Justice Harish Chandra, I. C. S., 12 Hamilton Road, George Town, Allahabad.
- 1950 Hamilton, D. C. C/o Messrs. Killick Nixon & Co., Ltd. Home Street, Fort, Bombay.
- 1950 Haskel, J.F., Times of India Press, Bombay.
- 1950 Holst, Hans, Dr., Lecturer Oslo University; Oslo, Norway.
- 1926 Heras, H., Rev., Father, Professor of Indian History, St. Xavier's College, Cruickshank Road, Bombay 2.
- 1948 Holzer, H. W., The Layton, 42-52 Layton St., Elmhurst N.Y.

- 1945 Hopkin, H. J. M., Lt. Col; I A.O.C., C/o Lloyds Bank, Bombay.
- 1944 Hurmuz Kaus, 128 Public Garden Rd., Hyderabad (Dn.)
- 1948 Iyer, D.K., Numismatist, Srivatsasram, 6293 Brahmin Street, Nagercoil (S.I.).
- 1950 Javeri, G.L., 108 Javeri Bazar, Bombay 2.
- 1923 Jalan, Radha Krishna, Dewan Bahadur, Quila House, Patna City.
- 1945 Janzen, E.P., C/o L.F. Janzen, 3132 Atwater Avenue, Los Angeles, California, U.S.A.
- 1948 Jeejeebhoy, J.R.B., Alice Building, Fort, Bombay.
- 1939 Joshi, P.M., M.A., Ph. D. University Library, Bombay.
- 1946 Kar, R. C., M.A., Asstt: Supdt: Arch Survey, Central Circle, Patna.
- 1950 Kapur, L.N., Shroff Chowk, Lucknow.
- 1950 Kenneth, W. Wiggins, 36 Halpin Street, West Brunswick, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1950 Krishna Deva, Archæological Supdt., Central Circle, Patna 4.
- 1944 Khareghat, R.M., Lt., Col., I.M.S, Civil Surgeon, C/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., Bombay.
- 1948 Kraus, Earnst Suite 1702, 444 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y., U.S.A.
- 1948 Kukuranov, L.N., C/o The American Express Co, 240 Hornby Road, Bombay.
- 1944 Kummer, F E., Manager, West End Watch Co., 16 Old Court House St., Calcutta.
- 1937 Lochen G., 63 College Ghat Road, P.O Botanic Garden, Howrah.
- 1941 Mathuram Dr. N.D. Guru Medical Hall, Puthur, Trichinopoly.
- 1947 Majumdar, R.C., Dr., 4 Bipin Pal Road, Kalighat, Calcutta.
- 1949 Manoobhai Doongursse, 71, Giri Kunj, Marine Drive, Bombay.
- 1950 Maurer, W.H, 322 Maryland Ave. N.E. Washington, 2 D.C., U.S.A.
- 1947 Marshall, D.N., 118 Military Square, Port Bombay.
- 1949 Mathur, Durgalal, Archæological Dept., Jodhpur.
- 1937 Mehta, Pratapray G., C/o Jaipur Metal Industries, Jaipur.
- 1950 Minister for Iraq, Iraq Delegation, Imperial Hotel, New Delhi.
- 1936 Mirashi, V. V., Mahamahopadhyaya, Vishnusadan, Dharampeth, Nagpur.
- 1949 Mirza, Dr. Hormazdyar, Dastur K, Mirza St. Udvada (B. B. Rly.)

- 1950 Mishra, V.B., 1183 Grain Market, Ganesh Ganj, Lucknow.
- 1950 Mohanti Kartic Kumar, C/o Lakshidhar Mohanti, Govt. Pensioner, P.O. Khurda, Dt. Purir.
- 1937 Moti Chandra, Dr., M.A., Ph. D., Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- 1950 Lahiri A.N., 815 Barrackpore Trunk Road, Cossipore, Calcutta 2.
- 1950 Lee, Reginald, Capt. Woodgate House, Uttexeter, Staffs.
- 1948 Narain, Prof. A K. M.A., C.H.C., Hindu University, Banaras.
- 1949 Nath, Bipin Bihari, Gopalji Lane, Cuttuck (Orissa).
- 1948 Pande, Dr. R. B., Banaras Hindu University.
- 1940 Pavri, P. F., Pavri House, Gundow Street, Fort, Bombay.
- 1946 Patabiramin, P.Z., 52 Big Bazar St., Pondichery.
- 1944 Powar, A.G., Dr., M.A., Ph.D., M.N. College, Visnagar (Gujarat).
- 1945 Pradyuman, Draughtman Technical Development Establishment, Ahmednagar (Bombay).
- 1949 Pramanic, Panna L., 277 Victoria Road North, Calcutta 35.
- 1917 Prayag Dayal, R B., 80, Latouche Road, Lucknow.
- 1949 Prodhan, K H, 4, Prodhan Cottage, Convenr Road, Darjeeling (W. Bengal).
- 1937 Pusalkar, A.D., M.A., LL B., 'Usha' 118, Shivaji Park, Dadar, Bombay.
- 1949 Rawat, B., Editor, 'Kumar', 1454 Raipur, Ahmedabad.
- 1941 Rao, Uttam Singh, B.A., Official, Jind State, Krishna Basti, P. O. Sangrur, (Jind State).
- 1947 Reu, B.N., M.M., Chand Pole, Jodhpur.
- 1944 Rode, V.P., M.A., Arch Asst. Central Museum, Nagpur.
- 1933 Rudra Pratapsing, Rao Bahadur, M.L.C., Sonbarsa Raj, Bhagulpur.
- 1950 Sassaman, W. R., 6420 Dorchester Ave., Chicago 37, U.S.A.
- 1920 Sah, Shri Nath, Durga Kund, Benares.
- 1945 Samrat, Ganga Ram, SANN (Sindh).
- 1947 Sastri, P. Sheshadri, Prodiepet, Gurtur (S.I.)
- 1943 Shah, P. G, M.A., Lalit Kunj, 11th Road, Khar, Bombay.
- 1950 Sharma, K.C., Anah Gate, Bharatpur.
- 1940 Sharma, Shri Ram, Principal, D.A V. College, Sholapur.
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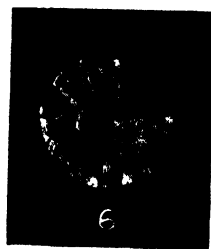
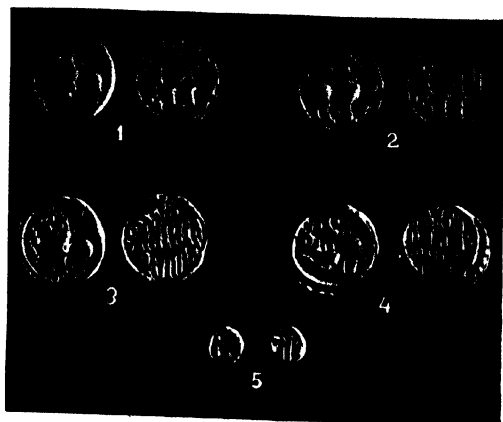
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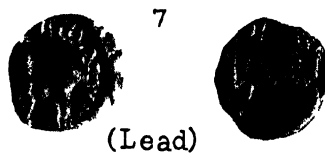
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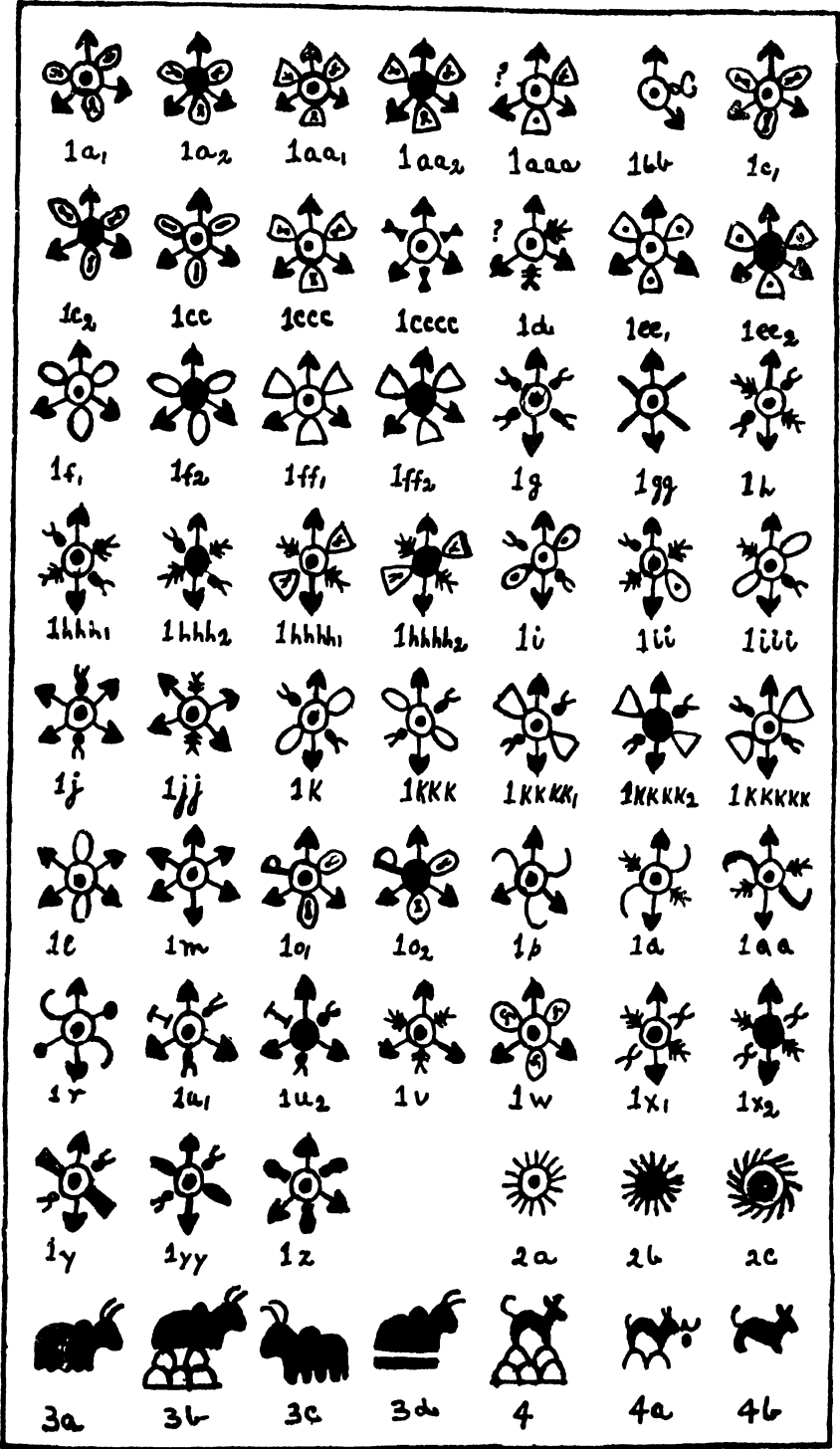
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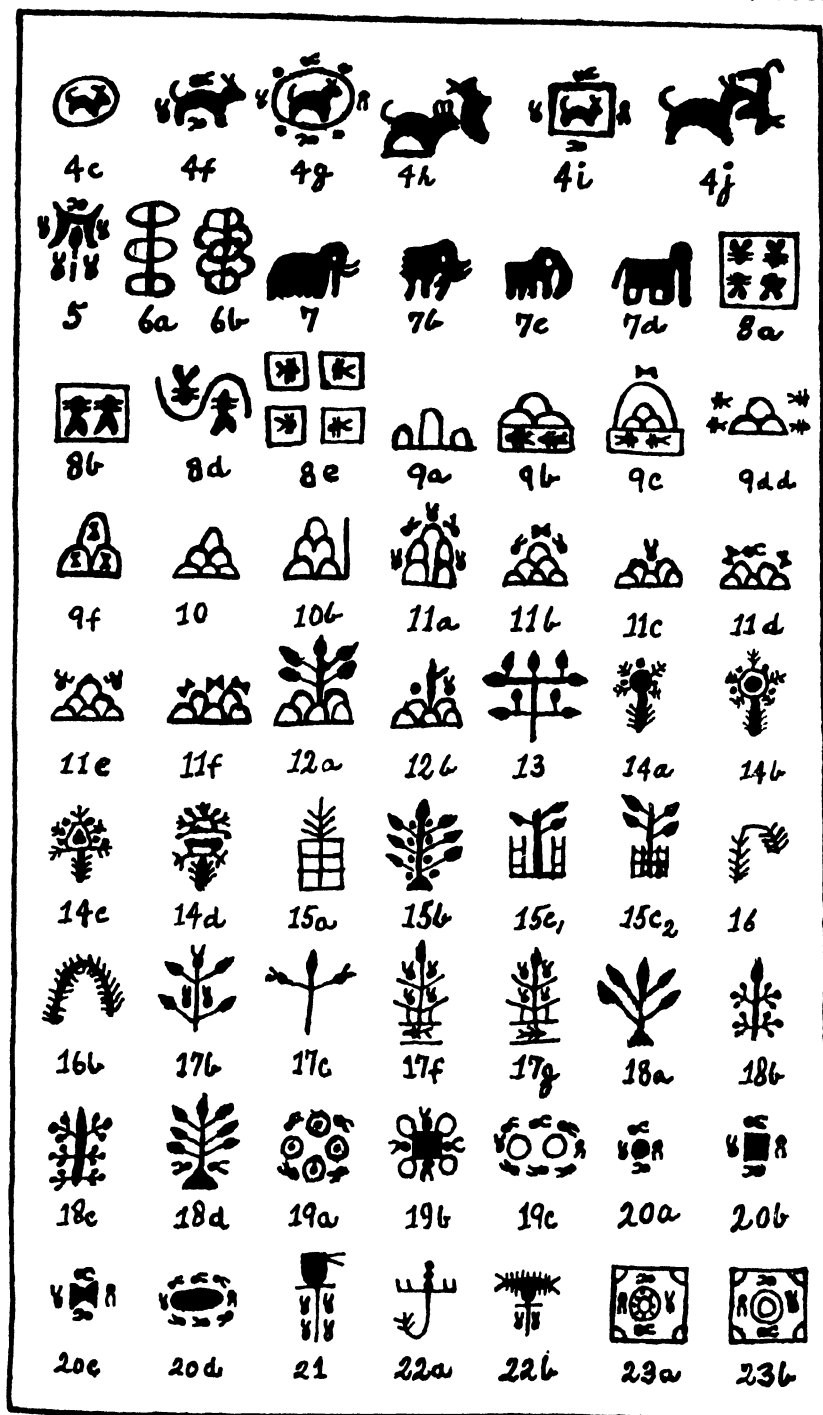
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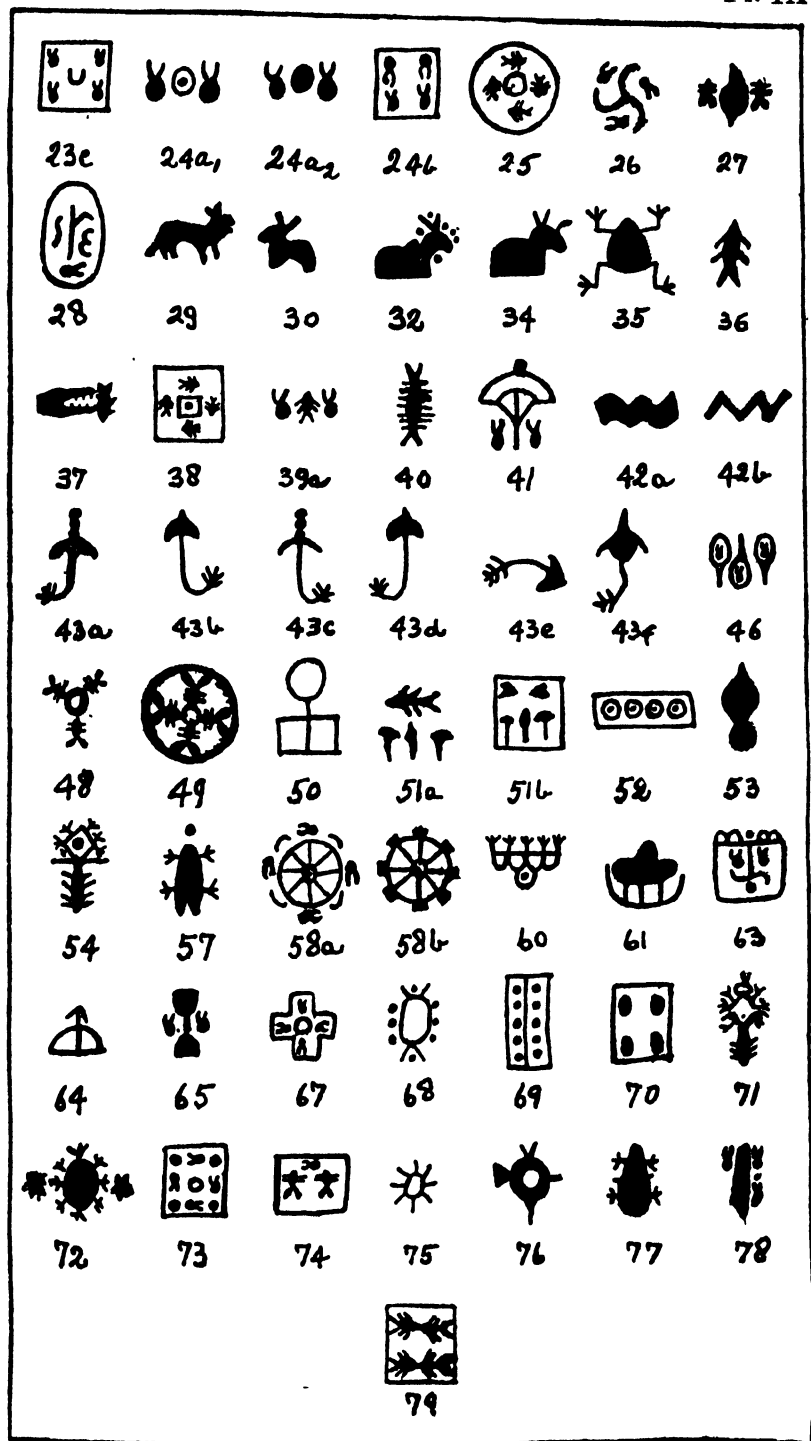
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Symbols on Punch-marked Coins.



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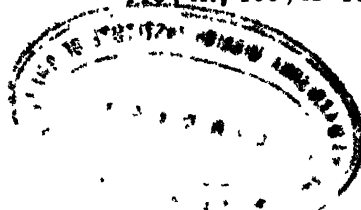
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